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1856.

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THE Tract enterprises of the Christian Church are worthy to be classed among the greatest undertakings of the age. The theme involves so much that to do it justice in one short article is impossible. This paper, therefore, is merely designed to draw an outline of the subject, and throw in a tint here and there, leaving the reader to complete the picture for himself.

We do not dispute the fact that the command to "preach the Gospel" means, primarily, that the messengers of Christ, who are called of God as was Aaron, are to proclaim their message with the voice. They are styled heralds, and there is propriety as well as beauty in the epithet. The student well remembers Homer's living epistles, who repeat the classic words of their various masters without the omission of a letter, or the slightest violation of rhythm. In proclaiming the good tidings of great joy, God's chief instrumentality is the voice of the living teacher, into whose mouth he puts words, commanding him to speak in his name. The speaker, standing up before his audience, face to face, eye to eye with them, will attract and retain their attention from the first to the last word of an

address, which, if printed, would not be read through with the same interest and attention by one in twenty of those auditors. The living teacher is, also in general, more impressive, as well as attractive. People love to feel emotions, and are prone to attribute truth, wisdom and all good qualities to those who are able to excite them in an agreeable manner. To most hearers, learned and unlearned, the speech which conveys the truth, and, while it keeps up the mental action aright, spices it with pathos or humour—a sermon which causes the heart to throb tumultuously, and the eye to suffuse—are far preferable to dry, passionless disquisitions, like a winter's night, clear and cold. But emotion is contagious. To weep with those who weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice, is graven upon our nature, as well as written in God's book. And the living teacher, whose heart glows with zeal for the cause of his Master, and whose eye, and voice, and attitude, and gesture all speak to his auditors, and impress, and thrill, and move them, holds the principal place in proclaiming the truth and saving the lost. No books, no tracts, no steam-press, striking off a volume at every swing of the pendulum, can supersede him. He must go. He must stand before those to whom he is sent, and there, while their lost condition rouses his Christian sympathies, and while his tenderness and zeal attract and impress them, he must preach—announce with a brother's voice the riches of Christ, and at the same time do what no volume or tract can ever do, show an example of a living, breathing Christian, redeemed from sin, and full of love for God and for souls.

No Church can prosper without the living teacher. The people called Quakers laid aside the ministry, as a class of men set apart to preach the Gospel and superintend the affairs of the Church, and yet the society has never prospered, never won upon other sects, nor made aggressions upon the world, except through the instrumentality of men who gave themselves to the work of the ministry, and who were earnest and abundant in labours. While their great leaders lived and constituted, in fact, what they denounced in name, a regular ministry, the society grew rapidly; but when these able preachers, who had roused the community from its apathy by their faithful "testimonies" and strong appeals, were gathered to their fathers, the triumphs of Quakerism were at an end. Two or three times the denomination has revived under the influence of preaching, but when these labours again ceased, the society ceased to grow, and in most cases, began to wane.

The founders of Christian communions have been generally, perhaps we may say invariably, great preachers. John Huss, Martin Luther, the Wesleys, and George Whitefield, were giants

in their day; while the Hicksites, the Campbellites, and the Puseyite movement, and various other subdivisions of the professed followers of Christ, may also be cited in proof of our position. Even the false religions of the earth owe their progress and power to the labours of the living advocate. The Mormons, for instance, show what can be done by indefatigable preaching, for even a very bad cause.

But the power of the modern press is also immense. It exerts an untold influence upon the welfare of the race, and is, at the same time, one of the best and one of the most dangerous elements of modern progress. Conceding to the preacher the place of the tongue, the Church wields in the steam-press the right hand of her power. As we propose to examine the subject at some length, let us begin with a glance at the literal machinery. Down under ground, in a hot and smoky atmosphere, a begrimmed personage in a soiled paper cap opens the ponderous doors of a furnace, and we gaze into a cavern of fire, raging within iron halls. Around and above are wheels and cylinders and arms of steel, all moving with resistless energy and heavy clangours. We ascend to another story, and there we behold a number of complicated machines, devouring monsters, gorging themselves with whole loads of paper aliment. The keeper of each lays before it, every instant, a huge, spotless sheet. Instantly a half a dozen pairs of iron thumbs and fingers shut upon the edge and draw it into the mysterious vortex of wheels. For a moment it is gone from sight, and then emerges again on the other side, where an iron hand receives it in its skeleton palm, and with a whirl claps it heavily upon a pile of its predecessors. Lo, the whole Gospel of grace is printed upon its surfaces! Thus the work goes on. The sweating toiler below fills up the red cavern under the boiler, and the hot spirit pent up within, like an infuriate criminal on the treadmill, chafes at his bonds and tears at the machinery with fiery energy. The tireless wheels revolve, and a score of iron hands swing to and fro, each every moment laying down, as an offering upon the altar of God, a volume which the slow pen of the scribe of other days would have required months to copy. The heathen ask for Bibles and the iron hand piles them up. A Christian community requires tracts, religious newspapers and Sabbath-school books, and the iron fingers hold them forth. The fires burn, the steam labours, the wheels revolve, and light streams through the earth.

And in truth, the printed page has some advantages which the preacher lacks. The very force of appeal connected with personal advocacy sometimes renders it exasperating to irritable natures.

When man reproves his neighbour, no matter how cautiously and kindly, there is an assumed superiority implied which the combative heart of the transgressor is apt to construe as Pharisaic pride, "Stand by, I am holier than thou." The printed page, on the other hand, is passive and passionless, and its admonitions are more like the deductions of one's own reason, or the calm dictates of conscience, against which the anger of the sinner is less likely to rise than against a reprover clad in flesh and blood, and saying, with lifted, upbraiding finger, "Thou art the man." Nor can the force of the page's appeal be broken by controversy, cunningly started up by way of diverting the conversation from personal matters. The types are never penned in a corner and silenced by sophistry; they tender no apology for what they say; but asserting without wavering or abatement, they compel the reader to meet the naked question. If the recipient of the tract burn it in his foolish wrath, not a letter deserts its post, but so long as the fabric holds together, it adheres to its original declarations, and the martyr, like those of old, perishes in the flames, firm and undaunted to the very last.

The tract or religious book, too, is always at hand, and thus can have a hearing in the *mollia tempora fandi*, the times when the whole man is soothed and softened, and the mind is reflective and the heart impressible. The page may be read again and again, while the eloquence of the living teacher is often lost with the breath which gave it utterance. The volume may remain in prison day and night among criminals, without pain to itself, or offence to others; it can maintain its position in the hands of vice, holding up its torch amid the thick darkness. It can go where the living teacher cannot follow, remain where he cannot stay, work when he is weary, and live long and toil hard when he is worn out and gone to his final rest.

The living teacher, then, is God's chosen messenger to guilty men, and yet the mute sermons of the religious press have some peculiar powers and advantages. The duty, therefore, of an enlightened Christian Church is to employ both agencies to the utmost limit of opportunity. Let the teacher go forth everywhere, and tell the story of the cross; let him lift up his voice in the lofty temples of the city, and in the humbler chapel of the hamlet, or beside the highways and the hedges, beneath the open sky. But while his words of invitation ring far and wide, let our friend in the paper cap open the doors of the iron cavern, and feed fat the hot spirit that pushes and tugs within; let books and tracts fly like the leaves of the forest when autumn winds are blowing; till, as in the quaint fancy of John Bunyan, both Eye-gate and Ear-gate have been

assaulted by the truth, and every citizen of Man-soul has bowed to the mild sway of the Prince of Peace.

The Christian Church is waking to her duty. Since the days of the apostles, the world never saw greater activity and energy in spreading the Gospel, more men employed, more money contributed, or greater success crowning effort; and of all the labours of the Church, none has sprung up more rapidly from small beginnings to a magnitude partaking of the sublime, than the religious publication enterprise. In fact, enlightened minds in all ages have felt that in value and efficacy books are next to the living teacher. The copy of the law, laid up in the ark, was regarded by the Israelites with a veneration approaching idolatry; and in after ages the Jews looked upon their sacred manuscripts as the choicest treasures of their synagogues. Solomon sought to find out and put on record acceptable words, even words of truth. Paul possessed manuscripts which he highly valued, and in reminding Timothy how he may be "a good minister of Jesus Christ," he urges him to "give attendance to reading." Wickliffe penned a hundred or more of manuscript volumes against the errors of Rome, and sent them forth on their mission of light; and one or two of these, borrowed of a Bohemian noble, who had been a student at Oxford, turned John Huss to the truth, and kindled another morning star of the Reformation. Luther arose soon after the invention of printing, and his strong practical mind was not slow to seize upon the press as a mighty helper in his vast work. So greatly were the adherents of Rome annoyed by these sharp arrows, that one of them cries out in anguish and dismay:—"The Gospellers of these days do fill the realm with so many of their noisome little books, that they be like to the swarms of locusts which did infest the land of Egypt."

Though here and there appear traces of combined effort for the publication of various books promotive of piety, nothing like a permanent organization is seen till 1701, when the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," was founded in London. The means proposed by this society were the establishment of schools to teach all to read, and the distribution of Bibles, tracts and good books. Some other local associations, composed, like this, wholly of members of the Established Church, were formed, and doubtless accomplished good. In the year 1750, however, a society was formed in London, on a more catholic plan, for the "Promotion of Religious Knowledge among the Poor." In 1756 societies of the same character were established in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Toward the close of the century, Miss Hannah More began her labours in this new field, by writing, with the aid of her sisters, a series of "Cheap

Repository Tracts." Those who have seen the stories of "Giles the Poacher," and "Widow Brown's Apple Tree," will wonder how the elegant scholar, the daily associate of Johnson and Garrick, could so bring her style of thought and diction down to the level of a rank of intellect of which, among free adults, we in this age and land have little idea. Among her private papers was found this thanksgiving:—"Bless the Lord, O my soul, that I have been spared to accomplish this work. Do thou, O Lord, bless and prosper it to the good of many. I have devoted three years to it. Two millions of these tracts were disposed of during the first year."

Mrs. Rebecca Wilkinson, of Clapham, in Surrey, engaging in the same labour of love, was instrumental in distributing, either gratuitously or at reduced prices, nearly half a million of tracts and prayer-books. The Rev. John Campbell, in 1789, seems to have originated, though on a small scale, an organization more like a modern tract society than anything which had gone before it. Thus by degrees the minds of the pious were turned to the important duty of preaching the Gospel by means of the press; and various plans for bringing every heart and mind in contact with the word, were gradually assuming shape.

The Rev. George Burder, of Coventry, has the honour of having originated the Religious Tract Society. He began by publishing at his own charge tracts for gratuitous distribution or for sale at very low rates. After a short time, a personal friend of his, the Rev. Samuel Greatheed, united in his plans and responsibilities. The failure in business of their publishing agent, a London bookseller, caused them to wish for something on a stronger, more permanent basis, for the prosecution of their plans. At length, on the 8th of May, 1799, at a missionary meeting held at Surrey Chapel, of which the celebrated Rowland Hill was then the pastor, Mr. Burder submitted his plans to the ministers present. The enterprise was hailed with so much enthusiasm and hearty zeal, that in two days from that time a constitution had been adopted, a board of officers elected, and the "Religious Tract Society" was complete in all its arrangements. A fact not devoid of interest is, that the board of officers first elected, twelve in number, all lived to meet again at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society. The total income the first year was about $2,400, and the issues were about two hundred thousand tracts. In the year 1849, the income reached $240,000, and the publications were eighteen millions in number. The receipts of the first fifty years were five millions of dollars; and five hundred millions of publications, in one hundred and ten languages, were distributed Moreover, principally through the agency of the leading spirits of

this organization, the British and Foreign Bible Society was established in 1804, which has scattered among the nations thirty millions of Bibles and Testaments, in one hundred and sixty-two languages.

While Christians in England were thus at work, the American Churches were not inactive. In 1825, the American Tract Society was founded, an organization which at half the age, far exceeds the English predecessor in the magnitude and completeness of its arrangements, and in the energy with which its affairs are managed. From the London society we have nothing later than the Jubilee Memorial, and consequently we cannot compare the two with much exactness. In 1849 the income of the London society was $240,000, of which $30,000 were received in donations, and the rest from the sale of publications. The income of the American Tract Society for the year ending May 10, 1854, was $415,000, of which $156,000 were received in donations. In 1849 the London society gave away books and tracts to the amount of $39,000 cash value; in 1854, the American society distributed gratuitously 136,696 volumes, and 73,000,000 pages of tracts, besides giving $20,000 in cash for foreign distribution, worth in all about $115,000. During the same year, the American society employed six hundred and nineteen colporteurs, who held over twelve thousand public prayer meetings, sold half a million of good books, and visited five hundred and sixty-eight thousand families, of whom thirty thousand were found destitute of the Holy Scriptures.

The American Baptist Publication Society was established in 1824. The Annual Report for 1854, states that the receipts for the year were $49,612; about $35,000 having been received from sales, and the rest consisting of donations to the society. Their colporteurs, sixty-seven in number, are half of them ministers, who not only preach as they have opportunity, but baptize converts and organize Churches. The report notes the organization of nine Churches in this way during the year. It may not be out of place to add that the entire corps of workers seem strongly imbued with denominational spirit, though not uncharitably or offensively so, so far as it appears from the document. Many of the books sold by them are controversial in their character, and much zeal is shown to get the community right on the controverted question. The operations of the society are carried on with commendable energy, and the results are good.

The Presbyterian Board of Publication employed the last year one hundred and fifty-one colporteurs, who put in circulation one hundred and thirty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-three bound volumes, and one million three hundred thousand pages of

tracts. Number of families visited, sixty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-five. The total income for the year was $103,544.

The Protestant Episcopal Society employs no colporteurs, and consequently its business operations are on a comparatively small scale. The income of the society the last year was $20,915, of which $1,278 were donations and collections.

The Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church has been recently organized. We should infer from the Report that their well-devised plans will be pursued with energy. One rule in relation to colporteurs is worthy of notice, as its general adoption might be attended with good results:—"No colporteur under the employ of the Board, shall be allowed to interfere with other denominations, and in no case to visit the families of such until he has called upon the pastors and obtained their consent." This publication society has not yet erected buildings for a printing and binding establishment, but has effected an arrangement with the Presbyterian Board of Publication, by virtue of which books and tracts may be procured on the same terms upon which the Presbyterian auxiliaries are supplied.

Our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are also moving with spirit in the tract enterprise. They have lately organized a society for extended operations, and placed at its head one of their ablest men, Rev. J. Hamilton, D. D. All the modern appliances which other Churches have found so efficient, are provided for, conference agents and colporteurs included. As in the operations of the society of our own Church, the publications issued from their General Book Rooms are included in the movement, and the people are thus supplied with all the Methodist books which they want. Their enterprise is not yet fairly inaugurated, and they have not yet published their first report; but from what we have learned of the society, we anticipate extended usefulness as the result of its labours.

Having thus sketched the origin of the tract enterprise, and illustrated the general subject by showing what is doing among some other branches of Zion, we come to the tract enterprise of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At a very early period in his ministerial career, John Wesley was impressed with the vast power of the press, and the duty of Christians to employ it for God. He accordingly began the good work by publishing volume after volume of substantial works;—sometimes little more than abridgments of books whose reputation was established, but all calculated to promote sound knowledge and true piety. With this, he joined the beginnings of a tract enterprise, by sending forth little publications of two or four pages, entitled "A Word to a

Swearer," "A Word to a Sabbath Breaker," and the like; so that he could, as early as 1745, say, that "within a short time" he had "given away some thousands of little tracts, among the common people." To the last day of his wonderful life, he employed the same powerful agency. With an eagle eye upon the literature of his times, he watched the ebbs and flows, the tossings and the calms of the great mental and moral deep, ready at any moment to launch his life-boats to save the perishing. How well in at least one instance his auxiliary served him, may be seen in the result of the famous controversy of 1771, in which Fletcher of Madeley was, under God, the right arm of his defence, and the press the sharp sword with which error was cloven down.

The fathers of Methodism in America were awake to the importance of wielding this weapon in the cause of God. At the Christmas conference of 1784, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, arrangements were made for the printing of books. In 1789, John Dickens was appointed Book Steward, and the nucleus was formed which grew gradually into our present extended "Book Concern." But it was found that in the prosecution of the various publication enterprises of the Church a division of labour is expedient, as well as in many other departments of human effort, and in 1817, the Tract Society was formed. In his History, Dr. Bangs thus remarks: "The Tract Society was formed this year by some members of our Church, with a view to furnish the poorer classes with religious reading. It is true that a small society, managed by a few pious and benevolent females, had been formed a short time previously, but its operations were extremely limited. The society now formed took a wider range, and commenced publishing its tracts and distributing them with spirit and energy." Dr. Emory, in 1828, when he was senior "Book Steward," advocated the publication of cheap religious books, as well as tracts, and succeeded in creating a new organization called the Publishing Fund for this purpose. The plan was to erect a publishing house for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Bible Society, the Sunday-School Union, and the Tract Society, distinct from the General Book Concern. The framers of this project did not yet aim at gratuitous issues, but to reduce the price of Bibles and other good books to the mere cost of paper, presswork, and binding. The fund never amounted to a sum sufficient to warrant the erection of the contemplated buildings, but the moneys collected were applied to their object in connexion with the establishment already in existence. In March, 1833, the three societies were merged in one, and committed to the same board of management. The fusion gave too many interests into the keeping

of the same hands, and in 1836, the General Conference resolved to unite with other evangelical denominations in the support of the American Bible Society. The Sunday-School Union and the Tract Society remained united till 1840, when the Sunday-School Union was erected into a separate organization, and the tract enterprise was abandoned for the time to its fate. At the General Conference of 1844, Rev. D. P. Kidder was elected "Editor of Sunday-school books and tracts," and the bishops soon after uniting in a circular addressed to the annual conferences, urging the cause upon their sympathies and coöperation, a considerable impetus was given to the movement, and it began to assume more importance.

Still, our appliances were hardly up to the times, and we were not competing on anything like equal terms with other denominations. A local society was formed by the members of the Methodist Church in New-York, in 1846, and an experimental colporteur was sent forth, like the dove from the ark, to see if a new agency might find rest for the sole of its foot. At the end of three months he returned and reported that he had visited six hundred and eighty-six families, and had sold eight hundred religious books and over three thousand pages of tracts, besides making donations to those desirous of possessing but unable to buy. The conviction spread that we must not be laggards in the new field, into which other denominations were already beginning to enter with commendable zeal and great success. In fact, the preachers, especially on the Atlantic states, had become unable or unwilling to follow the example of the fathers in circulating books, and our people found it more easy, in many cases, to supply themselves with the books of other publication societies than with those of our own, and thus there was danger that our denominational literature would be thrust from the position which it ought to occupy. Dr. Kidder, to whom the Church is much indebted in this matter, advocated the formation of a new society; and when the General Conference of 1852 met, he addressed to it a memorial, setting forth strong reasons for the contemplated movement. The bishops had recommended it in their address, several annual conferences had formally approved the measure, and the project met with universal favour.

"The General Conference, with great unanimity, determined upon the organization of a Tract Society, prepared a constitution, and appointed an additional officer, Rev. Abel Stevens, 'editor of the Monthly Magazine and Tracts, and Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society.'

"On the 10th day of November, 1852, the society began its operations under the most favourable auspices. Its energetic secretary, by direction of the Board, and in obedience to the orders of the General Conference, printed and sent out documents, circulars, and appeals to the Church in various forms; thoroughly revised the list of tracts, replacing those deemed obsolete by new

ones, and added seventy-eight to the number; instituted a volume series which, in the English and other languages, reached, during his administration, sixty-four volumes; travelled extensively, visiting conferences, delivering addresses, assisting in organizing auxiliaries, taking collections, and in various ways stirring up public interest, and directing the actions of the societies. The movement met with a most hearty and enthusiastic response from the Methodist people. The contributions and subscriptions were unexpectedly large. Thirty-six conferences organized auxiliaries—thirteen appointed special agents—some eighty-seven colporteurs were sent out, and the distribution of books and tracts received an impulse of greater influence and power than its most sanguine friends had anticipated."—*Annual Report of* 1855, *page* 23.

As the action of the conferences was needful to complete the new organization, the first annual report was not published till December, 1853, and even then it included only the fraction of a year, during which the society may be said to have been in operation. The report, nevertheless, was exceedingly cheering to the most sanguine friends of the enterprise. We append a part of the figures given:—

Conference Auxiliaries	36
Colporteurs in actual service	87
Conversions reported	68
Pages of Tracts sold, (one-third in German)	6,891,240
Tract volumes sold	101,730
Books of General Catalogue sold, value	$12,300
Donations collected	$16,407

As might have been anticipated, the extended operations of the new society, and the important interests involved, soon demanded the entire services of a superintendent, one who could apply both hands to the work, and not, like the builders of Nehemiah, hold the weapon of this warfare in one hand, while with the other he was toiling hard at another enterprise, sufficient of itself for any one man. At the meeting of the Book Committee in February, 1854, Brother Stevens resigned his position in the tract department. His energetic labours have told upon our Church and the cause, and the favourable auspices under which the new enterprise began its career are attributable in no small degree to his vigour and skill. Dr. Jesse T. Peck was elected to the charge of the tract interests, and from his abilities and zeal the Church will expect much.

The second anniversary of the society was held at Portland, Maine, in February last. Those whose privilege it was to attend that three days' festival, with its sermons, addresses, and meetings for telling colporteur experience, must have enjoyed a feast of fat things. In looking over the numerical items of the report presented on that interesting occasion, we cannot but be painfully struck with the difficulty of obtaining full, reliable statistics, in whose preparation many hands

must be employed. To render this report complete, correct replies to twenty regular questions must be had from each of forty auxiliaries. Consequently the totals must be made up from eight hundred separate sums, each of which is an aggregation of items, and the accuracy of the whole depends upon the accuracy and promptness of some two hundred and fifty persons. To train such a regiment to exactness and despatch is of itself no small task, and as in the present case, the most of them are new recruits, no one need be surprised at the imperfections of the returns, and that there are twice as many blanks as there are entries. The figures given foot up as follows:—

Colporteurs employed during the year	153
Pages of Tracts distributed	11,784,627
Donations collected by ten agents	$19,567
Aggregate receipts of the Society	$61,053
Families visited in fourteen auxiliaries	91,751
Conversions reported in nine auxiliaries	624
Volumes sold or donated in eight auxiliaries	80,613

This, as far as it goes, is exceedingly gratifying; but as a report, it is to us very unsatisfactory. We want the full returns, and we trust that with a little more experience on the part of agents and colporteurs, we shall hereafter have statistics which will not only satisfy curious minds, but prove reliable as a basis for reasoning in regard to the whole system. The Methodists have been blessed with such prompt success in their undertakings hitherto, that they are, of all men, prone to expect immediate fruit of their labours. Like the backwoodsman at the battle of New-Orleans, who, every time he discharged his rifle, leaped upon the breastwork to see what execution he had done, they want to be sure that every shot hits. They wish to know, and they have a right to know, what is effected by the various benevolent operations for which they furnish the sinews. Still, we do not make these remarks by way of censure, but merely to express our strong desire to have full and accurate statistics, and call the attention of the two hundred and fifty persons aforesaid, to the importance of keeping correct accounts in the affairs of the Church.

Enough is given to cheer our hopes and satisfy our reason, in regard to the success of the society. The blessing of God has descended upon it, and the influences of the Holy Spirit have sped with its messages of truth and peace. Light has come into many darkened habitations; angels in heaven have joyed over repentant sinners, and gladness has sprung up in many a sad heart. The faithful labourer, with his package of books, has found favour in the

eyes of the people, the Churches have contributed liberally of their substance, and as it has been happily expressed, the youngest child of the Church seems to be her favourite. With these general remarks on the origin of the society, and its present condition, we turn to those considerations which prompted the enterprise, and have given it the shape it wears.

The field in which it proposes to labour is immense. According to the estimates based on the last census, the United States have at this moment about twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. Four millions, or thereabouts, of these are foreigners, gathered out of "every kindred, and nation, and tongue, under the whole heaven." England sends us her quota of immigrants, generally informed in regard to evangelical truth, and many of them substantial Christians. Ireland pours in a multitude of the followers of the Pope, and, also, some few Protestants, who are generally valuable accessions to the American Churches. Germany is in motion, and her dreamy sons are coming in crowds to till the soil of our fertile plains, and retail lager bier in the cities and towns. Europe is rolling upon our shores the tide of its teeming population, multitudes of whom know not God, even in the scriptural theory. Here, then, is an opening for any amount of Christian effort, and we will be doing no small share of the work of the general Church, if we provide the means of preaching the Gospel to all who come to us.

Our Wesleyan brethren, in contrasting their missionary collections with ours, do not always do us full justice. Their home territory has all been surveyed, their circuits established, their chapels built, and their home work, compared with ours, may be said to be done. The American Methodists, on the contrary, are extending the sphere of their labours in every direction. We probably expend in building and refitting churches and parsonages, and in paying Church debts, a million of dollars annually—perhaps more. We are establishing schools, endowing colleges, and driving on scores of projects at the same time. And every year, almost, some new corner of the territory is found full of special promise, some new enterprise for God and souls is set on foot, and fresh demands are made upon the sympathies, the purses, and the active labours of Christians. We do not believe that any part of universal Zion is working harder, contributing more money, and showing higher hope, more chivalrous enterprise in doing good, than American Methodism. And we would add, with all deliberation, that Christians in other lands would have little cause to reproach Americans with a lack of missionary zeal, if we should abandon the foreign field to them, and devote all our energies to the evangelizing of the crowds of immigrants who

are pouring into our country. Is it a Christian virtue to preach Christ to the idolatrous Chinese? Thousands of the natives of the Celestial Empire are to be found in California, where they have erected a pagoda, the first temple of overt idolatry in the States. Is it well for us to tell the story of the cross to the sceptical German? There are a million of Germans already within our borders, and the exodus from the fatherland bids fair to continue. Is it our duty to tell the way of faith to the blinded followers of priests, and the superstitious adorers of wafers? They exist in our midst in hundreds of thousands. It may be granted that the proposal to erect a mission church, or establish a Sabbath-school, three streets from our own door, does not rouse a poetic imagination so strongly, or afford so much material for impassioned eloquence, as does the idea of setting up the standard of the cross side by side with the crescent, or building the church hard by the pagoda, or the car of Juggernaut. Yet the missionary efforts put forth to reach and save the destitute on our own soil, have cost fewer lives, and less money proportionably, and have produced more good results, than has any foreign mission undertaken by Americans, not even excepting the Gospel conquest of the Sandwich Islands.

Let no one construe these remarks into censure, or even indifference in regard to efforts to teach the heathen of other lands. In that field we are doing, not too much, but far too little. Still let us not cultivate a philanthropy of such telescopic vision that we become able to see none but distant objects. The deaf mute described by Charlotte Elizabeth, having been patted on the head divers times by his master, in token of commendation, took to patting his head with his own hand whenever he fancied that he had done anything particularly nice or bright. Thus that sapient personage yclept Brother Jonathan, is somewhat fond of patting his own head, and assuring himself that he is the best looking, the most intelligent and virtuous individual visible on the globe, and that he can run faster, fight harder, and make more money than any one else in that extensive precinct known as "all creation." It may cool his vanity, and do him good otherwise, to study carefully a few known facts. Of the eleven millions of our free people, twenty years old and over, one million can neither read nor write. The colporteurs of three of the American societies named at the head of this article, found, in one year, thirty-eight thousand families destitute of the Bible, and this in less than one-fifth of the three millions six hundred thousand families which compose the free part of our nation. If those not called upon were no better supplied, we must have had, at that time, two hundred thousand families living without the Scriptures in their

dwellings. The colporteurs of the American Tract Society, during the same period, visited ninety-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one families who heard no evangelical preaching. In 1850, an army of twenty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-nine persons were convicted of crime in the various courts of our nation, while the paupers numbered the mightier host of one hundred and thirty-five thousand; more than half of whom were foreigners. Here is an appalling amount of ignorance, crime and misery, in our very midst. It was one of John Randolph's best sayings, that he uttered in reply to a collector of funds for foreign operations:— "Madam, the heathen are at your own doors."

Foreign immigration is a subject which should attract the earnest attention of the Christian as well as the patriot. For the last five years immigrants have been arriving at the rate of about three hundred and fifty thousand annually, the vast majority coming from papal Ireland and sceptical Germany. Persevering efforts are made to keep them what they are, and yet they are far more accessible to truth here than at home. Infidel papers in his mother tongue, playing artfully upon the innate love of home and home ideas and customs, so peculiarly strong in the German, teach him low pleasures and low morals. In regard to the Catholics in this country, the grand device of the priests, and of papal workers of every description, is to teach their dupes to hate and despise Protestants, to regard them as their bitter enemies, and consider even acts of kindness from them, as designed only to delude and betray. Still, in spite of all efforts to keep the eyes of "the faithful" closed, many will now and then steal a glance at things about them. The truth falls upon them from every quarter, and with alarming facility they learn to think for themselves. Romish functionaries are evidently sore troubled by the independence and intractability of their once abject, obedient followers. Hence one of the dignitaries of the Church declares that Catholics who are not compelled to emigrate, ought to remain at home, and not come to this dangerous land, where their children, if not themselves, will be sure to stray from the papal fold. A priest, in reply to the question whether professed Catholics in this country are as good Catholics, as obedient to the priests, and as faithful to Church observances, as in the lands from which they come, declared with great emphasis: "*The very atmosphere of this country is full of insubordination.*" According to their own confessions their craft is in danger. Popery is not only compelled to forego its prerogative of coercion when it embarks on the Atlantic, but is even compelled to leave behind some of its most effective machinery for moving the ignorant and the credulous. In

American chapels, gypsum angels conduct themselves with commendable propriety, and the painted Madonna never disturbs the gravity of the priest by tipping him a profane wink as he carries around the plate for the contributions of believers. Catholics here take the papers, and begin to reason with regard to the claims of the various ecclesiastical bodies around them. The anxiety of the bishops to have all Church property vested in themselves is a very significant fact. It looks very much as if they anticipate insubordination and insurrection among their followers, and if they cannot prevent the people from slipping through their fingers, they wish, at all events, to make sure of the property. These things show that in this land of light, some rays will penetrate even the dark caverns of Rome, and wake the sleepers.

Here, then, is one important part of our field of labour. A million and a half of Catholics are in our midst, with the scales falling from their eyes, and the Spirit of God whispering to their hearts. They can be more easily reached by books and tracts than by the living teacher. In the code of the priest, to enter a Protestant church and hear a sermon is a heinous sin, to be visited with a tenfold heavier penance than lying, drunkenness, or profanity. Moreover, it is a visible thing, and the priest or his spies will detect it and sound the Church thunders. But the book or the tract can be put away from the prying eye of the "holy father," and if the confessional should fail to draw it out, his reverence may console himself with the fact that there are other persons to whom the practice of fibbing, too prevalent among certain classes of his disciples, has often proved annoying.

Tracts and religious books may also be employed with good effect by our missionaries in foreign countries. Many idolatrous nations, as the Chinese, the Hindoos, and the Japanese, are given to reading, and the tract for which so many eager hands are stretched out toward the "teacher," may go from hand to hand, and from dwelling to dwelling, like a beam of Heaven's own light. The following interesting fact, to which we might add scores of others from the reports of the various publication societies, is taken from the Report of the American Tract Society. It is related by the Rev. Dr. Scudder, missionary at Madras:—

"The case is that of K. Das, a respectable man of the weaver caste, who *without ever seeing a missionary, or a Christian* of any kind, has for a considerable time renounced idolatry, and been in the enjoyment of the consolations of the Gospel. His account of himself is as follows. He returned from a pilgrimage to Juggernaut very much dissatisfied with what he saw there, and his mind ill at ease about the worship of idols. In his own village he obtained a tract, entitled 'God is a Spirit.' This he read again and again. He then

heard that some missionaries had been seen in a village near to his own, and had distributed tracts there. He went, as he said, to beg, buy, or borrow some of them. He obtained a volume of tracts, and the Gospel by John. He soon made himself acquainted with their contents, and commenced in secret to pray to the living God. He then disowned his former idols and all connexion with them. He at first met with great opposition, both from his own family and his neighbours; but as he had some influence, and was able to plead his own cause with a good deal of ability, he did not at first meet with much persecution. He continued worshipping the true God for almost two years, before we again visited the district. So soon as he heard of our arrival, he came to us with the request that we would preach in his village; after which he declared his belief in the Saviour whom we had preached, and wished to be baptized. He gave so satisfactory an account of his conversion, that we invited him to Berhampore, that he might be received into the Church by baptism. We may add that he has since been baptized, and gives us reason to hope he will become a very efficient native preacher."—P. 152.

The means which we are using with so much success in spreading the truth among our own people, has thus been found a valuable auxiliary in the foreign field. Shall American Methodists abandon this effective instrument to other denominations—let them do all the work and have all the reward? We rejoice to know that our society, young as it is, has already put forth forty-two different publications in the German, Danish and Swedish languages, and that our missionaries are employing them with good success.

In regard to the enterprise in general, let us glance at the motives which urge us to the performance of our duty. A thousand millions of immortals live upon the earth to-day, each shaping an eternal destiny. Sinners may drag each other down to hell; the Christian may lift souls heavenward. Aliens from God must be won by truth and love. God places the truth in our hands, and commands us to "Preach the Gospel to every creature." Tell of Jesus to the perishing. Spread the good tidings. Give them voice on every wind. Speak to the ear—address the eye. Let the living teacher and the mute evangelist go hand in hand, and go everywhere. Let the Church not be fearful, but arise, full of faith and hope, and "sow beside all waters." Already in China, in Burmah, in Ceylon, in Turkey, in France and Germany and Sweden, in Mexico, South America and Australia, the living witness and the voiceless messenger have gone, and already the wilderness breaks forth in songs. If we love souls, and desire to see our Saviour glorified, let us neglect no available means for spreading the tidings of great joy.

But there are additional motives which appeal strongly to our patriotic emotions and principles. Free institutions cannot be permanent, unless based on the solid foundation of national intelligence and national morality. Is our rock so strong that we can bear, without danger, the annual addition of a hundred thousand

votes, controlled by infidel agitators, or wily Jesuits, more attached to a foreign despot than to American liberties? Is there not a possibility that this new force will be exerted amiss, in opposing salutary reforms, and in elevating to office unworthy men, under whose weak or corrupt rule, law shall cease to protect the innocent and to be a terror to the guilty?

It is evident that we ought to adopt all right measures to Americanize, as rapidly as possible, our foreign-born citizens and their descendants. The sooner the foreign language, and the foreign manners and customs are laid aside—the sooner American modes of thought and feeling are acquired—the better. In fact, the first generation trained up on American soil, and in habits of daily intercourse with Americans, lose, to a very great degree, the peculiarities of the races from which they sprung. But there is no bond of union like that of religion. It takes hold upon the deepest emotions of our nature, and the most tender fibres of the heart, and from it springs the strongest brotherhood that binds man to his fellow. In seeking, therefore, to harmonize and soften down our various national elements into one safe, healthful and beautiful whole, there is no means comparable with judicious, honest, Christian effort to enlighten their minds and save their souls. Send out ministers, colporteurs, books, tracts, that the dwellers in our republican Babel may exclaim, as did the Jews who had come up to Palestine from many lands: "We do hear them speak IN OUR TONGUE, the wonderful words of God."

But there is a denominational motive, as well as a patriotic one, to deal liberally with the Tract enterprise. Other denominations have entered the field, and laboured with great zeal, and already their reapers return with joy, bringing their sheaves with them. That mammoth institution, the American Tract Society, is in the receipt of an income seven times as great as that of our society, and employs four colporteurs where we employ one. The various sections of the general Church are organizing, or have years ago organized, cheap publication societies, and are preparing every year for a more extensive and vigorous prosecution of the enterprise. Many of their publications are strongly denominational, and not a few of them contain direct attacks upon the spirit, doctrines and polity of the Methodist Church. Some denominations, too, send forth their colporteurs to coöperate with their home mission and church extension associations, and wherever it is practicable, congregations are organized, pastors are established, and possession is taken of the land. Christian zeal and intelligent activity are creditable to those who manifest them, and if we suffer others to outdo us, we must bear it in silence.

It may be added, with truth, that even books not directly inculcating doctrinal peculiarities, are nevertheless frequently one-sided in their effect. There pertains to each doctrinal school, not only a peculiar dogmatic system, but a peculiar style of general thought and expression, and a peculiar style of emotion, which act and react upon each other and tend to mutual reproduction. None but a genuine Methodist can write a genuinely Methodist book; a genuine Calvinist can write nothing but a Calvinistic book; and the unprejudiced person who reads attentively the book of either, however free from sectional peculiarities it may be, will be more or less deeply inoculated with the theological system of the author. These various societies are pushing their work with great diligence, and within the last two years they have probably visited half the dwellings of our entire nation. And they make little distinction among those upon whom they call. A Baptist colporteur will stop at the door of a Methodist, and a Methodist visit a Presbyterian family, and both be successful in selling books. This fact is so undeniable that the Report of the Presbyterian Board asserts, in emphatic italics, that "*The denominational character of their publications causes no material hindrance to their circulation.*" We may rest assured that our people will be supplied with books from some quarter, and if we deal with a slack hand, and fail to supply their wants, we ought to rejoice that other communions have the wisdom and energy to cultivate the field which would otherwise be a desert. If we fail to meet the requirements of the times, and thus lose our commanding position, we will deserve to lose it; and if, while neglect and apathy drag us down, others rise by laborious Christian effort, they deserve their success.

Still we do not like to profess a magnanimity for which there is no occasion. We confess that we utter these things the more boldly from our strong conviction that the Methodist Church will not be remiss in this matter. Her leading minds have always been noted for faith, hope, and energy in every good word and work; her whole career is full of bold enterprise, and her ministers and people are as full as ever of the old fire. She will still win her triumphs, by the blessing of her Master, in new efforts to spread the truth of God. So far from being merely a casket in which the pearls are treasured up, the Church must be the strong diver that plunges into the ocean and gropes along its oozy bottom in search of the precious spoil. The Church should be full of life and power, bold to plan, and strong to execute her benevolent designs. Petty schemes, narrow views, and small faith have no place in planning the campaigns of the Gospel, and the more of spiritual bravery any branch of the Church

militant manifests, the more rapid its progress, the broader and deeper its mark upon the times.

Methodism owes its vast success not simply to the plain, common-sense truth of its theology, but, speaking after the manner of men, to the vigour and energy which its founders infused into it. John Wesley had no idea at first of the magnitude to which the movement would swell, yet his eye was quick to detect and his hand quick to seize opportunity; and, by a rare combination of prudence and chivalrous enterprise, nothing was lost through either rashness or timidity. Itinerant preaching, pastoral visiting, Sabbath schools, tract distribution, and the cheap volume enterprise, all were set in motion; and, in fact, John Wesley seems to have rallied around him, with almost prophetic wisdom, all the appliances and instrumentalities which the modern Church has found so efficacious for good. The greater the degree in which the followers of Wesley inherit his spirit of evangelical gallantry, the more they will do for God and for souls, the more deep and permanent will be their mark upon the age.

The press is an agency which no branch of the Church can neglect without a loss of power, and which Methodists will never neglect while they inherit any of the far-sighted wisdom of the fathers. When Martin Luther threw his inkstand at the devil, he used the right weapon, though not exactly in the right way. Next in importance to the voice of the living teacher come the types. Infidelity knows this fact, and utters its venom in many a scurrilous pamphlet, and in many a volume, more pretending but no less false. The Church understands it, and lays a strong hand upon the same powerful weapon. Thus, the press becomes a strong battery, whose guns can be turned upon friend or foe, and for the possession of which the moral belligerents contend in many a fierce attack and stubborn defence.

But we are in danger of exceeding due bounds in the length of this paper, and we therefore turn to the consideration of the various parts of our new organization, The Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If a new enterprise of the Church is to be set on foot, the first requisite is a *brain*—a strong practical mind to lay the plans and manage the interests of the enterprise, both temporal and spiritual. There must be some one to think, some one whose love of souls and whose sense of responsibility to God and the Church, will cause him to apply to the work all his energies of body and soul. It seems out of place to take funds collected for benevolent purposes, and pay away even a part of them in salaries, which, from the very necessity of the case, must be comparatively high. Yet if the objection be valid, it lies with equal weight against a paid,

or "supported" pastoral ministry. Even in cases where the pulpit might be supplied gratuitously, the congregation gladly sustain a man whose sole business it is to look after the spiritual interests of his flock. But if the interests of one congregation, composed of a few hundreds of persons, residing in the same vicinity, demand all the energies of a superintendent, what must be said of the benevolent undertakings of the Church, with their vast importance, the number of labourers employed in various ways, and their business intricacies? These considerations have induced the authorities to create a new Book-Room officer,—the Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society,—and in their judgment the Church will undoubtedly acquiesce. The Report mentions the labours of the present secretary, by which it appears that in less than one year he travelled over fourteen thousand miles, attended twenty-seven annual conferences, and delivered two hundred and twenty-eight addresses and sermons, besides editing books and tracts, and looking after the interests of the society in general.

In addition to the general superintendent of the society, the plan contemplates the appointment, wherever practicable, of conference agents. It is true that the pastors of the individual congregations are men of ability as well as the agent, and as capable of representing the abstract cause to the people of their respective charges. But more than this: we will take it for granted that the pastor will take hold of the subject so earnestly, that his appeals elicit the same interest and the same pecuniary results, as would the labours of the conference agent; yet there remain other considerations in favour of the appointment of the agent. He must gather a band of colporteurs, assign them their several fields of labour, and oversee their operations generally. So important is this superintendency, that some of the publication societies have in the service two classes of officers, one to address Churches and collect funds, and the other to marshal the hosts of colportage, explore the fields to be won, and plan the campaign against ignorance and irreligion. Our report thus describes the work of the conference agent:—

"The agents are labourers. They visit promptly every district, to organize the work, and as rapidly as possible the several charges, to present to the people the subject of reading in all its varied aspects. They are bound to inform themselves upon the power of the press, the peculiarities of current literature, to point out its dangerous tendencies, put our people upon their guard, exhibit faithfully the excellence of our own publications, create or stimulate an interest in Methodist books, and prepare the way for their sale. They are to exhibit faithfully the various benevolent demands of the Tract Society, in connexion with the pastor take up the annual collections and subscriptions, and see to the appointment of tract stewards in all the charges and tract distributers in all the classes. They are to carry out the orders of the Board, in appointing

colporteurs, purchasing books and tracts, and appropriating funds. They are to supervise and stimulate the whole work in their respective conferences They are to keep strict and accurate business accounts, write to the corresponding secretary an informal statement of their own labours every month and transmit complete official quarterly and annual reports according to instructions, and form a strong bond of union between the parent and auxiliary societies." Page 42.

The colporteurs are in fact the rank and file of the army, or as the Baptist Report styles them, "the right arm of the service." We had constructed a brief argument to show the great efficiency of this class of workers; but we find the thing so well done in the Report of the Dutch Reformed Society, that we prefer to quote; merely observing that what colporteurs have accomplished for others they will accomplish for us:—

"The experience of every religious Board of Publication has been that, in order to diffuse their publications and expand their influence, they were compelled to adopt a system of agencies which has received the approved cognomen of colportage. However valuable and desirable the publications of a Board may be, their sale and distribution, if dependent upon retail custom, must necessarily be too limited to pay even expenses, and as you restrict the field of circulation, you also narrow down, to a very small compass, the sphere of influence exerted, and lessen the good aimed to be accomplished. This your Board has already felt, and that to such an extent as to prompt them to the preparation of a plan for colportage, to be appended to their operations, which is herewith submitted to General Synod for its consideration and adoption.

"If the publications of your Board are to be widely circulated, and the peculiar features of our own Church more extensively known, we must have our own colporteurs traversing the land, visiting our people, scattering the light, instructing the ignorant, and leaving behind them, as they go from house to house and from field to field, that which will arouse the conscience, convict the sinner, comfort the saint, and, at the same time, that which will teach the Christian public the true nature, the admirable features, the Christian spirit, and the prospective destiny of the Reformed Dutch Church. By this means seed will be sown which will produce an abundant harvest of good, both to the souls of men, and also to the Church we honour and love. The Presbyterian Church owes much of its church-extension under God to the faithful labours of the colporteurs of its Board of Publication, who have carried their works into distant places, which would never have been reached but through this instrumentality. And we are firmly of the opinion that such would be our experience as a Church, if the same means were employed under a similar restrictive system."

The efficiency of the system is demonstrated by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, who adopted it in 1848, and in six years nearly trebled the business of the society.

Several of the publication societies employ students in theological and other schools, during vacation. The American Tract Society, in 1854, employed eighty-eight, and the Baptist Society thirteen, in this way. The Dutch Reformed Society has made provision for the same kind of labourers. This seems to us a judicious arrangement.

Young men looking forward to usefulness in the Church, are brought in contact with the people, and thus the abstractions of the books become realities; the future pastor learns men as they are, and how to approach them, in order to do them good. Before a colporteur can be commissioned in the Dutch Reformed Society, he must present a certificate from his pastor, giving information on the following points, which will present an idea of the proper qualifications:—

"1st. His age. 2d. The fact of his Church membership and its duration. 3d. His occupation. 4th. Whether single or married. If married, the number and circumstances of his family. 5th. That his Christian experience, education, tact, judgment, and energy are such as will render him both efficient as a colporteur and acceptable to the people. 6th. Whether he possesses sufficiently accurate business habits, as to enable him to keep his accounts correctly, and also properly to report the same to the committee. 7th. That his character for integrity is such as to warrant the committee in intrusting their publications in his hands. 8th. The length of time he proposes to engage in the service of the Board as colporteur. 9th. The field he desires to occupy."

The report of our own society thus describes their peculiar province:—

"The colporteurs are labourers. They are to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the plans and policy of the parent and auxiliary societies, and with Methodist literature especially; to offer the books from house to house; to search out the poor, the sick, and the neglected everywhere; distribute tracts, offer kind religious instruction and prayers, especially wherever the people are under no evangelical pastoral charge; gather the people into the churches, and the children into Sunday schools; hold meetings whenever practicable; to collect funds when instructed to do so; to keep accurate business accounts; make full monthly reports according to instructions; to put themselves into communication with the pastors, act under their advice, and constitute a strong bond of union between all the districts and the conference societies." Page 42.

In comparing the financial systems of the different societies, we find various modes of fixing the compensation of colporteurs. The American Tract Society, as well as most of the others, pays each man two hundred dollars per year and his travelling expenses. The entire expense, salary included, is about two hundred and eighty dollars a year. In the operations of the Presbyterian Board the entire expense reaches nearly one dollar and fifty cents per day of actual service. The society of the M. E. Church, South, furnishes books at prime cost, and allows the colporteur, in selling them, to charge a small advance, to remunerate himself. Our own society adopts in some cases the percentage plan, in others the fixed salary. The American Tract Society prefers the salary system, because there is then "no pecuniary inducement for turning aside from destitute households. Benevolent sympathy is left to its fullest exercise, and

the book-bearer may plead with immortal souls, to 'buy the truth and sell it not,' without the possible suspicion of interested motives."

In the Methodist organization another wheel is added to the machinery, the tract steward in each charge. He is to the corps of tract distributers in his congregation, or neighbourhood, what the conference agent is to his brigade of colporteurs. He is to superintend the work generally, "see that distributers are appointed in all the classes, that the collections are taken, and the supply and distribution of tracts are judicious, regular, and thorough." The tract distributers go through the community, endeavouring, in a quiet, unobtrusive way, to adapt to its work the tract left at a house, or put into the hands of an individual; ofttimes giving therewith a word of pious counsel. They watch the seed with interest, and if it germinates, are ready to cultivate it, till it ripens into the good fruit of personal salvation.

This, then, is a hasty sketch of a movement which is at the same time a noble monument and the fitting exponent of the intellectual progress and the enlightened benevolence of the age. Like other benevolent enterprises it appeals to the people for men and money. It points to the thick darkness brooding over millions; it points to the souls that grope in the gloom; and asks for help in the work of leading them to the light. It points to the souls saved, as an earnest of what may be accomplished; the first sheaves, which are at once a pledge that the harvest is surely approaching, and an example of its rich fruits. It points to the treasures of the Church, and declares that the gold and the silver, and the cattle on a thousand hills, are the Lord's. It appeals to our love of God, of souls, of our native land, of all that is desirable in a national or personal point of view. One of the most powerful and the most successful of the agencies of the Church, it demands the prayers, the sympathies, the support, and the active coöperation of the friends of true progress, and of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Art. II.—MEMOIRS OF DUPIN.

1. *Mémoires de M. Dupin.* Tome 1er et 2ème.
2. *Souvenirs du Barreau. Par M. Dupin, avocat, ancien batonnier.* Paris, 1855.

The French, it has been often noted, are a *memoir*-writing people; but the cause of the peculiarity is less agreed upon than the fact. The explanation of the French themselves is, that their nation is the most enlightened, the best prepared for observation, the best provided with things worth writing; while the opinion of foreign countries imputes the tendency to national vanity.

There is some truth in each account, but not the complete truth in both together. The French undoubtedly pursue parade, not alone in toilet and in table, but even up to the dress and display of typography: indeed, the latter is a mere extension of the ostentatious practice from the exterior and the corporeal to the spiritual personality. But in the leaning to this sort of authorship, wherein the writer plays the hero, the French motive is much less selfish than it is social. A Frenchman publishes his memoirs not quite to glorify himself; he often makes the publication anonymously, or even posthumously; nay, he occasionally gives memorials that are discreditable to himself, as for example the *Confessions* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: all which cases are scarce consistent with the predominance of mere vanity.

Again, the French are, of all civilized nations, possessed of the least *individuality*. But we should consequently find among them the least propensity to memoir-writing, either as a means of notoriety or an effect of self-importance. The self-important man, that is, the man of individuality, is not inclined, in fact, to give his memoirs to the public; not that he does not set a higher value on his reminiscences or observations, but that he sets a lower than common on the approbation of others; it is precisely the distinction between vanity and pride. The French propensity to writing *memoirs* cannot then proceed from either, compatibly with the defective individuality of this people—not even from the source of vanity, in at least the ordinary selfish sense.

The main motive is effectually *social*. It is in fact the same yearning for self-communication which inspires the conversational and public habits of the French. The French people, male and female, talk, eat, and live in common; and if they do not also sleep so, it is because of the impossibility. A Frenchman, therefore, who

has been obliged by the discretions of official business to keep for years from conversation on the sayings and doings of his "experiences," feels overwhelmed by the load until he gets rid of it in the shape of memoirs. There is of course a share of vanity in the importance which he thus attaches to them; but he does so, not alone because they refer principally to himself, but because he thinks they must be likewise interesting or instructive to the public: and this social destination redeems the weakness or the vice of vanity.

On the other hand, the explanation which the French themselves give of their memoir-writing, falls substantially within the terms of the same solution of sociability. For this spirit of self-infusion with the life and confidence of the community is the effect only of complete equality—of democracy; and democracy implies a relatively high intelligence and civilization.

A confirmation of the connexion is the fact, that great advances in the direction of liberality have all been followed by a rage for *memoirs*. Such was the case in England after both her revolutions, of which the largest portion of the history has been recorded in the shape of memoirs. Our own American revolution presents a fuller, as more forward, instance, of which the histories continue still to be conglomerates of *memoirs*, or of biographies which are but memoirs in their application to third parties. The correspondence of both these personal and popular modes of writing with the progress and the prevalence of social equalization is proved directly by their growing vogue in the most democratic of communities; for, in this country, have we not everybody's memoirs or biography, down to those of retired showmen?

The same phenomenon, but in a duly higher sphere, followed each of the three principal revolutions of France. The calm succeeding the first and greatest was filled with memoirs and biographies, to the exclusion, almost total, of the higher sorts of publications. It is the philosophic explanation of the absence in the first Empire of that only "illustration" which Europe's master failed to supply,—the illustration of creative literature and philosophy. But these are things not to be called forth by pecuniary or potential patronage, but by the stimulating presence of an appreciative public; and the public of the first Empire, being almost wholly and merely popular, it could appreciate only memoirs—that is, particulars and personalities. The Restoration, on the contrary, produced at once a blaze of genius, because the public then addressed was the returned aristocracy. Thus quite spontaneous, when we have the clue, is the solution of these two great questions, which still con-

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tinue, in France itself, to be considered mystical and contradictory. The "despotism" of Napoleon would serve the purpose of a certain party, to explain the intellectual barrenness of his reign; but that an equal despotism should produce an *opposite* effect cannot be swallowed by the logic of even political partisanship. The social law may be expressed, in fine, in this familiar formula: In proportion as the popular masses attain to influence upon public opinion, which is the first and most conspicuous consequence of all progressive revolutions, the corresponding publications proceed both *from* and *to* the memory, as being the simplest productive faculty of the mind; and in proportion as the reading public are, on the other hand, repurified, by "restoration" of the instructed classes or by education of the popular masses, the works of intellect ascend progressively along the series of creative faculties, imagination, reflection, reason.

Accordingly, and to return to our historical indications, the revolution of July, too, brought back the *memoirs*, the professors, and the journalists. The visitation now succeeding the repetition of 1848, though duly milder from the restriction on these two last classes of propagandists, is spreading recently into a mania of memoir-writing. Nothing else (excepting pamphlets about the war) appears at Paris. The most prolific of the romancers fall back on memory from imagination. The famous Alexander Dumas has lately published his precious memoirs, and, episodically, everybody else's. George Sand recounts more modestly her more instructive or suggestive "life," which, by the way, seems very different from what the world had imagined. Even Dr. Veron, a retired journalist, has favoured Paris with his memoirs—which is as low, we see, as things go here, as Veron had been also showman: with the distinction, however, in *honour* of the two American parallels, that the French humbug had been a man of education.

Returning upward, the standard writers and the stanchest statesmen are all for memoirs. The philosopher Cousin is writing memoirs of female saints; and, from being Coryphæus of skepticism, is turned continuator of Alban Butler. Another dabbler in philosophy has just propounded a complete system, which he makes himself the centre of, and calls the "*Memoirs* of his Times;" a thing, however, in which he differs from the great majority of his predecessors only in the probably unconscious candour of his title. M. Villemain, the former Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe, can do no better than give us volumes of his "*Souvenirs.*" And the grave Guizot quits in turn, his lucubrations upon English history to publish penitential memoirs of his late lamented

administration. What wonder, then, that the most variously-experienced as well as oldest, the most voluminous and the most versatile of French jurists and politicians, the most fidgety and witty and vainglorious of living Frenchmen should have bethought him, amid this rage, to write his *Memoirs?*

M. Dupin was in public life for something over half a century. For thirty years he was at the bar, for twenty years upon the bench; and, simultaneously, he was for most of the time an active politician, in opposition or in office with all parties and all governments. An acute spectator, behind the curtain, of the rise and fall of three dynasties, it was however only in 1830 that his official career commenced. Nor did it close upon the downfall of his patron, Louis Philippe; M. Dupin, it will be remembered, became republican in 1848, and was even speaker of the constituent assembly—which adds the passage of a fourth and democratic dynasty to his experience. He even made, it is said, advances to the succeeding and present régime. But Louis Napoleon's stern contempt for political cameleons, even when they take his own hue, gave a deaf ear to these advances; and so Dupin took the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans property, of which he was head agent, to quit the magistracy and the public stage. What will give zest and credibility to his disclosures through this long experience is, that he seeks not to dissemble these shocking variations, and merely answers, quite professionally, that he kept throughout to his first profession—that of advocating all causes alike for cash.

It will be curious to peruse his Memoirs at the epoch of the republic, and learn the plottings to draw the democrats into the interest of the Orleanists. This, with all the properly political department of his experience, is reserved for the forthcoming volumes of the publication. The present are confined exclusively to his professional career. But having held a leading position as advocate at the French bar for twenty years of social turmoil and political reaction, he was employed in all the celebrated causes of that stirring period; and there are several of sufficient interest, political and even romantic, to be made more intimately known to foreign readers. As to the purely civil and professional portion of the Memoirs, any notice of them would concern only the gentlemen of the bar; and to this fraction of our readers we can spare room but for a few statistics, which may suggest to them the lore and labour of a leading advocate in Europe.

The *civil* causes in which M. Dupin either pleaded or gave counsel amounted, in the period mentioned, to over four thousand. The manuscript collection of his "consultations" alone, that

is to say, his written opinions or rather arguments, compose some twenty folio volumes, each from seven to eight hundred pages. In addition, the *printed* briefs, to be distributed to the judges in cases which he argued orally, make a collection of twenty-two volumes! M. Dupin has besides published books or pamphlets upon most subjects within the sphere of jurisprudence and even politics. He has even written one of them in Latin. It is true, indeed, that they are all short, as befits the temperament of the writer, constitutionally barred from keeping long to any subject. But they are granted to be sound and erudite, as far as such a feat is possible to a man utterly devoid of philosophic principle. It should be added to the labours and the merits of M. Dupin, that he is the self-retained and standing advocate of the "Gallican Church."

We now proceed to a running notice of a few of his "Causes Célèbres," upon the personages or the incidents of which the Memoirs throw some new light. As some of the principal had their occasion in the well-known episode of the *Cent-Jours*, or the return of Napoleon from Elba, the public memoirs of our author commence with 1815, and some particulars of the last moments of the Empire. He remarks that at the Restoration, the Bourbons were so little known to even persons of the age and position of himself, then a prominent lawyer, that most of them were ignorant of the names and titles of these princes. Pamphlets and proclamations were required to remind the people that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, at first Count of Provence, then Count of Lille, entitling himself Louis XVIII., emigrant of 1792, was brother of Louis XVI., immolated in 1793; and that Count d'Artois, who was the first to emigrate, was the brother of King Louis XVIII. A trait remarkably characteristic of the obliviousness of the French people, or more familiarly the levity imputed to the Celtic race.

The Napoleonic restoration aforesaid of the hundred days, was the occasion of the maiden entrance of M. Dupin upon the stage of politics. The sinking emperor on his return made a concession to liberalism by the "Act Additional" to the "Constitutions of the Empire." By this amendment the Senate was transformed into a Chamber of *Peers*, to be appointed, however, by the emperor himself, and the Corps Législative into a Chamber of *Representatives*, who were to be elected by the people. M. Dupin was made a representative at the resulting general election.

He owns, however, with a modesty for which he is not very famous, that the competition for election was not crowded; but he does so to bring in the reason, which fully compensates his *amour*

propre, to wit, the difficulty of the position at that crisis. He accepted, notwithstanding, upon the rule of conduct above ascribed to him: "An advocate, I did not deem myself changing profession or ministry, I only considered myself as having a cause additional to defend—the cause of my country."

The new cause he set accordingly to plead at once in professional fashion. Napoleon, seeking to secure to himself the fickle faith of the new Chambers, required the members to take an oath of fidelity. But our bustling barrister objected that there was no authority for this requirement in the constitutional "bond," and that the form, if insisted on, should be in virtue of an express law. M. Dupin proposed, moreover, a general revision of the imperial constitution, even as amended, and with the purpose, now avowed, of forcing Napoleon to abdicate again. He denies, however, what the French historians of the epoch have imputed to him, that he laboured for the substitution of the then Duke of Orleans. He wished, he says, only that the nation should be left free to choose its king; free not only from foreign influence, but even from legislative nomination. So far was he, it seems, from offering a new candidate for royalty, that an interrupter asked M. Dupin "Why he did not propose a republic?" To which the wit, with his habitual promptitude, responded, by a line of Corneille:—

"*Le pire des Etats est l'Etat populaire.*"[o]

An axiom, adds the author, since abundantly verified;—referring, no doubt, to 1848. And yet he took an active part, and even an office in this popular government. But he did it, we should remember, in his *professional* capacity, and as an advocate who undertakes a bad cause to make the most of it.

The same event of the return of Napoleon from Elba, which gave commencement to the parliamentary career of M. Dupin, produced him also some of the most glorious of his professional clients. It is known that several generals of the Empire, who had retained office on the first restoration of the Bourbons, and had broken faith to join Napoleon upon his landing upon French soil, were excluded, by the final restoration, from the general amnesty which had been stipulated by the army and the city of Paris with the Allies, whose obligations were of course imperative upon the princes they placed in power. Nevertheless, one of the first measures of the reaction was an ordinance directing the arrest and the trial by councils of war of all the generals placed in the circumstances stated. All of them who did not take to exile, were tried accordingly and punished,

[o] Democracy is the worst of governments.

some by imprisonment, and one, the greatest, the gallant Ney, by execution.

Most of these illustrious "traitors" were defended successively by M. Dupin. This signal fortune he did not owe, however, to professional celebrity, being still but a young lawyer of thirty-three years of age, and not even, we have seen, a Bonapartist politically. But he had the courage and the talent to attack the ordinance of proscription as a violation of the capitulation of Paris. Though this was done in the shape of a *Mémoire* presented to the ministry, and published only some years later in full, yet the journals of the day somehow obtained extracts and analyses which gave publicity to its merits and illustrious clientage to its author. In the incipient case, however, he was assistant-barrister, not leading advocate.

This case first in order, as in eminence, was that of the "bravest of the brave." We do not notice in the Memoirs any new disclosures on the trial of Ney which would be popularly interesting to our readers. The thirty pages given to the subject are mostly filled up with legal logic, arguing over the defeated case and discharging sarcasms at a dead dynasty. The writer has too much the air of the pensioner in Goldsmith, who—

"Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields were won."

Only that M. Dupin has had to show, not how his field was won, but how it *ought* to have been won if his arguments had received fair play. The demonstration was quite superfluous, more especially in France. The flat infraction of the treaty is known or evident in every country. The terms of the amnesty embraced in fact all persons "*whatsoever may have been their politics, their functions, and their conduct.*" The trials in question were in most flagrant contradiction of this stipulation. All these details of the acuteness and erudition of the writer were therefore valueless, unless to glorify the subaltern advocate. So unscrupulously greedy is he, in fact, of every rag of praise, that he strips the memory of his noble client of the famous protest upon his trial which won such intellectual honour to the hero.

The defence proposing naturally to allege as quite conclusive the above clause of the Convention of Paris, the reading was ruled out by the Chamber of Peers, which was the court by which the marshal, as peer, insisted on being tried. The objection, which was technical, and pitifully technical, was instantly refuted by some noble members of the Chamber; but it was carried by a confused vote of the base body. This proceeding, which took place in the momentary absence of both the prisoner and his counsel from the Chamber, threw the

latter, on being informed of it, into legal consternation, as it showed the court determined to have its victim. On reappearing before the House, they however offered to read the article. But being forbidden by the president, who, in a word of explanation, made an allusion to the character of Frenchmen, Ney himself arose, and said in a firm voice: "Yes, I am a Frenchman, and I will die a Frenchman." He then read with the same firmness and dignity the following protest: "Hitherto my defence has appeared to be free; but I perceive that it is obstructed at this moment. I thank my generous defenders for what they have done, and for what they are still ready to do; but I prefer not to be defended at all than to have but the semblance of a defence. What! I am accused in contravention of the faith of treaties, and I am not allowed to put those treaties in evidence! I appeal upon it to Europe and to posterity!"

In this apostrophe, to which the position and circumstances of the speaker gave an immense *éclât* at the moment, and a still subsisting interest, the Memoirs tell us that we are to recognise the "thunder" of Dupin. He even apprizes us that it was written by him at the spur of the moment and amid the consternation, above alluded to, of the recess—comprising also, of course, the self-applied encomium on the "generous" advocates. The marshal merely copied it that he might read with more facility, and M. Dupin preserved this copy, of which he gives us a fac-simile. He even took care, he owns, to have the original of these few lines asked back from Ney, who had already very naturally thrown it in the fire. For M. Dupin would not defraud posterity of a single line of his composition.

What is somewhat more important than these puerilities of senile vanity, the author rectifies, on this occasion, a long-accredited historical error. It has been generally said that Ney, through an indignant patriotism, refused at first to be defended by the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. M. Dupin evinces clearly that this chivalrous susceptibility was a poetical embellishment of the historians. Among other decisive evidences, he refers to the three notes, of which the first had been addressed by Ney himself to the allied ambassadors, and the two others by his leading advocate and by his wife, in succession, to the Duke of Wellington alone, to claim the benefit of this treaty. But Wellington, who had the soul as well as the intellect of a drill-sergeant, was deaf at once to justice and to generosity. M. Dupin, however, thinks he was so from a very calculating and national motive. He permitted the convention to be violated in the case of Ney, that he might after have a pretext to pass himself through the open breach, and plunder Paris of the

monuments which were protected by the same treaty. Napoleon made the same accusation in a codocil to his last will.

The Duke of Wellington was personally party to a case in which Dupin was the opposing counsel for the defence. It was the ludicrously famous trial of Cantillon and Martinet, for an attempted assassination of the British general in Paris. The attempt, which consisted merely in the firing of a pistol near the carriage of the Duke of Wellington as he returned to his hotel, was believed, or at least treated at the time, as having little existence except in imagination. The court report of one of the journals was headed constantly as follows:—"The pistol-shot fired with *or without a ball*, at *or near* the carriage of the Duke of Wellington." In fact, the bullet or its mark could be nowhere traced upon the equipage, to prove the mere *corpus delicti*. Nor was there a trace of evidence to implicate the prisoners, who were accordingly acquitted with applause. On the other hand, the animus of Paris, at that moment, against the general-in-chief of the allied forces of invasion, was such as well might cause the apprehensions even of a soldier to pass for realities. This spirit found expression in Dupin upon the trial. "I do not speak," said the caustic advocate, "of the good faith of the noble duke. I examine not his manner of observing capitulations," &c. In fine Napoleon himself betrayed this *animus*, in his distant exile of St. Helena, by bequeathing to the accused Cantillon the sum of ten thousand francs.

M. Dupin has some redeeming reminiscences of the English. He entitles one of the most interesting of his trials, "The Three Englishmen;" and they well deserved the honour he accords them. The escape from a capital prison of the Marquis de Lavalette, by the contrivance and substitution of his beautiful and high-souled wife,* is known even popularly all the world over. But it is not perhaps known so generally, that its ultimate success was solely due to three Englishmen then staying at Paris. Lavalette, after quitting prison, had to take refuge in the city, it being impossible to brave the vigilance of the *Barrières*. Amid this vigilance, still further sharpened by the announcement of the escape, and amid the internal exploration of the city by the police, Lavalette was kept in hopeless trembling to his hiding place for weeks, when an appeal was made on his behalf to a British officer named Bruce. The proposition was conveyed in an anonymous note as follows: "Sir,

* This celebrated woman died some weeks ago in Paris. After the shock inflicted on her delicate, although heroic organization, by the condemnation to death of her husband, and the reaction of his release by her, she continued in a state of mental imbecility. She was a niece of the Empress Josephine.

I have so much confidence in your honour that I will impart to you a secret which I could reveal but to you. M. de Lavalette is still in Paris; I place his life in your hands; you alone can save him."

Bruce was still in bed. He wondered and pondered, and at length replied to the bearer that he could not give an answer then, but if the writer would choose to meet him at a place and moment designated, he would give him his reflections on the subject. The interview took place at noon; Bruce promised to do his best; but he declined to be informed either of the name of the person who wrote him or of the hiding-place of Lavalette himself. This cool and cautious conduct would, independently of the name, announce infallibly that Bruce was born beyond the Tweed. Proceeding with the same prudent calculation to plan the rescue, he united with him two of his confidential comrades at Paris, namely Major-General Wilson, whose name stamps him as English, and Captain Hely Hutchinson, who as assuredly was Irish. Thus the three members of the British Union were represented in this noble action, although our author makes them all English indiscriminately. This, it may be noted, is a general usage of the French, who confound the three nations in their grotesque notion of the Anglo-Saxon; yet certainly the French themselves do not so widely differ from the Irish, as the Irish do from the English, and the Scotch do from both. This latter difference, however, was seized sagaciously or fortunately, by the mystic friend of Lavalette, in first addressing himself to Bruce. Had he commenced with making the proposal to the Irishman especially, the issue of the effort would have probably been different. As planned by Bruce, it proved completely successful; and, what is equally characteristic, while the perilous execution of smuggling Lavalette in open day, not merely out of Paris, but afterward, through a score of police stations on the way to the German frontier, was committed to the Englishman and to the Irishman, the "canny Scot," on certain plausible pretences, stayed in Paris. Thus the characters kept their places to the last, *qualis ab incepto*. They joined, however, on being prosecuted, in a common defence, and retained M. Dupin as their collective and only advocate. He brought them off triumphantly, in a trial, which he takes care to tell us, was, for the *éclât* and the auditory, without rival at the Paris bar.

The other generals or marshals on the same proscription list as Ney and Lavalette, and who figured among the clients of M. Dupin, were as follows: Marshals Moncey, Brune, the Marshals of France collectively in defence of their imperial titles; Generals Travot, Allix, Caulaincourt, Hullin, Paret de Morvan, and Lieutenant-

General Gilly. The Memoirs offer little respecting any of these trials that would be of interest to American readers. There is, however, in connexion with the last of these brave unfortunates, an anecdote that thrills the heart, and paints the peasantry of France, in their imperialist fidelity, amid the flush of the Restoration.

M. Dupin tells us that General Gilly, although a Catholic himself, "knowing the humanity of the Protestants," sought an asylum among them. He was received by a peasant of the commune of Anduze named Perrier, who had no other means of living than his daily labour. It was concerted that the general, whose name even was not asked, and of whom the family knew nothing but his peril and his misfortunes, should be disguised in peasant's garb and pass for a cousin of the cotter.

After several months spent in this retreat, which was not only poor, but perilous on account of the patrols which scoured the country by night and made exploratory visits to the dwellings, especially of the Protestants, the general got tired of life, and often murmured at his lot. One day Perrier, returning from the village of Anduze, undertook to console his guest and to cheer his spirits: "You complain," said he to the general, "but you are happy in comparison with those poor men whose heads I have heard cried this morning like meat in a market. For M. Brière, one of our ministers, a reward of two thousand francs; for M. Bress, an ex-mayor, two thousand four hundred francs; for General Gilly, ten thousand francs." "What!" replied the startled general, with anxiety. "Why, certainly," rejoined the peasant.

"We may judge," continues M. Dupin, "of the position of the general! However, he endeavoured to disguise his emotion; and to beguile the poor Perrier, whose fidelity he had the injustice to suspect, he assumed the air of reflecting for a moment, and then said: 'I am tired of the life I lead; I wish to be done with it. You yourself are poor, and you must desire to earn money. I know General Gilly, and where he is concealed; let us go and denounce him. For reward I will ask my liberty, and you will have to yourself the ten thousand francs.'

"At these words Perrier seemed as if thunderstruck and speechless. But all of a sudden, his eldest son, a young man of twenty-seven years, who had served in the 47th regiment of the line, and who had hitherto listened quietly to the conversation, seated by the fire, started up precipitately, and said to the general with threatening voice, and in language of which decency requires to mitigate the rustic energy: 'Monsieur, hitherto we thought that you were an honest man; but since you are one of those contemptible spies who sell the life of their neighbour, you see that door: get off at once or I will fling you out instantly at the window.' General Gilly remonstrated against leaving, he insisted; he wished to explain his intentions; but the soldier, instead of entering on explanations, seized the general with a vigorous arm and prepared to execute his threats. Then the general, seeing the urgency of the danger, exclaimed, 'Well, I myself am General Gilly!'

"It would be vain to try to paint the transports which these words excited in the whole family. The soldier leaped upon the neck of the general to embrace him; the father, the mother, the youngest of the children, clung around him to kiss his hands and his clothes. It is needless to add, they vowed to him that he might stay with them securely, and that they would all of them suffer death rather than reveal the secret.

"The general remained for some time after with these brave people. And what should be further noted to their praise, he found it quite impossible on leaving them to get them to accept the least indemnity for either the trouble or the expense which he had cost them. It was only a long time after that he succeeded in persuading them to profit, in another form, by his influence."

The Memoirs record a number of other clients no less conspicuous—ex-ministers such as Carnot; dukes as those of Rovigo, of Vincennes; poets like Beranger; priests like the Abbé de Pradt; professors, journalists, princes, and in fine, kings.

Among the priests we may note, as an example of the times, the affair of one Rebecqui, who, to legitimate his offspring begotten in defiance of his priestly vows before the Revolution, availed himself of the permission allowed the clergy by this new era, to enter into the state of matrimony, deemed *un*holy in the priests alone. The objection to the validity of this retroactive legitimation was the old rule that it could apply only to parties free from other obligations at the time of the conception, or *ex soluto et soluta*. M. Dupin attacked not only the objection but the axiom. He argued that in the case on which it principally rests, that of offspring begotten in adultery, the legitimation is debarred, *not* by the fact of the existence of a repugnant obligation in one of the parents at the time, but by an act of legislation that forbids perpetually the marriage, and thus precludes the normal *means* of the legitimation. Even in the case of incestuous children, the obstruction is the same; they cannot be legitimated; not because the parents are too near of kin, but because the law, for prudent reasons, forbids the necessary means—a marriage. But the law has equally the power, continued M. Dupin, to remove this prohibition of its own making, and much more clearly than individuals, such as the popes, who have often exercised it, in the shape of dispensations even to priests. Now a legal and universal dispensation of the clergy had been promulgated by the legislative body of the Revolution. The subsequent marriage of the priest Rebecqui had been consequently authorized. It therefore purged the stain of bastardy from the children.

The distinction in the old law maxim is remarkably shrewd and sound, and the deduction from the legal premises is manifestly cogent. But the advocate, it seems to us, slid out of view the consideration that the obstruction which affected priests before the marriage-law, and even after, was of a nature rather *religious* than

legal, like those compared with it, and had accordingly its origin in the Canon law, or in mere Church discipline. M. Dupin, however, gained his cause, and this, he does not fail to tell us, (of course from candid admiration, not a calculation of vain-glory,) notwithstanding that his opponent was the "most finished dialectician that he ever since encountered" in his long practice. But the tribunal was of the imperial date of 1809; had it been a few years later, no doubt the issue would have been different. In fact, another case of the same nature, (which follows next in the Memoirs,) save that the priest had here the children *after* marriage instead of before, was decided, in 1824, *against* the validity of the marriage; but this decision, through the irresistible intervention of M. Dupin, was overruled on the second trial by a higher court.

We pass over the other categories to reserve the remaining space for some curious incidents of the kingly clientship of Louis Philippe. We cannot, however, pass unnoticed a case more curious and romantic; the more especially as it serves as a fitting introduction to that royal personage.

The subject was the notorious *intrigante*, Maria Stella, *alias* Lady Newborough, *alias* Baroness de Sternberg, who amused the lovers of the marvellous and the scandalous in Europe from 1825 to 1830. This woman began life as a singer on the stage, whence she was taken into wedlock by Lord Newborough; for British noblemen had, until recently, like our American aristocracy, a strange alacrity to bite the hook of the battered votaries of Calliope. Maria Stella, in a second marriage, caught again a noble gudgeon, in the shape of the Baron de Sternberg, a Russian—a nation touching on the same predicament in point of cash and cultivation. Encouraged probably by these successes to aspire at least to French royalty, and having failed perhaps to catch a duke or even "count" of that less verdant race, she set to work according to a different and a more daring plan.

It was no less than to pretend that she was daughter of the Duchess of Chartres and of Philippe *Egalité*, Duke of Orleans; that on her birth, which took place in Tuscany, during a tour of her alleged parents under the names of the Count and Countess de Joinville, she had been exchanged by the prince her father, who had no sons and desired an heir, for the male infant of Lorenzo Chiappini, turnkey of the village prison, whose wife was delivered at the same time as the duchess; and that in fine the substitution had been made known to her by "revelations," as she was travelling with her second husband in Italy.

The direct result of the pretension was to proclaim that Louis

Philippe, then Duke of Orleans, was the low-born son of a *concierge*. The thing was countenanced, if not concocted, by the court party of the day, who were at daggers with the wily duke, then undermining his Bourbon cousins. It must be owned, too, there was something tending to encourage the imposture in both the character and the exterior of the subsequently citizen-king. The gait and countenance of Louis Philippe were as far as possible from royalty, and the craftiness of his government and the cowardice of his fall were less in character with the descendant of a line of kings than of a concierge. On the other hand, the retired singer pretended to a striking likeness with the Count de Beaujolais and Madame Adelaide of Orleans. However, Maria Stella had to find for the law some surer evidence than either party predispositions or personal appearance.

She returned then to Italy, and laid her case, as above stated, before the ecclesiastical tribunal of an obscure town of the Papal state. Her claim, being legally unopposed, was recorded without difficulty, her certificate of birth and baptism were rectified as she demanded, and she herself was declared "daughter of the Count and Countess de Joinville, French." Here then was a documentary foundation for her pretension. She transmitted it forthwith to an accomplice of hers in Paris, who entitled himself the Chevalier Mortara, directing that it should be laid at the feet of His Majesty Louis XVIII., and praying his majesty that Maria Stella be declared a princess of the house of Orleans.

Some scruples, or rather fears, being however still named by the court party, the chevalier consulted a lawyer. The man of law told him that, assuming the certificate to have been genuine, it was all very well as far as it went. The Baroness de Sternberg was verily declared the daughter of a count and a countess de Joinville; but there was nothing to evince the identity of this Count de Joinville with Louis Philippe (Egalité) of Orleans.

In addition to this legal stumbling block, the Baroness de Sternberg was thwarted still more seriously at the same moment from another quarter. Her brother, Thomas Chiappini, appeared against her in the newspapers, provoked no doubt by instigation of, or expectation from, Louis Philippe. He ridiculed and refuted her aspirations to nobility, insisted that she was his sister, affirmed that she claimed as such a part in the succession of their common father, and this, too, after the time when she pretended to have got the letter that revealed to her the royalty of her birth; and finally, as to her likeness to the family of Orleans, he declared that of all the children of Chiappini, she most resembled the concierge.

To make sure, however, of his ground, the Duke of Orleans put the matter into the hands of M. Dupin, already a member of his council. The learned jurist made a refutatory report on the case, of the merits of which he gives us an exposé in the Memoirs; but in conclusion he advised his princely client to keep quiet until the Baroness de Sternberg should proceed further. As was the hope, no doubt, she did not proceed further for some five years. But at the beginning of 1830, Maria Stella reappeared in a volume bearing the following captivating title: "*Maria Stella, or the Criminal Substitution of a Young Lady of the Highest Rank for a Boy of the most Abject Condition.*" The title-page announced besides: "Sold for the benefit of the poor in Paris and the Departments, at the principal booksellers." This was followed by a portrait, attempting a resemblance to the Princess Adelaide of Orleans; and underneath was read: "Maria Stella, Lady Newborough, Baroness Sternberg, *née de Joinville.*"

The volume thus put forth in the most finished claptrap fashion, could not fail, even in France, to have a great *succès de curiosité.* But party interests moreover were concerned in the circulation. And the newspapers, the natural organs and habitual instruments of both those influences, gave it the *éclât* which they would deny, no doubt through ignorance, to books of merit. The public feelings thus excited, Maria Stella laid, in form, a requisition before the court of first resort of the Seine. The time was come, then, for the Duke of Orleans and his attorney to defend themselves.

Two courses of procedure were before them. The Duke of Orleans wished himself, or perhaps only feigned to wish, to address himself directly to the crown and the chamber of peers, for the political suppression of a case affecting the position and the honour of a peer of France, the first prince of the blood, and even an heir eventual to the throne; the other was the legal course of going before the civil tribunal. The latter was the one adopted, M. Dupin does not say why; but no doubt the reason was the known feelings of the Bourbons in the premises. The civil court, however, dismissed the case, though upon technical objections. And thus was terminated a proceeding, which, for boldness of conception and plausibility of prosecution, transcends the license of romance.

We can afford to add but little on the large portion of the Memoirs, which are devoted to the private business of Louis Philippe become king—affairs in which, in fact, Dupin has *figured* largely in every sense. The arithmetical recollections are the most exact and least egotistical.

Americans have often heard of the immense wealth of Louis

Philippe, and that his father, Philippe *Egalité*, while the most *sans-culotte* of democrats, was yet the richest of the princes of Europe; but they do not understand, perhaps, the source of this wealth. Exceeding that of even the royal branch of the house of Bourbon, it could not reasonably be supposed to have been given by the crown. It proceeded in fact from a curious concentration of inheritances, which, together with the unexpected elevation to the throne, might have well persuaded the Orleans family of their being the special care of fortune. And yet the luck-like preparation was but to show them to be its sport!

The patrimonial property or appanage of the House of Orleans was augmented in the hands of the father of Louis Philippe by the estates: 1st, of the Duchess de Guise; 2d, of Mademoiselle de Guise; 3d, of Mademoiselle de Montpensier; 4th, of the Duchess de Bourbon—representing three of the most powerful families of the kingdom. On the other side, the wife of the same Philippe of Orleans was only daughter of the great Duke of Penthièvre, and was through him the heiress of the following inheritances: 1st, of the Duke and the Duchess of Maine; 2d, of the Count and the Countess of Toulouse; 3d, of the Prince de Dombes; 4th, of the Count d'Eu; 5th, of the Prince de Lamballe—all of these being princely branches of the royal family of France, and two or three of them even legitimated sons of Louis XIV. Such then were the separate portions of the parents of Louis Philippe, which devolved jointly to himself and to his sole sister. And as the sister never married, her part continued in the family stock; which stock was finally piled up by the possessions of the House of Condé, left to a son of Louis Philippe, the Duke d'Aumale! With this enormous accumulation of domains and principalities in the possession of a single family aspiring to the throne, where is the kingdom or the empire that could maintain its existence?

It should be said, however, that this vast confluence of near a dozen princely fortunes, had suffered serious diminution before reaching the family of Louis Philippe. The Revolution swept it totally away for a time. At this epoch, the purchase value of the possessions of Philippe *Egalité* amounted to one hundred and twelve millions, and the annual income from feudal dues was no less than five to six millions. The latter item was abolished beyond recall. The territorial domains also had been confiscated at the time, and for the most part disposed of by the nation. But upon the Restoration in 1814, the unsold portion was returned to the heirs. The value of this residue was, M. Dupin says, less than twelve millions. Along with it was entailed also on Louis Philippe and his sister the

encumbrance of over thirty millions—the unpaid balance of their father's debts, which, at the time of the confiscation, had amounted to no less than seventy-four millions. His vast possessions were thus encumbered to more than half their value.

Louis Philippe might have declined to accept this inheritance of twelve millions, with an encumbrance of thirty millions, which of course rendered it insolvent. But, says his advocate, he and his sister conceived "the generous design of paying off with honour all the creditors." The design had more of policy, perhaps, than honour or generosity. Louis Philippe had an eye already upon the throne; and he well knew that an insolvent debtor, or even the son of the insolvent debtor, was held more infamous in Paris than a blasphemer or an adulterer. He accepted then the restitution, but *sous benefice d'inventaire;* that is to say, on the condition of being responsible to the creditors but for the sum which the inheritance would bring at public auction: so that this was quite a safe sacrifice to generosity and to honour. The property restored was accordingly put up for sale, and bid in by Louis Philippe himself at twelve and a half millions. This was at once applied to the payment of the debts, *pro rata.* The poorer were paid totally, says M. Dupin; remissions of interest and some reductions of principal were obtained from the more independent creditors. On the whole, it seems, all ended with being satisfied. But to effect this consummation, besides the produce of the public sale, Louis Philippe devoted yearly, we are told, three millions from his own appanage. So that besides the immense patrimony of his father as above sketched, it seems this personage had a vast appanage in his own right as prince of the blood!

There results, then, for the basis of the final state of the Orleans property: *first*, this appanage, of which the mere income could afford annually three millions, besides the regular expenditures of a prince; *secondly*, the vast domains of the re-purchase, bought for twelve millions; *thirdly*, a two-third portion of the vast inheritance of his mother, who died about the same time, bequeathing Louis Philippe and his sister one-third each of a territorial property yielding one and a half millions revenue, and valued in 1821 at over sixty millions; *fourthly*, five millions, accorded to the same pair, (whose portions always devolved alike to the common family fund,) in virtue of the law of indemnity passed in 1825 in behalf of those whose property was confiscated by the Revolution. It is further to be noted that these enormous properties are all rated at their current value some thirty years ago; a value that must have doubled in this rapidly progressive period. And it is a family possessed of

this incalculable mass of wealth that has been beggared by the ten millions of it sequestrated by Louis Napoleon!

Moreover, we are persuaded that the foregoing summary inventory is, without mentioning the civil list and the "dotations," incomplete. It is, in large part, only indirectly that we have been able to extract those results from the tortuous statements of the advocate in the cause. A lawyer, with the best dispositions, is never candid or complete. From his habits of one-sidedness, he can present the simplest subject only in *section*, as it were, and never in its full scheme. But the dispositions of M. Dupin are, besides, avowedly apologetic. He carries this, indeed, so far as to invoke our sympathies for Louis Philippe, by the assurance that he left his palace on the fatal 24th of February, in such a state of destitution, that by the time he reached Versailles he had to borrow, poor man! the sum of three thousand francs before he could go further!

M. Dupin parades in detail the expenditures of Louis Philippe on palaces—his patronages, pensions, and a million a year in charity. It is true he has no documents to show these latter forms of disbursement; but, lawyer-like, he has instead of them a pretext for their absence, which, for the rest, is very probable and very characteristic. It is, that "all the papers, (according to the Report of a Committee appointed on the subject by the Provisional Government itself,) all the registers of assistance, all that could reveal the bounties of the king and of the royal family, and that could disclose the names of the obligees, (turned ingrates,) were burned on the night of the 24th of February, in the midst of the disorder that prevailed at the Tuileries." This is fortified and specialized by the ex-treasurer of the crown, in a publication which he made upon the sack of the Tuileries. "I remarked," says he, "toward midnight, that the flames appeared to issue from the spot which was allotted to my department. I learned the next morning the true cause. Fire had been set on purpose to four apartments underneath, serving as offices for the section of the cabinet of the king charged with the *distribution of charity*, and of which the archives which *certain persons* might have an interest in destroying, had been entirely consumed." These "certain persons" were of course *republicans*, as these alone attacked the palace.

However, we are quite willing to give Louis Philippe and his advocate the entire benefit of the destruction of their proofs. There is no doubt, in fact, that handsome sums were thus invested by the citizen king: the only question would relate to the intention, which is everything in judging of the merits of the individual, although in estimating his *actions* we should observe a dif-

ferent rule. However, to leave our readers in a state of feeling to decide impartially, we close with quoting the peroration of Dupin's pecuniary panegyric:—

"We see the Duke of Orleans," says he, "though receiving but the meagre wrecks of his paternal property, paying off its debts to an amount beyond the value of the principal. As *appanagistic* prince, he improves and ornaments the appanage; improvements which must turn to the profit of the state. As king, he uses like a king his civil list—employing a million a year in acts of charity and generosity; giving work in all directions to artisans and artists; restoring at great expense and with taste those royal palaces of which he owned himself but the splendid usufruct; augmenting, at an expense of nine millions, their sumptuous furniture; and above all, founding at Versailles that national museum, devoted, without distinction to "all the glories of France." In fine, as man we see him bear adversity, exile, and ruin, with the grandeur of a royal soul and the resignation of a *Christian* (!); uttering no complaint, nor mentioning his exile but merely to say, 'I had not deserved it.'"

This vindication of the pelf of the Orleanists will be doubtless followed, in the future volumes of the Memoirs, by a vindication of their politics. We may return to the subject, if the revelations should deserve it, when we shall also treat the character and famous *bons mots* of Dupin.

Art. III.—THE EASTERN WAR.

1. *A Visit to the Camp before Sevastopol.* By Richard C. M'Cormick, Jr. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1855. 12mo., pp. 212.
2. *The Unholy Alliance: An American View of the War in the East.* By William Giles Dix. "Christo et Cruci." New-York: Charles B. Norton. 1855. 12mo., pp. 257.
3. *A History of the War between Turkey and Russia, and Russia and the Allied Powers of England and France.* By George Fowler. London: Sampson, Low, Son & Co. 1855. 12mo., pp. 328.

We have placed these works at the head of this paper as a matter of form, rather than with the intention of subjecting them to a special review. They suggest our theme, but do not explore the ground we design to examine. The first is a narrative of observations made by the author during a six weeks' visit to the camp before Sevastopol, and a brief sojourn at Constantinople, written in a pleasant and sprightly style, but giving very little information beyond what may be culled from the newspaper press. The second is a declamatory harangue, without solid sense or argument, upon the invincibility of Russia, and the folly and wickedness of the alliance of

England and France for the protection of Turkey. It declares Sevastopol to be impregnable, and predicts the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, and the total defeat and ruin of the Allies in the war. Events have already proved the declaration false; and as improbable, we opine, as the arrival of the Greek Calends is the fulfilment of the prediction. The last work mentioned above we have found useful in the preparation of this paper. It is an effort to present, in a concise form, the various events of the war up to the end of the year 1854, and is made up chiefly of public documents, and of extracts from the letters of the war correspondent of the London Times.

Though the remote cause of the present war must be sought far back amid the cherished traditions of Russia, and in the policy which for more than a century and a half has given tone and complexion to her councils, yet its immediate cause was apparently trivial and insignificant.

At Jerusalem stand certain sanctuaries and chapels on spots embalmed in a thousand cherished recollections. Among these are the localities of the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and particularly the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, a splendid work of art, built by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine. The possession of these places has always been coveted by Christians; and from the earliest ages of the Church they have been accustomed to visit the country trodden by the feet of the Saviour, and especially the city where he died for the redemption of the world. A desire to recover these "holy places" from the hands of the followers of Mohammed gave rise to the Crusades of the Middle Ages; and since that period, both the Greek and Latin Christians have enjoyed by treaty stipulations, certain rights of visitation and worship at the shrines erected on these localities.

In the year 1535 Francis I. was recognised as the protector of the Latin Christians; and in a treaty of that year, made with Selim I., their claim to the "holy places" was insisted on and agreed to. Two hundred years later, (1740,) by another treaty between the same nations, this claim was admitted and confirmed. The Greek Christians possessed the exclusive claim to some sanctuaries, and also insisted upon a joint occupancy of some of those most prized by the Latins. As the treaties to which we have referred did not define the rights of the parties, disputes frequently arose, and the Latin and Greek Christians were brought into collisions resulting in bloodshed and loss of life within the edifices so much revered by both. In 1757 open war existed between the rival Churches in Palestine. In 1808 the Holy Sepulchre was partially destroyed by

fire, and the Greeks obtained a firman from the Sultan, giving them authority to repair the edifice. After its restoration, on the authority of this firman or decree, the Greeks assumed additional rights and privileges, which led to fresh dissentions with the Latins, and finally caused such scandal, that, in 1819, the Russian and French governments interposed. The King of France claimed the right to protect pilgrims of the Romish faith by virtue of the title accorded to him by the Pope of "Most Christian King;" while the Czar of Russia, as "Patriarch of the Greek Church," a title which has descended to him from Peter the Great, claimed the right to protect pilgrims of the Greek Church. In order the better to adjust these differences, France and Russia each sent an envoy to Palestine; but the Greek Revolution in 1821 broke off the negotiations, and no further attention seems to have been given to the subject by France until 1836. In that year the Prince de Joinville having visited Jerusalem, the monks of the Latin faith appealed to him, and solicited his influence in procuring the restoration of the "keys of the holy places," of which the Greek monks had for a long time held possession. In consequence of his representations to his father, Louis Philippe, the French ambassador at the Porte was instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Sultan, who issued a firman ordering the Greeks to surrender the keys to the Latins; but, through Russian influence, the governor of Jerusalem neglected to obey the firman. In 1847 fresh complaint was made by the Latin monks through the French ambassador. The cause of the complaint was a trivial one, and should have been dealt with, we think, by the police, or civil magistrate, rather than by the *corps diplomatique*. A silver star, which was suspended on the spot said to be exactly that of the Saviour's birth at Bethlehem, disappeared, and the Latin monks, through the French ambassador, accused the Greeks of having committed this sacrilegious larceny.

In 1850 Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at the Porte, wrote thus to Lord Palmerston:—

"General Aupick has assured me that the matter in dispute is a mere matter of property and of express treaty stipulation. The immediate point of difference is the right of possession to certain portions of the Holy Church at Jerusalem. The Greeks are accused of having usurped property which belongs of right to the Roman Catholics, and of having purposely allowed the chapels, and particularly the monuments of Godfrey de Bouillon and of Guy de Lusignan, to go into decay."

As soon as this subject was brought to the notice of the Porte a commission of inquiry was ordered; but before the commissioners had completed their investigations, the Czar addressed an autograph

letter to the Sultan, demanding the strict maintenance of the religious privileges of the Greeks in Palestine. Greatly alarmed at the reception of this letter, the Sultan at once dissolved the commission, stultified himself by a series of contradictory edicts, greatly complicated the matter by granting what both parties asked, and, with the hope of pleasing all, consented to replace the missing star at his own cost, and restored the key of the Church of Bethlehem to the Latins.

In 1851 M. de Lavalette, having succeeded General Aupick as French minister at the Porte, engaged in the disputes about the "holy places" with great zeal, and earnestly pressed the Turkish government to grant certain additional privileges to the Roman Catholics. The Russian envoy, M. de Titoff, exhibited an equal interest in the subject, and took an early occasion to express to the Sultan his conviction that his master would permit no changes whatever to be made with respect to the possession of the sanctuaries at Jerusalem; whereupon M. de Lavalette gracefully yielded the point, and proposed to settle the dispute by granting to the Greeks the joint occupancy of the places in question. M. de Titoff accepted this proposal, so far as the places in controversy were concerned; but at the same time made a new demand for the joint occupation of some other sanctuaries which had hitherto been in the undisputed possession of the Latins. This new demand prevented any settlement of the questions at issue, and intrigue for a while took the place of discussion. The affair reached the surface again in February, 1852, when the Porte addressed a note to M. de Lavalette, politely promising certain future concessions, but at the same time expressly excluding the Roman Catholics from certain privileges granted to the Greeks. This gave great offence to the French ambassador, and very nearly produced an open rupture. Finding argument and expostulation of no avail, he intimated his intention of bringing up the French fleet to the Dardanelles if his demands were not conceded; while the Russian minister, on his part, with equal decision, threatened to leave Constantinople instantly, with every member of his mission, if the demands of Russia were not complied with.

At this juncture M. d'Ouzeroff succeeded M. de Titoff as Russian envoy at the Porte. His first act was peremptorily to require a firman granting the privileges, the bare intimation of which had given such great offence to the French ambassador: and, not satisfied with the substantial success of securing this point, he demanded that the Porte should proclaim his victory by having the firman publicly read in Jerusalem by an agent of the government. The Sultan, in no condition to refuse, despatched Aliff Bey to Jerusalem for that

purpose; but the attitude assumed by the French minister terrified him, and he hesitated to finish the duty with which he had been charged. The French minister declared, that if the firman was promulgated, a French fleet should appear off Jaffa, and he even hinted at a French occupation of Jerusalem itself; "then," said he, "we shall have all the sanctuaries." This firmness on the part of the French minister prevented the promulgation of the firman in question. It would seem, however, that the French government did not entirely approve the peremptory diplomacy of M. de Lavalette; for he was recalled, and his place filled by the appointment of M. Benedotte. And though the Toulon squadron was ordered to sail for the Greek waters, to be prepared to sustain the Latin interests, yet the British ambassador wrote to his government that "the French were content with a part only of what they might have claimed."* During the pendency of these disputes Russia again enlarged her demands. In addition to claiming a special supervision over the "holy places" in Jerusalem, she, in November, 1852, asserted her right to exercise a protectorate over the entire Greek Church throughout the dominions of the Sultan. Meanwhile "the Porte, under the pressure of these coercions, committed a series of lamentable contradictions."† But unqualified submission on the part of the Porte with the concession of France, did not satisfy the demands of Russia. On the 28th of February, 1853, Prince Menschikoff, accompanied by Count Dimitre Nesselrode as his secretary, arrived at Constantinople on a special mission. The prince was clothed with full powers as a plenipotentiary, on the pretence that the rank of *chargé d'affaires*, which M. d'Ouzeroff held, did not give him the authority which was required in the transaction of such grave affairs as were then pending. It was remarked that this embassy, from the first, was portentous of evil to the Porte, inasmuch as an officer was selected to conduct it who had been distinguished in the recent war with the Turks, and that his suite included a general officer and an admiral. The tranquillity of the Sublime Porte was greatly disturbed by the arrival of this embassy; and the course of the Russian ambassador, instead of dispelling the fears of the government, was well calculated to aggravate them. As though seeking a quarrel, he assumed an attitude of extreme arrogance, and gratuitously insulted Fuad Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs. His mission, though professedly of a conciliatory character, was calculated, and probably intended, to involve the Turkish government in serious difficulties; and in the language of the Sultan,

* Vide Blue Book, vol. i, p. 18.

† Vide Col. Rose's despatch of March 7, 1852.

"to trample under foot the rights of the Porte, and the dignity and independence of the sovereign." Meanwhile Russia was making vast military preparations, which attracted the attention of both England and France; but those governments being assured that the designs of Russia were eminently pacific, continued to hope that matters might be amicably arranged.

The first communication of the Russian ambassador to the Porte was made on the 10th of March, and it embraced the following peremptory demands:—

"1. A firman concerning the key of the Church of Bethlehem, the restoration of the silver star, and the possession of certain sanctuaries.

"2. An order for the repair of the dome and other parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

"3. A *sened*, or convention guaranteeing the strict '*statu quo*' of the privileges of the Greek Church, and of the sanctuaries that are in possession of that faith exclusively, or in participation with other sects at Jerusalem."

These demands were all granted without hesitation by the Porte, and firmans to that effect were despatched to Prince Menschikoff without delay. Until this time Russia had perhaps asked for no more than had been conceded by the Ottoman government in former treaties;* and though her demands had been made in a haughty and offensive manner, yet the Porte exhibited no ill-feeling or irritation. It was hoped by the Sultan, and by the foreign ministers who were interested spectators at Constantinople, that Russia would now be satisfied; but so far from this being the case, Prince Menschikoff presented another note, at a late hour of the same day on which these last concessions were made, demanding a *sened*, or convention having the force of a treaty, containing stipulations that "no change whatever should be made in the rights, privileges, and immunities which had been enjoyed or possessed '*ab antiquo*' by the Church, the pious institutions, and the clergy of the orthodox or Greek Church in the Ottoman states; and that all the rights and advantages conceded by the Turkish government to other Christian sects by treaty, convention, or special grant, shall be considered as belonging also to the Greek Church." To comprehend the effect of this last stipulation, it must be remembered that certain Christian congregations exist within the Ottoman dominions which are not immediately subject to the government. In more than one place the members of the Latin Church possess privileges by which, in virtue of ancient compacts, they are exempt from Turkish jurisdiction, and are subject only to superiors of their own. So that the terms of the *sened* demanded by Prince Menschikoff would

* Blue Book, vol. ii, p. 235.

have surrendered to Russia the practical jurisdiction of more than three-fourths of the population of the Danubian provinces, and, indeed, the greater part of European Turkey itself.

It must be admitted that it was high time for the "sick man" to protest, and accordingly Rifat Pasha, the Sultan's foreign minister, in a very temperate way, informed Prince Menschikoff that his demands could not be complied with. Highly indignant, the latter proceeded at once to the palace and demanded an audience of the Sultan, who for some time had not quitted his apartments in consequence of the recent death of his mother, the Sultana Valide. And although Prince Menschikoff was informed that Mohammedan custom prevented the Sultan from complying with his wishes, yet he persisted in his demand, and after waiting three hours in an ante-room, he was finally shown into the imperial apartments. Abdul Medjid, though he had so far yielded to Russian obstinacy as to admit Prince Menschikoff to his presence, declined any conference with him. He civilly referred him to his ministers; and when the prince commenced an intemperate speech, the sudden interposition of a curtain between the Sultan and his visitor terminated the interview.

A great council or cabinet meeting was now convened by Redschid Pasha, who had superseded Rifat Pasha as foreign minister, to deliberate upon the Russian note; and, without a dissenting voice, Prince Menschikoff's demand was rejected. In communicating this rejection, a delay of four or five days was requested, with the hope that some satisfactory solution of the difficulty might be discovered.

The Russian minister graciously granted the Porte four days for deliberation, but at the same time still more complicated matters by a fresh "note." "It was not alone," he declared, "the spiritual privileges of the Greek clergy which Russia had determined to assert, but all the other rights, privileges, and immunities of those professing the orthodox faith, and of the clergy, dating from the most early times; that is to say, all the political privileges they might have enjoyed from the earliest ages."

While Prince Menschikoff was so pertinaciously bullying the Sultan in his own capital, Baron de Brunow, the Russian ambassador at the Court of St. James, informed the British government in the most explicit terms that "the emperor's desire and determination was to respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and that all the idle rumours to which the arrival of Prince Menschikoff in the Ottoman capital had given rise—the occupation of the Principalities, hostile and threatening language to the Porte, &c.—were not only exaggerated, but destitute even of any sort of foundation."

In the extremity to which his government had been driven, Redschid Pasha consulted the representatives of the foreign powers at Constantinople, and received from them the following reply:—

"The representatives of Great Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, in reply to the desire expressed by His Excellency, Redschid Pasha, to learn their views on the draft of a note presented by Prince Menschikoff, are of opinion that on a question which touches so nearly the liberty of action and sovereignty of His Majesty the Sultan, His Excellency Redschid Pasha is the best judge of the course which ought to be adopted, and they do not consider themselves authorized, in the present circumstances, to give any opinion on the subject."

Left thus to their own resources, the Turkish government assembled the great council of the nation at the house of the Grand Vizier. After mature deliberation, and long and anxious debates, it was decided by a very large majority to refuse to comply with the demands of Russia. Overtures, however, for pacific arrangements accompanied the note which communicated this decision. These overtures were not entertained by Prince Menschikoff, who, on receiving the answer, at once sent in his final "note," declaring that all further negotiations would be now useless, that his mission was at an end, and that nothing remained for him but to leave the Ottoman capital with the whole of his retinue. Redschid Pasha made some attempts to conciliate the Russian minister by private assurances of the friendly disposition of the Porte, and of their willingness to meet all the reasonable demands of the Czar; but his advances were met by the reply that it was too late, that his mission was at an end, and that the only duty that remained to him was to remove from the capital every person connected with his embassy. He however warned the Porte, in a supplementary parting "note," that "any infraction of the '*statu quo*' of the Oriental Church would be considered as a violation of existing treaties, and that such infraction would compel the Czar to have recourse to means which he desired at all times not to employ." He regretted the resolution of the Porte, and especially that on so serious a question the Divan had been governed by the influence of foreigners. And in conclusion he expressed a hope that the Ottoman government would ultimately come to a better resolution, and one more agreeable to the benevolent intentions of the emperor his master.

On the 21st of May Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople with his embassy, and the subsequent consideration of the questions at issue was transferred from the Turkish capital to Vienna, where the representatives of the four powers afterward endeavoured to avert the pending rupture. A direct attempt was, however, made by

Count Nesselrode to intimidate the Porte by addressing an autograph letter to Redschid Pasha on the 31st of May, declaring that if the Russian demands were not at once complied with, the Russian troops would immediately cross the Turkish frontier, "not," he said, "to make war, but to secure a material guarantee for the rights claimed by the emperor." In reply, the Porte announced the promulgation of the "Hatti Sheriffe," confirming the rights, privileges, and immunities which the clergy and the Churches of the *Greek faith* had enjoyed "*ab antiquo.*"

On the 12th of June Count Nesselrode addressed a long circular to the diplomatic agents of the Czar at the different foreign courts. This document was published in the "St. Petersburgh Gazette," and we place extracts from it on the record, that the reader may compare the Russian descriptions of the demands of Prince Menschikoff with the real history of his mission, and form some estimate of the cool assurance, to use a mild expression, of this distinguished diplomatist.

"You are sufficiently aware," he says, "of the policy of the emperor to know that His Majesty does not aim at the ruin and destruction of the Ottoman Empire, which he himself on two occasions has saved from dissolution; but that on the contrary he has always regarded the existing *status quo* as the best possible combination to interpose between all the European interests, which would necessarily clash in the East if a void were declared. The mission of Prince Menschikoff never had any other object than the arrangement of the affair of the holy places."

The Emperor of Russia having solemnly declared, on the 30th of May, that if the ultimatum of Prince Menschikoff was not accepted within eight days he would occupy the Principalities, the allied fleets were ordered to repair to Besika Bay, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, where they anchored on the 15th of June, 1853. On the 26th of the same month the Czar issued the following manifesto, in which he gives his own version of the causes of the war, and his reason for occupying the Danubian provinces:—

"PETERHOFF, *June* $\frac{14}{26}$, 1853.

"It is known to our faithful subjects that the defence of our faith has always been the sacred duty of our ancestors. From the day that it pleased the Almighty to place us on the throne of our fathers, the maintenance of the holy obligations with which it is inseparably connected has been the object of our earliest care and attention. These, acting on the groundwork of the famous treaty of Kiarnardji, which subsequent treaties with the Ottoman Porte have fully confirmed, have ever been directed to upholding the rights of our Church. All our efforts to prevent the Porte from continuing in this course proved fruitless, and even the oath of the Sultan himself solemnly given to us was perfidiously broken. Having exhausted all means of conviction, and having in vain tried all the means by which our just claims could be possibly

adjusted, we have deemed it indispensable to move our armies into the provinces on the Danube, in order that the Porte may see to what her stubbornness may lead.

"But even now we have no intention of commencing war. In occupying these provinces we wish to hold a sufficient pledge to guarantee for ourselves the reëstablishment of our rights, under any circumstances whatever.

"We do not seek for conquests. Russia does not require them. We seek the justification of those rights which have been so openly violated. We are still ready to stop the movement of our troops, if the Ottoman Porte will bind itself to observe solemnly the inviolability of the orthodox (Pravoslavan) Church; but if, from stubbornness and blindness, it decrees the contrary, then, calling God to our aid, we shall leave him to decide between us, and, with a full assurance in the arm of the Almighty, we shall go forth to fight for the orthodox faith."

On the twelfth of July Count Nesselrode issued another circular to the Russian representatives at foreign courts, in which he attempted to show that Russia was only acting on the defensive, and that the occupation of the Principalities was justified by the threatening demonstration of the Allies in sending their fleets to Besika Bay. "The position," he says, "taken up by the two powers in the ports and waters of the Ottoman Empire, within sight of the capital, is a species of maritime occupation which gives Russia occasion to restore the balance between their relative situations by taking up a military position."

But this is plainly an afterthought; the intention of occupying the Principalities in a certain contingency was officially announced in the Russian capital on the thirtieth of May, and the Allies decided, two days afterward, to despatch their naval forces to Besika Bay; but this intention of the allied powers could not have been known at St. Petersburgh until nearly ten days after the Russian decision respecting the Principalities had been formally declared to the Ottoman Porte. While Russia was thus endeavouring to convince the different cabinets of Europe of her pacific intentions, she was rapidly and silently concentrating an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men on the Pruth, and the first corps, under the command of General Luders, passed that river at Levad on the twenty-first of June, and seven days afterward the entire army of occupation, under the command of Prince Michael Gortschakoff, had entered the Principalities.

That this movement on the part of Russia was an infraction of the treaties of Adrianople and Balta Liman cannot admit of a doubt.

It must be confessed that the relation in which the Principalities stood to both Russia and Turkey was peculiar and unprecedented. To Turkey was guaranteed the prerogative of sovereignty; and

Russia had, with her, a right to a sort of joint occupancy under certain clearly-described circumstances, while the people possessed many of the privileges of self-government. These apparently conflicting and irreconcilable stipulations are contained in the fifth article of the treaty of Adrianople, which declares that "the Principalities, being placed under the *suzeraineté* of the Porte, shall possess all the privileges and immunities which shall have been accorded to them, whether by treaties between the two imperial courts, or by 'Hatti Sheriffes' promulgated at different epochs, and that they shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion in perfect security; a national and independent administration, and complete freedom of commerce." The treaty of Adrianople was ratified in 1828; and in 1849 the convention or treaty of Balta Liman, fixing the cases in which a mutual occupation of the Principalities could legally take place, was negotiated and signed.

By the stipulations of this treaty nothing but "grave events occurring in the Principalities themselves" can justify the interposition of either power. And when the necessity shall have arisen, the treaty stipulates that the occupation shall be a mutual one, and shall be made simultaneously by Russia and Turkey. It is, moreover, expressly provided that the maximum number of troops that shall be sent into the Principalities "shall not exceed thirty-five thousand men on each side, to be regularly counted, regiment by regiment, and battalion by battalion." By "grave events" is meant any serious difficulty occurring within the described territory which might prove too formidable to be controlled without foreign assistance. But at the moment when Russia chose to cross the frontier, no disturbance of any kind furnished a pretext for the movement. Hence Turkey protested against the invasion of a territory secured by treaty, and persisted in refusing to treat with Russia until her armies were withdrawn.

The Turkish protest had no effect whatever on the Russian government; on the contrary, Prince Gortschakoff proceeded to establish himself in the Principalities, and to sever entirely their connexion with the Porte. Still, though the tribute due the Sultan was stopped and turned into the Russian military chest, and the Hospodars appointed by the Porte were driven out of the country, Russia continued to declare that her occupation of the Danubian Principalities was not intended as a declaration of war.

This affirmation of the Czar encouraged the allied powers seriously to occupy themselves in the attempt to avert the threatened conflict. As early as the twenty-fourth of June the French government had proposed the plan of settlement on which was afterward based the

celebrated "Vienna note," but the conference did not assemble until a month later. On the twenty-fourth of July, however, the representatives of the four powers, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, met at Vienna, and proceeded to discuss propositions to be submitted to Russia and Turkey. In this conference, it will be observed, Russia was represented but Turkey was not. A few hours were spent in drawing up the terms of settlement, which were then transmitted to London and Paris by telegraph. The assent of France and England was immediately given, and, with their signatures appended, the terms were transmitted to St. Petersburgh, where, without hesitation, they received the approval of the Czar. In signifying his approval, however, the Czar stated to the British ambassador at St. Petersburgh "that he would accept the terms recommended to him by the conference of Vienna if the Porte would accept the note such as it stands, *sans variation*, and that he would then receive the Ottoman ambassador."

The signature of the Porte was now all that was needed to secure the pacific settlement of the difficulties between Russia and Turkey, and the document was forwarded for that purpose; but, to the utter astonishment of all parties except perhaps of Austria and Russia, the Porte refused to accept the note unless certain alterations were introduced into the form of it. This determination was announced to the representatives of the "powers" at Constantinople by Redschid Pasha on the twentieth of August, expressing the regret of the Sultan that the Vienna note "should contain certain superfluous paragraphs incompatible with the sacred rights of the government of His Majesty." "The note as it now stands," said the Pasha, "seems to us to be open to certain interpretations not intended by the powers, but against which we think it necessary to guard more distinctly. With this view we propose certain alterations in the wording of the note; if these be admitted we are willing to adopt it."

It is somewhat surprising to discover in this "note," under the flimsy disguise of words, the same stipulations in substance which occasioned the rejection of Prince Menschikoff's ultimatum. This doubtless escaped the penetration of the Vienna diplomatists, who, it must be admitted, were guilty of a great political blunder in adopting a note capable of different and conflicting interpretations. The ministers of the Sultan perceived at once that it could be construed in a manner highly injurious to the Porte, and the four powers were frank enough to confess that their objections to it were well founded.

The modifications suggested by the Porte were not, however,

acceptable to the Czar; and on the receipt of his answer, giving notice of their rejection, nothing remained for the western powers but to abandon the note which had been drawn with such studied care. The Vienna conference, however, continued in session, and its members laboured assiduously to reach some harmonious conclusion; and on the twenty-second of November the Austrian and Prussian governments agreed with those of England and France upon a basis for negotiation, and a collective note to the following effect was drawn up and signed by the four powers:—

"The existence of Turkey in the limits assigned to her by treaty is one of the necessary conditions of the balance of power in Europe, and the undersigned plenipotentiaries record with satisfaction that the existing war cannot, in any case, lead to modifications in the territorial boundaries of the two empires which might be calculated to alter the state of possession in the East which has been established for a length of time, and which is equally necessary for the tranquillity of all the other powers."

A careful attention to the points actually in issue between Russia and Turkey will convince the impartial observer that the former government from the first aimed not to preserve rights already possessed, but to enlarge her power by extending her control over several millions of the subjects of the Porte.

The "Vienna note," accepted so readily by the Czar, contained this passage:—

"That the Sultan would cause the Greek Christians to participate equally in the advantages granted or hereafter to be granted to other Christians by conventions or special ordinances."

The modifications required by the Sultan were as follows:—

"That the Sultan would make the Greek Christians participate equitably in the advantages granted to other Christian communities, *being Ottoman subjects.*"

The fact already stated, that in many places in Turkey the followers of the Latin Church, by virtue of ancient compacts, are exempt from Turkish control, and are governed by superiors of their own, shows the vital importance of this modification. The members of the "Vienna Conference" readily admitted the justness and importance of the objections made to their note by the Porte, and, having approved the modifications suggested, they earnestly, though vainly, pressed their acceptance upon the emperor of Russia.

Meanwhile both Russia and Turkey were preparing to submit their disputes to the arbitrament of the sword. The Russians occupied the Principalities, and the Turkish forces, under Omar Pasha, had advanced to the right bank of the Danube, so that an encounter was apprehended, although war had not been formally declared by either party.

Such, however, was the wild enthusiasm awakened among the subjects of the Porte by the Russian invasion, that, to prevent an insurrection in Constantinople, the Sultan was literally compelled to declare war; and the declaration agreed to by the grand council was signed on the twenty-seventh of September, and published by manifesto on the third of October, announcing the declaration of war against Russia in case the Principalities were not evacuated by the twenty-fourth of that month. Still, however, confident hopes were entertained by the western powers, and by the civilized world, that war would yet be avoided.

Meanwhile Omar Pasha had summoned Prince Gortschakoff to evacuate the provinces within fifteen days, solemnly assuring him that noncompliance would lead to the commencement of hostilities. To this letter Prince Gortschakoff replied as follows:—

"My master is not at war with Turkey; but I have orders not to leave the Principalities until the Porte shall have given to the emperor the moral satisfaction he demands. When this point is obtained I will evacuate the Principalities immediately, whatever the time or season. If I am attacked by the Turkish army I shall confine myself to the defensive."

On the eleventh of November the Czar published a formal declaration of war against Turkey, in which he speaks, with well-affected severity, of the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government, and magnifies his own legitimate solicitude for the defence of the orthodox faith in the East, as well as his spirit of long-suffering under manifold provocations. This proclamation was followed by active hostilities between the belligerents, and by the arrival of the allied fleets in the Black Sea; but before any important operations had taken place, the allied powers made one more vain effort to avert the war by submitting the terms of the Porte as an ultimatum to Russia.

It is foreign from our purpose to describe particularly the events of the campaign on the Danube; it is sufficient to say that it was conducted with skill on the part of the Turks, and that it terminated to their advantage. Under the command of the experienced Omar Pasha the Ottoman army finally drove the Russian forces beyond the Pruth. The Turkish squadron also took the initiative in the Black Sea, and commenced offensive operations by attacking Fort St. Nicholas, between Batoun and Poti, which they captured after a vigorous defence. At Sinope the Turks were less successful, suffering a disastrous defeat, with the loss of several vessels and many lives, in an attempt to defend the harbour and town against a Russian squadron of greatly superior force.

Up to this period the Allies had taken no active part in the war.

The object with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey; and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack. And in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters as that at Sinope, the fleets were ordered to enter the Black Sea, and require, and if necessary compel, Russian ships of war to return to Sevastopol or the nearest port. The Ottoman Porte seemed inclined, even after the affair at Sinope, to renew negotiations through the allied powers, and the latter still continued indefatigable in their efforts for the restoration of peace.

For this end the representatives of the four powers signed a convention, in which they recorded their own complete union of purpose in maintaining the territorial limits of the Ottoman Empire and the sovereignty of the Porte. A "note," framed in accordance with these views, was accepted by the Porte, but rejected by the Czar, who declared that he would allow of no mediation between himself and Turkey: that Turkey, if she wished to treat, might send an ambassador to St. Petersburgh. He now insisted upon conditions which amounted to a considerable increase on those demanded by Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople.

During the protracted but abortive attempts at negotiation, the conduct of Austria was sufficiently equivocal. At one time the Austrian minister did not hesitate to declare that the protocols which had been drawn up by England and France, at Count Buol's request, were the true basis of the conditions which they would accept, and that his master, the emperor, would adhere to those conditions even at the hazard of war. Yet when Count Orloff left Vienna on the fourth of February, he carried with him the assurance that in the coming struggle the neutrality of both Austria and Prussia might be relied upon. Austria subsequently inquired of the Russian cabinet whether they would object to a European protectorate over the Christians in Turkey. The reply, couched in the most positive terms, was that "Russia would permit no other power to meddle in the affairs of the Greek Church. Russia had treaties with the Porte, and would settle the question with her alone." From the tone and terms of the reply it was inferred that the Czar would consent to no treaty which did not secure to him everything, and more than everything, which had been demanded by Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople. The next step in the negotiations was the presentation of a "Turkish note" of settlement to the "Vienna Conference" on the thirteenth of January. This note

was, after a brief deliberation, approved of, and forwarded at once to St. Petersburgh; but it does not appear that the Czar deigned to honour it with a reply. A few days afterward the emperor of France sent an autograph letter to the Czar, to which the Czar replied in substance that the conditions made known at the conference of Vienna were the sole basis on which he would consent to treat. Four days after this reply was received (on the twenty-eighth of February) the governments of France and England resolved to address a formal summons to the Czar, calling upon him to give, in six days, a solemn promise that he would cause his troops to evacuate the Principalities of the Danube on or before the thirtieth of April.

This decisive step was, perhaps, hastened by the dismissal of the English and French ambassadors from the Court of Russia, the former of whom left St. Petersburgh on the eighteenth, and the latter on the twenty-first of February. The St. Petersburgh Journal, noticing the departure of the two ambassadors, remarks: "The emperor, having declared the line pursued by the two western powers to be a severe blow aimed at the rights of the Czar in his character as a belligerent sovereign, has thought it right to protest against their acts of aggression, and to suspend diplomatic relations with England and France."

On the eleventh of March the Baltic fleet sailed from Spithead, under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Napier; and on the next day a treaty was concluded between England, France, and the Porte, containing the following stipulations, viz. :—

"1. France and England engage to support Turkey by force of arms until the conclusion of a peace which shall secure the integrity and independence of the Sultan's rights and dominions;

"2. The Porte engages not to conclude peace without the consent of her allies;

"3. The allied powers promise to evacuate, after the termination of the war and at the request of the Porte, all those parts of the empire which they may find it necessary to occupy during the continuance of hostilities; and,

"4. All the subjects of the Porte, without distinction of creed, are secured complete equality before the law."

This treaty, signed by England, France, and Turkey, remained open for the acceptance of the other great powers.

An Anglo-French ultimatum was now forwarded to St. Petersburgh, in reply to which the Czar is reported to have said that the terms proposed did not require five minutes' consideration, and that, rather than submit to such conditions, he would sacrifice his last soldier and spend his last rouble. The reply of Count Nesselrode, however, was that "no answer would be given by the imperial court."

The messenger bearing this answer reached London on the twenty-fifth of March, and on the twenty-eighth of that month war was declared against Russia by England and France simultaneously. Russia responded by a counter declaration of war against England and France three days afterward.

Immediately upon the declaration of war by the Allies they both embarked large bodies of troops for the East, and early in the month of April ten thousand British troops were cantoned near Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, while twenty thousand French soldiers took up their quarters on the opposite side. The principal encampment of the Allies was subsequently established at Varna, where not less than forty-thousand men were kept inactive, decimated by cholera and other diseases, while Omar Pasha, within a few days' easy march, was gallantly driving the Russian forces out of the Principalities.

On the eighteenth of April a new convention was formed between the governments of England and France, in which the object of the two courts is stated to be "the reëstablishment of peace between the Czar and the Sultan on a firm basis, and the preservation of Europe from the dangers which have disturbed the general peace." "The Allies distinctly disclaim all exclusive advantages to themselves from the events which may arise, and they invite the rest of Europe to coöperate with them in an alliance dictated only by a regard for the interests of all."

Justice requires us to say that Russia was equally disinterested in her professions. In the declaration of war by Russia the following language is employed:—

"The desire of possessing Constantinople, if that empire should fall, and the intention of forming a permanent establishment there have been too publicly, too solemnly disowned for any doubts to be entertained on that subject, which do not originate in a distrust that nothing can cure.

"It is to defend the influence not less necessary to the Russian nation than it is essential to the order and security of other states,—it is to sustain the dignity and territorial independence, which are the basis of it, that the emperor, obliged in spite of himself to embark in this contest, is about to employ all the means of resistance that are furnished by the devotion and patriotism of his people."—*St. Petersburgh Journal, March* 30, 1854.

In the latter part of June a large force, consisting of ten thousand French troops, under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, sailed in British vessels from the northern ports of France to cooperate with Sir Charles Napier in the Baltic. The allied squadron blockaded the Russian ports and captured Bomarsund, on the island of Aland; but, upon the whole, failed to verify the expectations of the people of England and France. Meanwhile the war

was vigorously pursued against the Russians in Asia Minor by the indefatigable chief Schamyl, who had gathered under his banner eighty thousand warriors.

The period had now arrived when the inactivity of the Allies was to give place to a decisive aggressive movement; and in a council of war, held at Varna by the English and French general officers on the 26th of August, the expedition to the Crimea was decided upon.

Previous to the eastern war but little accurate knowledge was possessed by the inhabitants of modern Europe with respect to the Crimea or its resources. This peninsula was, however, well known to the ancients. During the most prosperous days of Greece it was the storehouse of Athens, whither it exported large quantities of grain.* At that period it was under the government of a line of princes known as the Kings of the Bosphorus, and for ages afterward its inhabitants were distinguished for their intelligence and refinement, and for their progress in the arts. The museums of Caffa, Nikolaieff, and Odessa, contain numerous remains of antiquity, illustrative of the advanced condition of its ancient inhabitants. At Inkermann, Balaklava, and other places, evidences exist to show that the Genoese, during their commercial supremacy, explored the Euxine, and planted colonies in the Crimea. Theodosia, or Caffa, was at that time a great entrepot for the commerce with interior Asia. The route to China was from Azof to Astrakan, and thence through various places not found in modern maps to "Cambalu," which is thought to be the modern Pekin.† The Venetians had also a settlement in the Crimea, and appear, by a passage in Petrarch's Letters, to have possessed some of the trade through Tartary. Under the Tartar government, this peninsula was at one time covered with many flourishing cities. In 1740 the Russians first entered the Crimea. In that year the lines of Perekop were forced by Count de Munich, and the country was wasted by fire and sword; but upon the termination of the war it was restored to the Turks. In 1772 Perekop was again taken by Russia, and, by the treaty of Kiarnardji, the Crimea was finally severed from the Turkish Empire. This country has always been highly prized by the Russian government, being considered by her rulers and statesmen as the gateway through which Constantinople was finally to be approached. The famous inscription at Kherson, "This way leads to Byzantium," which so much delighted the Czarina Catharine II. upon her visit to that part of her dominions, was understood to indicate the route by Perekop and Sevastopol as the most ready avenue of approach to the long desired goal. The preëminent importance attached to

* Strabo. † Hallam.

the latter place, and the commanding influence it was expected to exert in the ultimate designs of Russia, are significantly suggested even by its name, Sevastopol, signifying Augustan, or imperial city.

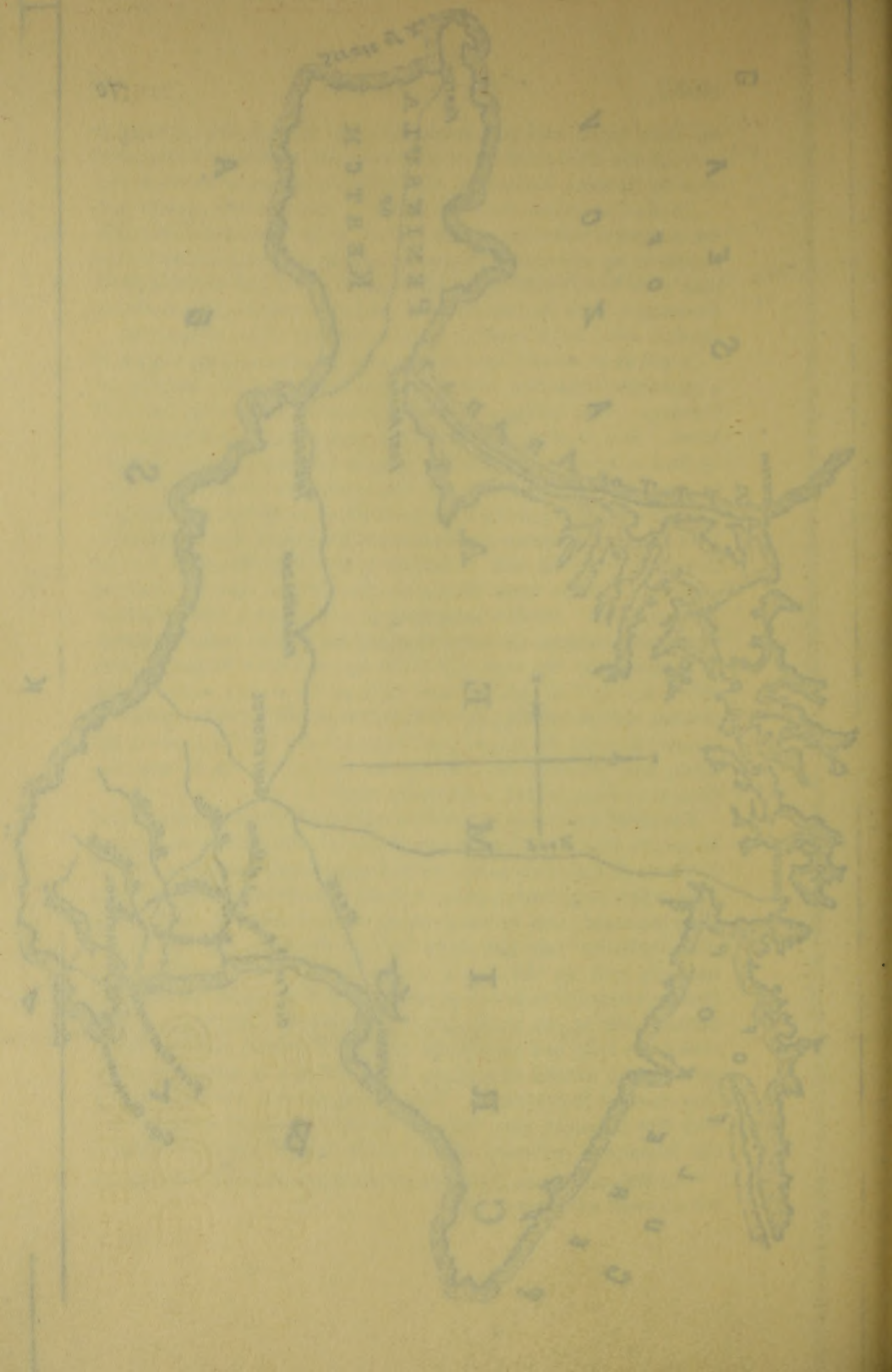
As the Crimea has been the principal theatre of the present war, the interest of which has chiefly centred at Sevastopol and its neighbourhood, we accompany the present article with an accurate outline map of the entire peninsula, and a section on a much larger scale of Sevastopol, with its harbour and vicinity, enabling the reader to obtain a clear understanding of the operations of the belligerents.

It will be perceived, by a reference to the map, that the Crimea is a peninsula connected with Southern Russia by the isthmus of Perekop. This isthmus is about seventeen miles long and five broad. It is fortified, and the only ingress or egress to the peninsula by land is through an arched gateway in a rampart running from sea to sea. To guard against the inconveniences which might occur from this position passing into the hands of an enemy, the Russians have constructed across the shallows of the Putrid Sea a great military road, which is said to furnish a more available route for the passage of troops from Russia to the Crimea than the road by Perekop itself. Besides these there is a third route, which is sometimes followed from the eastern parts of the Crimea to the continent. A reference to the map will show that a narrow tongue of land, called the Spit of Arabat, runs up from the eastern corner of the Crimea, almost touching the continent at the Strait of Genitchi. It is quite possible for troops marching into the Crimea to cross the strait, and, pursuing this road by the Spit of Arabat, to enter the Crimea at Fort Arabat, a few miles north of Caffa.

The allied expedition to the Crimea having first taken possession of Eupatoria, where they landed a small garrison and established a depot, finally made their descent at a point designated on the map as the Old Fort, where they disembarked, without opposition, a body of about sixty thousand men, on the morning of September 14, 1854. The disembarkation was completed without accident, and the troops instantly took up the line of march for Sevastopol. The Allies first encountered their enemy on the line of the river Alma, about fifteen miles to the northward of Sevastopol. The banks of this river * are lofty and precipitous, and the Russians, availing themselves of its natural advantages, had fortified it in a manner which they deemed impregnable. This strong position was defended by over fifty thousand men, with one hundred pieces of artillery; but the impetuous gallantry of the allied troops achieved apparent

* The Alma, the Katcha, the Belbek, and the Tchernaya are all small streams, and are nearly everywhere fordable.

GULF OF PEREKOP
PEREKOP
ENITCHI
SEA OF AZOV
SEA OF AZOV
ARABAT
CRIMEA
Road
N
E
PENINSULA OF KERTCH
KERTCH
Strait of Kertch
FORT ARARAT
EUPATORIA
Road
OLD FORT
Bat. of Alma
SIMFEROPOL
KARASUBAZAR
THEODOSIA
R. Alma
R. Katcha
R. Belbek
R. Tchernaya
Fort Constantine
Cape Chersonesus
SEVASTOPOL
BALAKLAVA
BLACK SEA



impossibilities, and in three hours the position was forced, and the battle of the Alma won, with a loss to the Russians in killed and wounded of eight thousand men, and to the Allies of nearly half that number. Two days after the battle of the Alma the allied troops resumed their march; and on the afternoon of the same day crossed the Katcha, another small river running parallel to the Alma. The passage of neither the Katcha nor the Belbek was opposed by the Russians; and on Sunday, the 24th of September, the Allies took up a position about a mile and a half in advance of the latter stream.

On Monday morning a reconnoissance was made toward Inkermann, with the view of finding a practicable crossing for the army over the Tchernaya, and the marshy ground on its banks; but the officer by whom it was conducted reported that he could only find a causeway over the morass, and a bridge over the river, with a strong force on the opposite side.

Up to this period it had been the intention of the allied commanders to attack Sevastopol on the north side of the harbour. But in consequence of its difficult approach, and the immense labour of bringing up their siege train by the route pursued by the army, it was determined to make the harbour of Balaklava and some of the small bays that indent the coast near Cape Chersonesus, places of rendezvous for the fleet and depots for supplies. In pursuance of this determination, the army followed the route indicated upon the map, by way of Mackenzie's Farm, and arrived, on the 27th of September, at Balaklava. At Mackenzie's Farm, on the route, Field Marshal St. Arnaud issued his last order, in which he took formal leave of his troops, and resigned his command to General Canrobert.

As it is our aim to give a connected account of the events of the war in the fewest possible words, we avoid all attempts to describe the battles which occurred, and also reluctantly omit many interesting anecdotes connected with them.

On the 28th of September, the second and third divisions of the British army moved up to the heights above Sevastopol, where they encamped.* The engineers and artillery men proceeded at once to land the siege-guns, and on the 29th some of them had already been dragged up the heights and temporarily placed in a field in the rear of the position occupied by the troops. The French took up their position† near the sea, having selected as their base of operations the three deep bays lying between Cape Chersonesus and Sevastopol, where they had the advantage of disembarking their siege train nearer the scene of action.

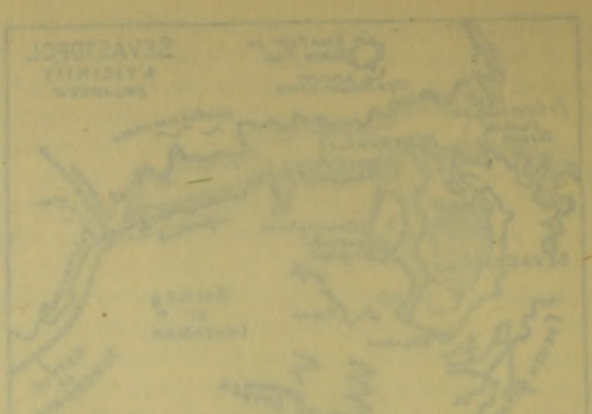
* Just in the rear of the point marked "English Attack" on the map.

† Vide "French Attack," on the map.

The forces of the Allies, when in position, extended from the mouth of the Tchernaya to the sea south of Sevastopol, forming a semi-circle at the distance of about two miles from the enemy's works. The fire from the trenches opened on the morning of the 17th of October, and continued with slight intermissions until the 25th, on which day the British line of communication was attacked by General Liprandi, and the battle of Balaklava was fought, in which, though the Russians were repulsed, the British lost many men, and their cavalry especially were very roughly handled. On the fifth of November a most determined assault was made by the Russians on the right flank of the besiegers. The attack resulted in what is known as the battle of Inkermann, in which the Russians were defeated with the loss of ten thousand men, while the Allies had near four thousand killed and wounded.

The attack and defence were conducted during the winter with equal obstinacy, though the Allies, and particularly the English, suffered exceedingly from the severity of the weather, and the want of necessary supplies. The ordinary routine of siege duty was steadily pursued for nearly twelve months, relieved by occasional sallies and assaults, which had no decisive result, until the last desperate attempt of the Russians to raise the siege by attacking the line of the Tchernaya, speedily followed by the successful assault and capture of the place itself.

The unexpected duration of the siege of Sevastopol has astonished the world, and given rise to many strange speculations, and the promulgation of many marvellous opinions. Russian sympathizers have discerned in it the evidence of Russian superiority in combat, and unparalleled skill in engineering. Many crude opinions, too,



have been hazarded with regard to the mysterious nature of "earthworks," as though these were some Muscovite discovery in the art of military engineering, which would entirely revolutionize the science of attack and defence of fortified places. Quackery is not confined to professors of the healing art. We may, however, safely assume that there are not many secrets in the science of medicine or of war. Wise men in both professions laugh at such pretensions. We venture the opinion that the siege of Sevastopol was protracted, not because of the unparalleled skill of its defenders, much less of new discoveries which they had made in the art of defence, but solely because the besiegers neglected some of the very first principles laid down by the great instructors in the Art of War.

Marshal Vauban, the highest authority on this subject with military men, says, in his "*Attaque des Places*," "The success of the assailants will depend upon several things." 1. "The investment of the place." 2. "On the amount of force we can bring to the attack. In attacking a fortified place the besieging force should be at least five times as numerous as the garrison." 3. "On the superiority of the besiegers in artillery. * * * After the investment, the next step is to subdue the artillery of the place." Now all these alleged necessary conditions of success seem to have been totally disregarded by the Allies. Sevastopol has not been "*invested*" to this day. From the day the trenches were opened to the hour of its fall, it was open to the north, and in uninterrupted communication with the Russian army in the field. The required superiority in the besieging force was never possessed by the Allies, for, from the most reliable accounts, they have never had, at the most, more than a bare equality of numbers. The old marshal's third condition has been equally disregarded. "To subdue the artillery of the place," is held to be a *sine qua non* by military men, which, if neglected, can only be atoned for by the sacrifice of men. But if the reports from the Crimea may be relied upon, Sevastopol has constantly been superior to its assailants in both the number and calibre of its guns.

Vauban makes the success of an attack depend on several other things; but those mentioned are sufficient to show that the protracted defence of Sevastopol may be accounted for without assuming any remarkable discoveries in engineering on the part of General Todtleben, or any special virtues in the "earthworks" thrown up under his direction. "Earthworks" are simply ramparts of earth thrown up to furnish an extempore protection when time is wanted to erect more durable defences; and, so far from being novelties, they were doubtless the earliest method resorted to, to strengthen a position threatened by an enemy.

Viewing this affair in all its aspects, aided by all the information we have obtained, we are compelled to regard the capture of Sevastopol as the most wonderful achievement of its character recorded in the history of war. Places of equal or superior strength have been taken by surprise, or reduced by rigid investment; but we know of no place of equal strength which has ever been captured by regular siege, when unlimited supplies of munitions and men could be thrown into it at pleasure. We are immeasurably surprised that, under the circumstances, the place was ever taken, or that the Russians, after the experience of the last twelve months, and especially of the impressive lesson taught by the final assault, should cherish the hope of successfully contending with the Allies in the open field, when, with all the advantages of equal or superior forces at hand, and abundant *materiel* at command, they have been unable to defend such fortifications as surrounded Sevastopol.

With regard to the conduct of the war, should it continue, it is neither easy nor prudent to speak, when predictions may be so swiftly contradicted by events. But at the present date, (November 1,) we cannot doubt that the Allies will operate upon the left flank and rear of the Russian army in the Crimea, and that not only Sevastopol north of the harbour will fall without a blow, but that the power of Russia in the Crimea will be broken, and her army disorganized and destroyed. Both the land and naval forces of the Allies, which, since the fall of Sevastopol, may be employed elsewhere, are already operating against other important positions within striking distance; and there can be little doubt that Kherson and Nikolaieff will receive their early attention. The former contains over one hundred thousand inhabitants, according to some authorities, and is an important naval station. At its magnificent dock-yards the greater part of the late Black Sea fleet was built. The latter is comparatively a new city, but it is the seat of an admiralty, and a point of considerable political importance. Odessa is also an accessible point, which must be strongly garrisoned to preserve it from the grasp of the Allies. The conflict must, at least for a period, be carried on greatly to the disadvantage of the Russians. Having the entire command of the sea, with abundant facilities for transportation, the Allies can select their own point of attack, at which they may rapidly concentrate an overwhelming force, while the necessity of defending so many exposed positions must make the Russians weak at any given point, and expose them to successive assault and defeat. Unless, therefore, we adopt the incredible supposition that Russia is capable of raising and supporting an army numerous enough to garrison each of her exposed positions with a force strong enough to

repel the concentrated strength of the Allies, we see not how the war can be carried on to her advantage. She must suffer; and, unless she take counsel of discretion, she will ultimately be exhausted in the struggle.

The basis recognised in the "Vienna note," rejected by Russia, must finally be that upon which peace will be restored; and the Czar must consent at least to abandon his protectorate of the Principalities, and limit his power in the Black Sea.

The world is looking with breathless interest upon this gigantic struggle between the Allies and the Colossus of the North; but the true-hearted friends of humanity everywhere, and especially every American, must sympathize with England and France in the conflict. If the Russians should eventually be successful, the Testament of Peter, the Visions of Catharine, and the cherished dreams of the Russian people will all be realized. Before the death of Nicholas it is said he had already selected and educated the future commanders of "the army of Constantinople," "the army of India," &c.; and the march of events for the last century and a half demonstrates the steady determination of Russia to be satisfied with nothing short of continental supremacy and control. Her success in her designs upon Turkey would arrest the march of civilization and religion, and throw back for centuries the disenthrallment of the nations. Whatever, therefore, may be the designs of the emperor of France or the ministry of England, we think the Allies are really fighting for the cause of freedom and religion; and that, unconsciously perhaps, they are accomplishing the merciful designs of Providence with respect to the enlightenment of the race. Russia is inert and feeble for purposes of aggression. Her vast extent of territory, her sparse population, and her want of facilities for easy and rapid transportation, make it impossible for her suddenly to assail any of her neighbours. Give her Constantinople and ready access to the Mediterranean and these disabilities cease. Give her the liberty to build ships and gather a navy in the Bosphorus, and refresh and discipline her legions on its shores, and she at once becomes potential in Europe and Asia, and holds the helm of the eastern hemisphere. It is one thing to march an army from Moscow or St. Petersburgh upon India, Asia Minor, or Europe, across interminable steppes or through the rugged passes of the Caucasus, and quite another to launch it suddenly as a bolt from heaven, fresh and vigorous, from the barracks of Stamboul.

But aside from political reasons, if we can suppose the nations to be moved by motives of justice or equity, the Allies are fully justified in interposing in behalf of Turkey. We have an

unshaken belief in the righteousness of the abstract doctrine of "intervention." A strong nation is under as clear an obligation to interpose in behalf of a weak one, threatened with injury or ruin, as a strong man is to interpose in behalf of a weak one when assaulted by one stronger than himself. Nations should be the subjects of law as well as individuals; and the one has no more right to resort to violence than the other. And if a strong nation shows a disposition to disregard national law,—to play the invader and violate the rights of its weaker neighbour,—it becomes the common interest and duty of other nations to rebuke her and protect the party assailed, just as it is the duty of society to protect its members from unlawful violence, and to rebuke the swaggering bully.

The conflict between the Allies and Russia has been well called a conflict between civilization and barbarism. The outposts of the Russian Empire pushed to Constantinople would be another wave of that dark sea which has, more than once from the same direction, swept over Western Europe. We deprecate this result as the most disastrous event that could occur to civilization, to freedom, or to Christianity.

Art. IV.—REMAINS OF LATIN TRAGEDY.

Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiæ. Recensuit Otto Ribbeck. Lipsiæ. Sumptibus et Formis B. G. Teubneri. MDCCCLII. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 442.

It is a very natural inquiry on the first inspection of this volume, or of any similar collection of ancient fragments, to ask, What is the use of such an aggregation of mutilated relics, and what healthy nourishment can be expected from a meal off such tough, broken, and indigestible victuals? The question is easily asked, and forces itself spontaneously on the mind. A satisfactory answer does not present itself quite so readily; and yet such an answer may be given, and had probably been conceived in even an exaggerated form before the labour of gathering, arranging, methodizing, and cleansing these antiquated remnants was undertaken.

Here, in one moderate-sized volume, of which the text occupies only the fourth part, or thereabouts, are brought together all the scattered relics of early Roman tragedy. Here are all the rags and shreds which have been preserved of the singing robes of some thirty-eight or forty Roman tragedians. They furnish forth a curious wardrobe of tattered garments. Nowhere is either a single breadth

of cloth or pattern of the piece entire, but the scanty patches are sufficiently numerous to afford adequate specimens of the texture of the fabric.

The whole long course of Latin literature has been diligently examined and forked over, and then strained through the fine sieve of critical acumen, to separate from the general soil the particles of crystal which are here strung together with an ingenious effort to introduce order into the midst of chaos, and to restore some appearance of symmetry to a dismembered and dissipated organism. The shivered bones, the desiccated muscles, the chords, and sinews, and fine dust of organizations, once complete in themselves, but now represented merely by blanched and mouldy splinters, are collected with a careful and tender hand, and decently laid out with a well-intended ingenuity, and with a solicitous anxiety to recompose the features of the dead from the scanty shreds of the several anatomies which can still be found. It is a very inefficient and bungling attempt at resurrection, but is a fitting prelude to a decent burial, and renders us capable of fully appreciating the funeral service, and the general character of the deceased.

Is it within the compass of even the richest imagination to accomplish or even to fancy the reunion, under a symmetrical and living form, of these dry bones from the valley of Jehoshaphat—to replace in their due positions in the skeleton these commingled fragments of matter once entire and animated, and to breathe into the heaps of dead, and shattered, and long putrescent limbs the vital air and warmth of their original semblance? The condensed commentary, (*Quæstionum Scenicarum Mantissa,*) appended to the text in this volume, will prove the earnest assiduity with which this task has been undertaken, and may illustrate the degree and extent of the success which is still attainable in this wilderness of possible imaginations. We must confess, however, that in all such enterprises we cannot wholly escape the impression that we behold the blind leading the blind.

Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam.[o]

Does it not seem, on the first consideration, the vainest of all vain hopes, to evoke the secrets of life from the dust and ashes of the dead—to pretend to recall features which have never been seen in the memory of man, and of which no delineation has been transmitted to us—to revive images of beings, crushed, buried, and crumbled into dust, and known only by the little portions of bone and sinew still discernible amid the dust? Does it not seem the wildest of all wild imaginations to conjecture the past form and outline of a body,

[o] Ennii Telamo. Fr. II., v. 274, p. 45. Ribbeck.

when no individual of the species, no imitation, and no similitude has been perpetuated in its integrity, or even in any considerable part? All the bones are broken and imperfect, and all the articulations lost, of the skeleton which we would recompose. Yet the task has been attempted again and again, though rarely with such unfavourable materials as Otto Ribbeck operates on; and labours of this sort, desperate as they appear to be, are not limited to the resuscitation and reorganization of classical remains, but had been previously applied with singular felicity to the more difficult subjects of antediluvian creation.

The aims of the geological palæontologist and of the philologist who endeavours to methodize the fragments of classical antiquity are, in many respects, closely analogous. Both propose to reconstruct the original forms by the assistance of the indications afforded by the mutilated parts which are still accessible. Both contemplate the artificial and artistical arrangement of the relics in the order in which nature, or creative art, which is the simular of nature, had originally combined them. Both supply by sagacious and scientific conjecture the missing links which complete the skeleton, and explain the position and probable purpose of the bleached and time-eaten parts which form the only substantial materials for the whole imaginary construction. Both call into requisition like talents, and seek the achievement of like results. Both subdue imagination, though in unequal degrees, to the functions and sobriety of science; and, by cautious procedure in this course, consolidate dreams into realities. Whatever success may attend their ingenious conjectures, we may, however, derive a profitable warning from a caution found among the fragments at present submitted to our notice: —

Aliquot sunt vera somnia, et non omnia est necesse.[o]

Of the two classes of conjectural restorers of extinct forms, the geologist has, in some respects, much the more arduous task. He must complete the anatomy which he handles; he must imagine and delineate anew all that is wanting. Every absent bone, and claw, and osseous process must be conceived and represented, not arbitrarily, but with a strict regard to the pregnant though but slightly indicated signs which may be detected in the fossil antiquity in his hands. How latent, how trivial, or how effectual those indications may be, it is not our concern to exhibit at present. The internal composition of the bone may suffice for the determination of the type of the animal, or the foliation of the ivory as revealed by the microscope in the section of a tooth may suggest the shape and arrange-

[o] Ennius. Incerti nominis Reliquiæ. Fr. LVI., v. 401, p. 61. Ribbeck.

ment of all the other parts. But this belongs to the details and method of the procedure, not simply to its essential character. Whatever significances are employed, it is exacted of the speculative geologist, that the forms, the proportions, the combinations of the conjectural bones, shall correspond truly with the isolated *tibia* or clavicle, and explain the full meaning of these; and that the whole shall be put together in such a manner that the eye of science may be compelled to recognise, and the reason of science to admit, that an animal with such a skeleton could have lived, and moved, and pursued its prey, and digested its food, carnal or herbaceous, and spent with ease, and comfort, and propriety, its natural career on earth. It is not sufficient to put together the bones, real or imaginary, without interval or confusion, like the ivory pieces of the Chinese puzzle; but all the harmonies of life, secret or apparent, must be maintained, and the organic instruments for suitable action and for the complete discharge of the appropriate animal functions must be truthfully supplied.

Much of this exact fidelity and complicated labour is remitted to the philologist. He only proposes to establish the logical and the chronological succession of parts; and enjoys, moreover, the inestimable privilege of travelling without comment, around all insuperable or provoking difficulties, by an indefinite adjournment of the required solution. He is not compelled to provide all the links of connexion in their perfect order, in their separate parts, and in their complex arrangement; but only to produce a thread strong enough to support the beads with which he plays and to string them on such a thread, so that it may be possible with some verisimilitude to suppose them to have primitively manifested a somewhat similar arrangement. Brief articulations, having the merit of possibility, or the still higher excellence of plausibility, are all that are exacted at the hands of the critical archæologist, and the whole domain of the conjectural and the imaginable is thrown open for the *divagations* of his fancy. It is not indispensable that he should be absolutely right in his suggestions and delineations; it is only necessary that he should escape being obviously wrong, and avoid all ordinary chances of being convicted of positive ignorance or blundering. Loose, too, as is the rein under which his course is run, even that he can shake off whenever it becomes irksome; he can leave the track and abandon the race wherever the ground is treacherous beneath his feet, or the effort too arduous for his strength.

But if the philologist is obedient to a milder law than that which controls the speculations of the palæontologist, the latter has some peculiar advantages which are denied to the former. If the forms

of the particular organizations which the archæologist of nature seeks to reconstruct are no longer known to the experience of men, careful inductions and the profound researches of comparative anatomy have, at least, revealed all the most important conditions of the modifications of animal life, and have determined the agreement of parts, their mutual dependence, or rather their reciprocal relations—the proportions between them, and their interdependent forms. Thus each part is already known to be a significant index of all the rest, and the character and range of those significances have also been already determined in great measure by science. Moreover, though in many instances complete types of extinct existences may no longer be found, partial types, exhibiting the separate elements of all the combinations of organic forms are still within our reach; and perfect, or nearly perfect skeletons of some of the most singular and anomalous specimens of extinct organization have been found imbedded in the earth. The philologist is, to a very great extent, denied any similar aid. For him there is no distinct canon of nature settled in its parts, and laws, and elementary forms, though variable in their combinations and adaptations. In the productions of literature—in the creations of artistic imagination—neither is the whole necessarily determined by the separate fragmentary parts, nor are the parts altogether correspondent with each other. Genius operates under a law of freedom, and not like nature, under a law of regular and uniform development. Hence, when the form in which genius moulded its creations has once been broken, it is broken forever; and no exemplar is perpetuated as an heirloom for after ages. Like the phœnix, it produces but one at a birth, and transfuses its whole life into its single progeny. The type is always limited in its full characteristics to the solitary individual, and when the life of that individual has been destroyed, for it there is no resurrection, and rarely the possibility of a transmitted image. So far as the earlier Latin tragedy is concerned, no complete summary, or skeleton, or representation of the forms and combinations, which delighted or surprised the learned or lettered of ancient Rome, has yet been discovered among the moths, and worms, and dirt, and dust, and mouldy paper and conglomerated rubbish of the antiquated libraries of Europe.

Fortunately for their modern appreciation, the Roman tragedies were not strictly the productions of genius, but in the main the art-manufactures of imitative industry. Nevertheless the hope of even partially or plausibly receiving the semblance of ancient Latin tragedy would be empty indeed, but for three favouring circumstances. The miscellaneous writers of Rome do not merely pre-

serve quotations from the earlier tragedians, like flies in amber, or more frequently like fossils in concretionary rock; but they afford numerous passing illustrations of the character of the dramatists and their dramas. In the works of Seneca we still possess several perfect specimens of the later Latin tragedy, which, by comparison with the information on this subject to be obtained elsewhere, we find to possess a strong family resemblance to their predecessors. In the literature of Greece we have numerous complete tragedies, and a copious profusion of the fragments of others, which we know to have been imitated, pillaged, and translated by the tragic dramatists of Rome. There were few departments of Latin literature which had any extensive or valid pretensions to originality, or which avoided the blame of bold, bare-faced, unblushing, imbecile plagiarism; and we are well-assured that neither the tragedy nor the comedy of the Romans was one of its manifestations which was free from this censure.

These considerations almost compensate the philologist for the superior advantages attributed to his fellow-labourer whose business it is to pry into the bowels of the earth, exhume the bones, and skeletons, and casts of defunct beasts and races of beasts, and recompose the forgotten types of animate existence. They more than compensate for them when we take into the estimation the less exacting laws under which the philological palæontologist pursues his investigations. Still the processes employed by both classes of inquirers are strikingly analogous; and we cannot refrain from assigning to the brilliant example of geological successes much of the new-born zeal which has recently been displayed in the detection, collection, purification, and ordination of ancient fragments. We do not remember any such compilation anterior to the commencement of the century. The broken crumbs which could be claimed for authors of whom we possessed complete works had been previously compiled; and this had been done with much care and fidelity in the case of the most distinguished writers. Bentley, about a century earlier, had contemplated the preparation and co-adunation of the dramatic fragments of Greece, but he never realized his purpose; and no complete body of special fragments—no copious aggregation of all the broken bread and tough crusts of a particular leaven—had, to our knowledge, been achieved before the beginning of the current generation. Now there are numerous compilations of the kind—every branch of literature has its well-stuffed rag-bag—and it is scarcely possible any longer, by the perusal of scholiasts, lexicographers, or grammarians, to stumble across a genuine relic of antiquity which has not been already picked up, inserted in some

cabinet of old bones, and incorporated into some *corpus deperditorum*, or refuge of the lost.

The scope of Meinherr Ribbeck's labours has permitted him to dispense with any assistance which the tragedies of Seneca might have afforded him. His collection is a critical and philological—not an æsthetical, or in any very liberal sense, an exegetical exposition of the carcass of Roman tragedy. The sanctimonious purification of the several texts, the scrupulous ostentation of archaisms, the collation of readings and comparison of manuscript variations, and the true antiquarian avidity to rescue from oblivion or foreign association every fragment of this particular class of antiquities, and to introduce it into his cabinet of damaged curiosities, are his chief aims in this volume. His secondary purpose, which is, however, pursued with equal diligence, is to replace the fragments in their due sequence, or in that succession which his taste, his judgment, his imagination, or his laborious industry has suggested as having possibly been their pristine order; to exhibit their original purport and relations; to combine them with the soft and easily-worked cement of conjecture; and to trace their obligations to Greek prototypes. We will not call in question the skill and dexterity which attend him throughout the course of his slow and lumbering procedure; but his rough and rugged utterance, his pedantry, and his affected graces, very effectually obscure or conceal the talents which he may have applied to the execution of his undertaking. He is full of airs and grimaces, and these are curiously travestied when rendered into Latin. There is a quaint whimsicality in his expression; there is a ludicrous attempt to unite dignity and humor, levity and sarcasm; but the dignity, like Mr. Turveydrop's deportment, is amusing, and the humour is not—the levity is too ponderous, and the sarcasm wants point and perspicuity—two important requisites of wit. Like the satyrs of the tragedy which he attempts to illustrate, he has rashly ventured into an unfamiliar walk:—

"Asper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit."

But if the asperity is apparent, the joke is indiscernible; and if his gravity is maintained, his reader's is lost; but the laugh unfortunately is not at the jest, but at the solemn countenance with which it is restrained. From these and other causes the Latinity of M. Ribbeck is as rigid, and starched, and stately as a robe of old-fashioned brocade—the papyrus rattles as we read. His language is a mosaic of pieces of stained glass, put together with an intricate precision which bewilders the eye and fatigues the attention. It is much too

grandiose and glaring for our taste and often for our comprehension, and sounds more like the prize declamation of a Ciceronian sophister than as if meant to contain a serious meaning and convey information. It is too fine and not sufficiently intelligible. It may win golden smiles and commendations from the unsolicitous because unappreciating multitude—it may gain the applause of pedants who would gladly imitate it—but to those who desire sense rather than sound, and instruction rather than display, and especially than ineffectual display, it will appear intolerable. In a general way the Latin of German commentators is not pleasant reading. Their ideas linger languidly along in undulating volumes, like the smoke which curls from their meerschaums; their sentences imitate this involution and partake of this tedious continuity till they straggle, like a cobweb, over two or three pages; and their phrases tumble heavily along, suffering from all manner of dislocations. To read such Latin after perusing the clear, sharp, quick utterance of the classics is a sufficiently melancholy employment; but when a Dutch commentator tries to write finely, as Ribbeck does, and to embroider euphemisms with Latin thread on a Dutch canvass, he becomes insupportable while ceasing to be intelligible. The preface and commentary of Ribbeck are but too obvious to this criticism; for his Latin is as offensive as the English of Dr. Parr, Barker of Thetford, or Headley, and, in some degree, from the same cause. It is too fine. But while reprehending the expression employed in the commentary, we must approve the diligence and industry with which M. Ribbeck has collected and exposed the materials which it contains. There is too much disposition to embrace as good spoil all that is encompassed by his net; but, in the few lines of investigation contemplated by the Mantissa we must complain of the exuberance rather than of any deficiency of materials—and it assuredly would be fastidious hypercriticism to grumble at an excess in this particular.

In all parts of his task, Ribbeck, or Mr. Ribbeck, according to the fashion adopted by English literati in designating German scholars, has had abundant assistance from previous explorers in the same path, whose investigations and imaginations he has faithfully and sometimes maliciously appreciated; but he has been especially indebted to his predecessors in that division of his inquiries which is devoted to the illustration of the dependence of the Roman on the Greek tragedians. With the perseverance, fidelity, and pertinacity of a slouth-hound he has tracked the Latins, on every possible occasion, and almost at every turn, to their Attic masters. He has thus furnished abundant, ready, and convenient proof of what

has long been known as a general truth, that the Latin tragedy, in its earliest as well as in its latest forms, was only a faint, feeble, flashy, and servile imitation of Greek originals. How feeble or how servile it was can scarcely be discovered at this late day—though, with the copious array of examples here supplied, there is more danger of exaggerating than of underrating its feebleness. How slavish it was, not merely in general outline or occasional conceptions, but in its whole tenor, in its most minute subdivisions, and in verbal composition, may be very fully seen in the mirror presented by Otto Ribbeck.

A large portion of the relics secured from the wreck of ages exhibits a pure transcription from the Greek. Horace rather announced the prevailing practice than originated a precept or gave expression to a rule of art in his celebrated recommendation to his countrymen—

> "Vos exemplaria Græca
> Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

There was no more need of giving any such instruction to the Latin dramatists than of preaching to a corps of professors and practitioners of grand and petty larceny on the policy of never stealing empty purses when full ones are to be obtained, and of taking gold watches in preference to pinchbeck. Every rascal among the Roman tragedians had already, with diligent exclusiveness, plundered and cribbaged—(convey, the wise it call!)—everything that was transportable from the copious literature of Greece. In modern times a high æsthetic meaning has been habitually assigned to Horace's recommendation: he has been generously supposed to have held up high models of art for the cultivation of the taste and the chastening of the genius of his countrymen. We may not have done too much honour to the didactic poet, but we certainly do give too much credit to his audience by such an interpretation. They had the Greeks already in their hands; and with their rapacious fingers were tearing out passage after passage and scene after scene, to be transferred or translated into their own works of original Roman genius. To go no further for an illustration, one of the longest fragments in this collection, the opening lines of the Medea of Ennius, is a literal transcript from the commencement of the Medea of Euripides. This is merely one convenient instance selected out of many, when nearly every fragment furnishes a new example of the literary insolvency of the Romans. The debtor side of the account is very fully exhibited in the commentaries of Ribbeck; and it may be safely said that there were but very few credits, and

would have been much fewer had not most of the Greek vouchers of Roman indebtedness been lost.

We are thus enabled to perceive how completely this, like most other branches of Roman literature, was a reproduction of Greek genius. The whole truth, or nearly the whole truth, is revealed to us at a single glance. It was not merely an imitation, for it did not recur to Greece only for examples, or models, or occasional embellishments, but it sought its plans, its plots, its frame-work, its materials from that source. Every stick of timber in the skeleton of the tragic drama of Rome was brought from the stately temples of Greek art. The native brilliancy and freshness were rubbed off, the fine carving was pared away, the gilding was defaced, and everything was lacquered over with the coarse colours of the Roman shop; but still the original substance was retained, and sufficient traces of its former state were left to render the theft or the violent appropriation apparent. True, the Roman dramatists acknowledged and gloried in the theft: they had little native wealth of their own to gratify their vanity or pride, and they vaunted the dexterity and success with which they had transferred to themselves the possessions of their more richly endowed neighbours. It was just such an exploit as might have won the applause of listening rogues, if performed upon more material articles of property, and narrated in the back alleys and subterranean tenements frequented by the pick-pockets and light-fingered gentry of London or New-York.

The fragments of Latin tragedy still preserved, show, even in their hopeless mutilation, how closely the tragedians adhered in the general outline to the plan, and in the separate parts to the spirit and expression, but not to the grace, of their teachers. The principle on which their aberrations from the text seems to have been conducted, was a singularly awkward device. They rarely followed throughout, and apparently only in the earliest times, the entire development of the particular tragedy which they selected as their model, or borrowed as their groundwork. Instead of pursuing so plain a course, they blended different tragedies together, mixing up different legends, different religious dogmas, and inconsistent materials; and they completed their fabric by a patchwork process, forming only rubble-work, though many of the most precious and exquisite pieces of Greek antiquity were broken up to fill an angle, and awkwardly introduced into the masonry. A Latin tragedy was built like a Gothic wall. Masses of shattered columns, sculptured architraves, groined work, and mutilated statues, all unquestionably the creation of a more artistic people, were compounded together with greater or less skill, in the rude and rugged structure that was erected.

In one of these old Roman tragedies, of which crumbling fragments alone remain, which, separately, seem incapable of giving any information relative to their original use, or the organism to which they belonged, two or three Greek tragedies were often reproduced, parts being taken from each, but the life and spirit of all being sacrificed by the mutilation, butchery, and dismemberment to which they were subjected. Not content with the spoils obtained by this barbarous procedure, it then sought to beautify and enrich itself with plundering from other Greek dramas such gems and ornaments as seemed most appropriate to the occasion or most easy of transfer, substituting coloured glass and pebbles for gold and precious stones; and endeavouring to atone for any deficiency in the quality by the multiplication of the gaudy decorations. It was the labour of just such taste as might induce a rustic maiden to deck her fat red fingers, and adorn her rubicund neck with countless gewgaws in default of a single valuable ornament.

All these glimpses into the composition and constitution of the ancient Latin tragedy are speedily afforded to us by the inspection of its collected remains, and the lesson is immediately and forcibly imprinted upon our minds by the copious illustrations which the diligent but tiresome commentary of Ribbeck provides. Not one word, of course, does he say suggestive of the views which we have been expressing. He would abhor any such profanity. He looks upon all these relics as so many priceless jewels. If not valuable in themselves, they are venerable and valuable for the rust, and mould, and mildew which has settled upon them in the course of dusty ages. He touches them with reverential hand, furbishes them up, turns them over tenderly, exhibits them in their brightest aspects, honours them by the exposition of their Greek lineage and affiliations, but meanwhile supplies all the evidences which render irresistible the inferences which we have drawn. In his dainty Latinity there is no place for such *scandalum magnatum* as we have been promulgating. There every broken pebble and bone is sanctified, and the soil on which they rest is holy ground. That admiration which the Latin tragedy in its integrity was not calculated to inspire he accords to these decayed remnants of a mock divinity.

> "Quoi nec aræ patriæ domi stant; fractæ et disjectæ jacent,
> Fana Flamma deflagrata, tosti alti stant parietes,
> Deformati, atque abiete crispa[o] o o o."

We take the lesson which is taught by the facts exhibited, and are grateful to that devotional enthusiasm which could alone have stim-

[o] Ennius. Andromache Æchmalotis. Fr. IX. vv. 78–80, p. 21.

ulated the conception of so complete a collection and exposition of the facts, and cherished the industry requisite for the due realization of the idea.

But this is a very scanty, and perhaps the least important, advantage to be derived from this cabinet of tragic fragments. It is doubtless sufficient to redeem from the charge of uselessness or vanity the time and labour bestowed upon their collection and arrangement; but numerous other purposes are subserved by the same exhibition. We could not fully appreciate the literary and intellectual—scarcely even the general—character and condition of the Roman people, with any confident assurance, if any portion of their literature was denied the illustration which it is capable of receiving. And this indebtedness to Greece for its literary successes and enjoyments is one of the most significant phenomena in the intellectual and social career of Rome. Moreover, this significance is deepened by the extent to which the obligation has been incurred in that department which, of all others, most essentially bears the impress of nationality and originality among any people who have a spontaneous aptitude and a native taste and talent for literary pursuits of any kind. For the drama being the representation of life in its essence and purport—"the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure"—speaking to the popular heart and the public sentiment in promiscuous assemblies, should address itself to the spontaneous instincts and tastes of the people, and will so address itself whenever a national literature and a national literary taste exist. Thus the very complexion of Latin tragedy, as manifested in its fragmentary remains, affords the most conclusive evidence of the absence of either literary vocation or true poetical appetences among the ancient Romans. For them, copies, no matter how foreign, sufficed in place of the original creations of genius, and derivative streams were as welcome as the living fountains should have been had they existed.

It is a proof of the good sense and correct judgment of Horace, that he endeavoured to praise the few and feeble efforts which had been made to introduce a more Roman spirit into the tragedy of the Roman stage. His patriotism prevented him from recognising or acknowledging that the same imitativeness of Roman art was due to the absence of any genuine poetic element in the character and life of the Romans. The people of Rome were too actively engaged in the stern and exacting pursuits of practical action; they were too completely and habitually under the restraints of a cool political sagacity in the acquisition and maintenance of their vast dominion to indulge in the reveries of song, or to cherish those tendencies of

human sentiment which seek expression in the melodious utterances of poetry. The realities of life, the requirements of a great and extended political domain, exercised the more serious faculties of their minds, and left but a narrow scope and rare occasions for the indulgence of those graceful sentiments which are inspired by the worship of the Muses. The Romans were a race of practical, energetic, grasping, ambitious statesmen; philosophical speculation, poetic aspirations, and æsthetic reveries were foreign to their habits of thought, to their military and political training, and to the exactions of their situation in the order of human development. Virgil, though himself having overcome more successfully than any of his countrymen the obstacles to poetic culture presented by the tendencies of his country, distinctly recognises these adverse influences.

> "Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
> Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
> Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
> Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem.
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."*

The consummate art of Virgil has excluded any specific mention of the literary inferiority of the Romans to the Greeks; but the idea of such inferiority is plainly implied in these celebrated verses. Horace, though distinctly admitting the superior excellence of the Greek exemplars, speaks in terms of admiration of the efforts made by some of the Roman tragedians to break away from a minute imitation of Attic models, and to represent Roman life and Roman characters on the stage. The eulogy is strained to the utmost that circumstances would permit even a Roman courtier and poet to hazard; yet, when closely examined, it conveys no very high commendation. The attempt rather than the execution is the subject of his praise—the aim rather than the result.

> "Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetæ:
> Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
> Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta;
> Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas
> Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis,
> Quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum—
> Quemque poetarum, limæ labor et mora.†

This want of finish in the domestic tragedies of the Romans is obvious from the very meagre remains which still survive; but it is by no means a distinguishing peculiarity of that class of dramas;

* Virg., Æn. VI. vv. 848–854. † Hor. Ep. ad Pisones. vv. 285–291.

but is even more apparent in those which are confessedly derived from Greek originals. This imperfection in its general application to the whole series of the earlier Latin tragedies, will form the subject of future remarks. It is only noticed here for the sake of calling attention to the dexterity with which Horace insinuates a compliment to the other productions of the tragic muse of Rome, by applying his censure only to particular classes of the drama. The praise, however, which he endeavours to convey in these lines, courtly as it is—and it must be remembered that Augustus himself was a candidate for the honours of tragic composition, though his labours never reached beyond the jurisdiction of his sponge*—involves a great deal more of blame than of real approval, and shows us that if the historical tragedy of Rome (*Fabula prætextata*) was possessed of little merit, the derivative, translated, or Greek tragedy of Rome was not very much better; and that if the Romans failed when they deserted the constant support of their Greek models, their success was only moderate even when they most rigidly adhered to them.

The direct evidences of dramatic incompetency supplied by the surviving fragments of the Latin tragedy, and the indirect testimony to the like effect afforded by the anxious and ingenious compliments of Horace, are deepened and extended by the consideration that some of the earliest writers of Roman tragedy were not native but foreign authors—and not even freemen, but slaves from Magna Græcia, or of libertine parentage. Indeed, of the five earliest and the five principal Latin tragedians, all except Nævius, whose origin is uncertain, though he must have been a Roman citizen, come under one or other of these categories, and some of them under more than one, being either Greeks, or slaves, or sons of freedmen, or Greeks *and* slaves, or Greeks *and* sons of freedmen. Nothing of this sort can be safely imputed to Nævius, whose temper, tendencies, and tastes were peculiarly Roman, and whose inclinations associated him with the antiquated and retrograde school of the elder Cato, though himself the earliest and very nearly the ablest poet of the pure Roman race. His intense and obsolete nationality was with him a source of characteristic pride, though it may not have been any great merit. When we compare the fragments of his own writings and those of Livius Andronicus with the gradually more and more Hellenized and refined expressions of his successors, we can feel and appreciate both the justice and the morose point of the boast contained in the quaint

* Sueton. Octav. c. lxxv. "Nam tragœdiam, magus impetu exorsus, non succedente stilo, abolevit: 'quærentibusque amicis *quidnam Ajax ageret*, respondit; *Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*"

epitaph which he composed for his tomb, in his own cherished Saturnian measure.

> Mortales immortales flere si foret fas,
> Flerent Divæ Camenæ Nævium poetam,
> Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro
> Obliti sunt Romani loquier Latina lingua.°

Nævius is certainly an anomaly in the literature of Rome, and especially in the history of Latin tragedy. He had no legitimate precursor, and he left no successor or imitator of his literary tastes and appetences. We do not mean to say that he had not his own school of admirers, for this would be contrary to testimony; but no later poet of Rome belonged distinctly to the same type. Lucilius and Laberius were the nearest approximations to it, but they differed from him in more points than those in which they resembled him. The incongruity of his position in the historical development of the Latin tragedy, inclines us to concede much weight to the doubts of Welcker, who regards it as dubious whether he was a tragic poet. Ribbeck treats with supercilious irony this imputation of Welcker's, and proceeds confidently to expand the brief fragments into orderly tragedies, illustrated by references to and comparisons with their supposed Greek originals.† The titles of the dramas of Nævius are on the side of Ribbeck; they assuredly portend tragic purposes. The fragments have no very tragic significance, but might have been inserted for the most part indifferently in tragedy, comedy, farce, or satire. Historical presumptions and other probabilities appear to favour the view of Welcker. Whatever conclusion we adopt, it is founded on conjectural premises alone; though the general current of belief has received Nævius as a tragic author, and as such it is safest to accept him, though his admission into the tragic choir occasions many troublesome anomalies.

If the name of Nævius were withdrawn from the list of early Roman tragedians, the foreign and servile origin of the Latin tragedy would be completely established. Livius Andronicus, the most ancient poet of Rome, and the creator of its tragic drama,‡ was a native of Magna Græcia, taken captive by the Romans, and became the slave of M. Livius Salinator, from whom he received his first name on his emancipation. His first play—it is unknown whether it was a comedy or a tragedy—was exhibited at Rome, A. C. 240. This

° A. Gellius Noctes Atticæ. I., c. xxiv.

† Reliqu. Trag. Lat., p. 245.

‡ A. Gellius. Noct. Att. XVII. c. xxi, 42. "Coss Claudio Centone et ill Sompronio Tuditano primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romæ cæpit."

date accordingly indicates the commencement both of Latin tragedy and Latin literature; and the most ancient author of the one as of the other was a Messapian Greek and a slave. It was perfectly natural that he should have restricted himself to the translation of Greek originals; but what would have been remarkable, if the Romans had enjoyed any natural vocation for literature was, that the example so given should have been so long and so rigidly followed, and with rare and but partially successful deviations from the prescribed fashion.

Nævius is the second tragedian in point of time, and the second whose remains are gathered into the mausoleum of dead bones. Of him enough has been already said. It is only necessary to add that the year A. C. 235 has been assigned, on very loose data, as the date of his first dramatic exhibition.

The celebrated name of Q. Ennius appears next in the series and in the chronological succession of these poets. With him commenced a bolder flight of Latin poetry, and those marked improvements in the constitution of the Latin tongue and versification which moved the bile of Nævius. The spiteful epitaph of that splenetic Roman may, indeed, be regarded as especially directed against the linguistic innovations of his more illustrious and more fortunate rival. Ennius, like Livius Andronicus, was a foreigner—a Greek from Rudiæ, in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. Thus the adjoining provinces of Messapia and Calabria gave birth to the founder and to the perfecter of Latin tragedy. The birth of Ennius took place in the year succeeding the first representation of a Latin drama by Livius Andronicus. His old age, and his military, perhaps even more than his literary, services to the republic, were honoured by the then rare gift of Roman citizenship; and after having lived through the full term of the life of man—threescore and ten years—he died in the humble habitation on the Aventine which he had long occupied.

The labours of Ennius were most varied and extensive. He wrote on a diversity of subjects, and translated abundantly from the Greeks. His principal compositions were in verse, but he cultivated prose also, and was probably one of the very earliest authors, if not the earliest, in this department. He softened, polished, and harmonized the language in various modes, and enriched it with unfamiliar metres, and especially with the heroic hexameter, which was afterward refined into such perfection by Lucretius and Virgil as to become the national verse of Rome. The contemporary and posthumous celebrity of Ennius rested chiefly on his Annals, which treated the history of the Romans in this metre, and invited, by the

national popularity of the subject, the admiration which was long bestowed upon his talents. In the selection of this topic for poetic treatment he had been preceded by his contemporary and rival, En. Nævius; but the rugged old Saturnian metre of the latter was obliged to yield to the sonorous fulness and rich majesty of the hexameter verse. Ennius and Nævius probably never met; the latter had been banished from Rome for his pasquinades on the Metelli and the aristocracy before the former was brought to Rome; but this did not prevent the indulgence of mutual jealousies.

Nineteen or twenty years before the arrival of Ennius in Rome, his nephew, M. Pacuvius, the greatest or nearly the greatest of the early tragedians, was born at Brundisium. Consequently he was a Greek, or at least of Greek descent on the mother's side. Like Euripides, whom he imitated so closely in some of his plays, that he is called on this account, in one place by Ribbeck, "*libertus quasi Euripidis*,"* Pacuvius was a professional painter as well as a poet. Notwithstanding, however, this close adherence occasionally to his Greek models, Pacuvius seems to have, at times, displayed a more vigorous originality than was customary with the Roman tragedians. His long life, which was extended to ninety years, enabled him to cultivate the friendship and foster the talents of his successor Attius, and thus exhibit in his closing years the same pleasing spectacle of literary emulation without jealousy, which he had displayed in the outset of his career by his association with his uncle, Ennius. In A. C. 140, Pacuvius, then eighty years old, and Attius at the age of thirty-eight, represented tragedies together at the same celebration.†

With Attius the list of the older tragedians of celebrity, of whose works specimens remain, is concluded. He was half a century younger than Pacuvius, having been born in A. C. 170. He was the son of a freedman, and, like his two immediate predecessors, lived to a very advanced age. He divided with Pacuvius the honour of being considered the most illustrious of the earlier dramatists. They are both mentioned with high and almost equal commendation by Velleius, Paterculus, and Quintilian, who, however, justly note the absence of grace and literary polish from their compositions, as from all the productions of that age.

This passing biographical notice of the ancient chiefs of Roman tragedy, besides illustrating other topics which may be briefly resumed hereafter, explains the original character of that drama by

* Trag. Lat. Reliqu., p. 281. Quæstionum Scenicarum Mantissa.

† "Accius iisdem Ædilibus ait se et Pacuvium docuisse fabulam, quum ille octaginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset." Cic. Brut., c. lxiv., § 229.

establishing the fact that nearly all the principal poets of those times were either of Greek or of servile origin. Under these circumstances the close and even servile imitation of the Greek exemplars was a natural procedure, and one which became too habitual to be readily or extensively abandoned at a later period.

"Non possum ferre Quirites
Græcam urbim; quamvis quota portio *laudis* Achææ."[9]

We have hazarded the license of transmuting one expression in this quotation to render it peculiarly appropriate; for the censure of Juvenal on the manners of his metropolitan contemporaries becomes by this slight alteration applicable to the general current of the literary culture of Rome.

This Greek impress was never lost by the Latin tragedy. With the progress of time, the increasing favour for the art, the purer taste and the larger cultivation of the Romans, the style, and perhaps the composition of the drama were improved, chastened, and refined. As the Latin language lost gradually its primitive harshness and angularity, tragedy participated in the benefits of the change, and divested itself of much of its former ruggedness. Nay, the greater tragedians, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Attius were mainly instrumental in effecting this refinement; and the elegancies dictated by the requirements of their verse passed, in process of time, into general use among the educated, and laid the foundations of the classic Latinity of the Ciceronian and Augustan age.

The illustration of this gradual amelioration of the Latin tongue in its forms, grammatical inflexions, syntactical development, and rhythmical construction, is one of the chief advantages to be derived from such a gathering of broken meats as the present. Indeed, it is impossible to trace with any confidence the progress of the Latin language from the unintelligible and discordant sounds of the Arvalian song, and the other relics of a later but still uncouth period, to the precise elegance and harmonious utterance of Cicero and Virgil, Horace and Livy, without a careful study of the intermediate literature. The fusion of the Oscan, Pelasgic, and other elements which entered into the composition of the Latin, remains a philosophical mystery in the absence of any suitable materials to furnish the data for investigation. But the transition from the rude speech of the old patrician ages to the artificial graces of the declining republic and dawning empire may still be examined, by the aid especially of this or a similar collection of archæological curiosities. The frag-

[9] Juvenal. Sat. III., vv. 60–61. The reading of the original text is "fæcis" in the place of laudis.

ments of the Latin tragedians, that is to say, of the earliest and most copious in this collection, are the oldest specimens of Latin literature extant: Livius Andronicus and Nævius were the older contemporaries of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, whose chief works were indeed written in Greek; and Attius was still writing new pieces for the stage when the satirist Lucilius, who appeared rough to the circumcised ears of Horace,* died in A. C. 103. These tragic remnants, accordingly, belong distinctly to the transition stage of the language; bearing nearly the same relation to what preceded and what followed them as the works of Lydgate and Chaucer do to the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman productions of old England, and to the master-pieces of the later and more classic times. They are, indeed, almost the sole literary mementoes of this period of great and rapid transition. Before them the Romans possessed indeed no literature that can be properly so designated; but there were more ancient specimens of composition in verse and in prose—the Twelve Tables, the Annals of the Pontiffs, the Statutes of the People, *Plebis scita* or *Senatus consulta*, the *Juva Papiriana* and *Flaviana*, inscriptions, and popular songs, perhaps also a few meagre chronicles not of sacerdotal origin. Of these some remnants have been preserved to our times:—the song of the *Fratres Arvales*, previously mentioned, parts of the Twelve Tables, though not in the unredeemed rudeness of their primitive enunciation, the inscriptions on the Duilian column and on the tomb of the Scipios, and the old rustic formula of lustration. The decree of the senate against the Bacchanalians is nearly contemporary with the birth of Pacuvius, and consequently precedes the middle age of the early Roman tragedy. There are several notices, too, of the more ancient peculiarities of the language afforded by Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, the grammarians, and the miscellaneous authors.

With these materials, scanty as they are, and insufficient as they must be confessed to be for any minute appreciation of the earlier types of Roman speech, we are enabled to trace the historical de-

* Horace asserts in this criticism the entire dependence of Lucilius on the Attic comedians, representing his satires as simple translations. Hor. Sat. I, iv, vv. 6–13.

Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,
Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus,
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus; in hora sæpe ducentos
Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;
Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;
Scribendi recte; nam, ut multum, nil moror.

velopment of the Latin language with some degree of insight into the amount and character of the changes which it underwent, though not to exhibit them systematically. We may observe with amazement the wide discrepance between the language of the Augustan age and that of the generations by whom the foundations of Roman power and dominion were laid. This chasm, which seems at first blush impassable by any continuity of literary progress—this discord which is apparently irreconcilable by any theoretic explanation—is diminished and softened down by studying the mutual affinities and contrasts of these remnants of the tragedians with the relics of earlier times and with the finished productions of the more polished and mature ages of Rome. The incongruous extremes were united and blended together by the intervention of Greek culture, and this Greek spirit was introduced and directly infused into the body of the Roman language and literature by the Greeks from Magna Græcia and their imitators, whose labours are represented by these fragments of Latin tragedy.

It is not merely the vocabulary and terminology of the language which are thus illustrated, but all the elementary constituents which enter into the determination of literary composition. The grammatical inflexions, the constructions, the orthography, the metrical harmony, and the employment of words, all undergo notable modifications during the period which prepares them for their classical usage. These changes, with reference to both the earlier and the later forms of the language, are exemplified in this copious collection, though of course less fully with regard to their preceding than to their subsequent condition. No people ever effectuated so complete a transmutation of their native tongue in the same brief period as the Romans, unless we except the French between the eras of Rabelais and Pascal. A century and a half was sufficient to convert the Oscan rusticity of the older speech into the almost Hellenic elegance of Lucretius and Catullus.

These points, though constituting the principal advantage to be derived from any such compilation as the present, are not in any wise directly elucidated by Ribbeck. That diligent but pedantic editor was engaged with antiquarian curiosities of a different character. The service which may be rendered by these fragments in these respects must be gathered from an attentive study of the texts themselves, and is not facilitated by any special intervention of this compiler and commentator. We regard this omission, however, as no very serious blemish, if indeed it should be considered a fault at all. The treatment of such topics belongs most appropriately to a formal history, or to a philosophical grammar of the Latin language;

and it is only from such works that we could exact the application of these "disjecta membra" to the purpose of exhibiting the progressive changes and improvements of the Roman tongue. This assistance should not be expected from a work in which the fragments are simply collected together for general and promiscuous use. We are not partial to that mode of editing and annotating the classics which was prevalent in Germany and other countries of Europe half a century ago, and crowded into the foot-notes the most varied and promiscuous matters, relevant and irrelevant, depositing on any occasion the whole contents of plethoric *adversaria*, like shooting dirt from a mud-cart. The recent tendency of the best editors of Germany is perhaps objectionable for its scrupulous observance of the opposite extreme. But Ribbeck avoids the naked accuracy of Bekker and his imitators. What was required of the latest editor of the Latin tragedians, and what he undertook to provide, was a comprehensive, complete, correct, and critical exhibition of the fragments themselves: and we can neither exact nor need we desire from this volume anything more than what he proposed to perform. We may be obliged to his diligence and ingenuity for having appended a conjectural reproduction of the original order of the fragments in the respective dramas to which they belong, and an equally conjectural representation of the tenor and treatment of the tragedies themselves. The enigmatical and euphemistic preamble with which he commences his "Mantissa," might authorize the supposition that he edited and purified the fragments principally as an introduction to his supplementary work of imagination. This latter labour may, however, be almost regarded as a distinct and independent production, entitled to praise or censure on grounds which do not affect in any considerable degree the merits or the demerits of the compilation of the texts.

In this country, removed as we are from the great and aged libraries of the old world, there is scarcely any possibility of adequate access to the various manuscripts of the ancient classics. It is nearly twenty years since we saw such a manuscript, and then the sight was not vouchsafed to us on this side of the Atlantic. It is consequently a mere empty pretension, preposterous and presumptuous, for any one here to undertake to criticise the skill and fidelity of a critical edition of any ancient author, unless the defects are so obvious and gross as to suggest themselves from the simple inspection of the results given. We will not, then, presume to discuss the merits of M. Ribbeck's critical labours, but will accept them thankfully, not as conclusive, but as provisionally satisfactory at least. There are instances, it is true, where we suspect syllables

and even feet to be redundant, the orthography to be erroneous, and other blemishes to exist; but we choke down our suspicions, as we have no means of verifying them, and concede the correctness of the readings presented. So much we are warranted in assuming for the nonce with reasonable confidence; for so much care has of late years been expended on the grammar of the Latin language, and on the whole series of the classics, including the most of the authors from whose works these fossil specimens of antiquated Latinity have been disinterred; M. Ribbeck has been in such close correspondence with so many learned men who have devoted their attention to the illustration of the originals of the language, as is proclaimed in his preface—and he furnishes so much evidence of diligence and industry by his exposition of the various readings—that we may conclude, at least presumptively, that his judgment may be trusted, and that the text of these fragments is sufficiently castigated and purified to subserve the purposes contemplated by a critical edition.

This critical labour, and the exegetical enterprise of arranging the fragments in the order in which they may have occurred, and of elucidating their position and the texture of the dramas from which they have been severed, constitute the sole assistance rendered toward satisfying those inquiries which are suggested, and which must be solved principally by, these relics.

To this specification we ought properly to add the valuable aid which may be obtained from the very complete and admirable index appended to this volume. It is a complete lexicon of ragged Latinity—a thorough concordance—a perfect catalogue of all the fossil shells, weeds, and bones, important or trivial, contained in this museum of broken pebbles, vegetable remains, and mutilated limbs. This index furnishes of itself, in a concise form and in a compact mass, the whole collection of materials available in these chips of Latin tragedy for the careful examination and appreciation of the changes of the Latin language, and the principles and progress of such changes. It throws no light, of course, upon metrical peculiarities, or upon the characteristics of the literary taste of the authors in the composition of their tragedies. These are points which can only be investigated by the close and direct inspection of the texts in their due places.

These phenomena appear sufficiently marked and sufficiently interesting to merit special notice, and to them we shall devote the brief remainder of this criticism. Our observations will be merely desultory, for we cannot enter minutely or profoundly into such recondite topics. They will be offered in no dogmatic temper, and with no expectation that they will meet with general assent. It

would be too wild a flight of imagination to anticipate that inferences drawn from such scant premises as these fragments afford, and with such meagre opportunities as are at our command, would be either unassailable or generally acceptable. They can only be proposed for public consideration. They have forced themselves upon our notice in the study of this volume. To ourselves they appear not merely plausible but probable; and they are stated that they may receive the fuller and more competent estimation of others having greater facilities or greater special familiarity with these matters than ourselves.

The first peculiarity which we shall notice is the very sparse occurrence of pure iambic feet in the iambic metres. Spondees and dactils are introduced with a licence and exuberance wholly foreign to the practice of Attic tragedy, and even to the later usage of Rome. The metrical procedure of the Romans continued at all times singularly loose, and was far enough from observing the punctilious prescriptions and minute precision of their Attic precursors, but the negligence and indifference of the earlier tragedians in the construction of their metres transcended the inartistic privileges retained by subsequent poets, and rendered harmonious versification an impossibility.

Numerous instances are found in which every foot but the last is a spondee. For example,—

Ludens ad cantum classem lustratur. ⏑ ⏑
Liv. Andron., p. 1, v. 6.

The last word, which is also the last foot, is lost. It must have been an iambus, but all the other feet are spondees.

Quacumque incedunt omnes arvas opterunt.
Nævius, p. 8, v. 24.
Quantis cum ærumnis illum exanclavi diem.
Ennius, p. 22, v. 90.
Sol qui candentem in cœlo sublimas facem.
Ennius, p. 40, v. 234.
Inter quos sæpe et multo inbutus sanguine.
Attius, p. 131, v. 151.
Virtuti sis par, dispar fortunis patris.
Attius, p. 131, v. 156.
Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me adpellere.
Attius, p. 239, v. 19.

To these may be added, although the first syllable is either long or short in "sacratum,"

Jovis sacratum jus jurandum sagmine.
Incert. Incert. p. 228, v. 219.

In other examples spondees do not occupy the first five places, but only preponderate over other feet in the line. Thus:—

Procat, toleratis temploque hanc deducitis.
Liv. Andron. p. 2, v. 14.
Mirum videtur quod sit factum jam diu.
Liv. Andron. p. 2, v. 15.
Demittas, tanquam in fiscinam vindemitor.
Nævius, p. 5, v. 2.
Erravi, post cognovi, et fugio cognitum.
Ennius, p. 25, 119.
Set numquam scripstis, qui parentem aut hospitem.
Ennius, p. 32. v. 173.
Cœpisset, quæ nunc nominatur nomine.
Ennius, p. 37, v. 208.
Parentum incertum investigandum gratia.
Pacuvius, p. 67, v. 43.
Dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapit.
Attius, p. 158, v. 396.

This excess of spondees renders the versification exceedingly cumbrous and awkward, but might have been necessitated by the superabundance of consonants in the older Latin, and the general intractability of the language, which still appeared rugged, poor, and unmanageable to Lucretius and Cicero, after all the manipulations and ameliorations of the tragedians. It is, moreover, probable that the prosody of the language was unsettled previous to the introduction of the drama, and that peculiarities of pronunciation which are now undiscoverable might have rendered tolerable what now appears as a hopeless fault.

But the evil just noticed did not exist alone, nor was it the gravest offence which was committed against a musical ear. The opposite licence is of even more frequent occurrence, and grates still more unpleasantly on the nerves, by giving a jolting, unsteady, irregular, and dislocated movement to the rhythm. There is not simply an extravagant employment of resolved feet—dactyls, tribrachs, and anapæsts—which, when multiplied, are less congenial to the spirit of the iambic trimeter than even the heavy tread of successive spondees; but their repetition, their loose aggregation, and their concurrence, render the melody discordant and the metre disorderly. This deformity is increased by the entire absence of either taste or discrimination in the introduction of such feet, one after the other, into any places of the verse. Horace may have alluded to the practice of these tragedians in their metrical labours when he attributed the process of verse-making to the dexterity of fingers and ears—*digito callemus et aure.* He was not very particular about the

niceties of versification in some of his own poems; but the early tragedians apparently trusted much more to the accuracy of their fingering than to the delicacy of their auricular perceptions. And even with this mechanical contrivance they seem to have sometimes lost their count, if they are not misrepresented by Ribbeck's exposition of their handiwork.

Similar licenses occur also in the trochaic measures; but for these modes the Latin language appears to have been endowed with a greater natural aptitude. Moreover, trochaic metres admit readily of greater licences than are tolerable in regular iambics. There is an inherent levity, a native flippancy, a spontaneous carelessness in the former which is incompatible with the flowing ease and dignity of the latter.

What proportion these licentious verses bore to the body of the plays from which they have been extracted cannot now be estimated. The inquiry is open only to vague conjecture, but from the rarity of pure iambics, from the constant inattention to the nicer rules of iambic versification, and from the disregard even of rhythmical requirements in the specimens which remain, as well as from the critical censures of the Romans of a better age, we may safely infer that we possess in these fragments a fair average sample of the ordinary tenor of early tragic versification.

Among the remains of Pacuvius and Attius may be found occasional verses worthy of the palmiest days of Latin poetry. The want of harmony in the majority of instances is, however, only partially assignable to the inartistic and unpolished character of the metres. Even in the lines already quoted, and still more in those which might be employed for the special illustration of this point, the frequency and awkwardness of the elisions, and the constant recurrence of uncoalescing consonants, is painfully manifested.

The latter peculiarity is characteristic of the language as it then existed, and cannot be attributed to the measure, and scarcely to the authors themselves. Another striking trait which we shall notice, appertains solely to the style and to the prevalent fashion, and is rather an affectation distinctive of a particular phase of literary taste than a singularity of these tragedians. It is, however, a caprice which is cultivated by them with especial earnestness, and is in them preëminently disagreeable. We refer to the evident rage for alliterations. These are continual, harsh, and often grotesque. Some languages and periods have employed alliteration as the main characteristic of their poetical systems. Nearly all languages have at different periods of their development cultivated them as exquisite ornaments. Usually this has happened in their literary infancy,

and we may have in these tragedians the surviving representatives of a previous general usage. There are traces in Greek poetry of the early existence of a similar caprice on the part of the lyric poets. Thus Diogenes Laertius reports an epigrammatic epitaph, variously attributed to Empedocles and to Simonides, whose point is much sharpened by its alliterative expression :—

Ἄκρον Ἰητρὸν Ἄκρων, Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς ἄκρου,
κρύπτε κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.°

We hazard the following paraphrase, which reproduces most of its distinctive traits, even to its hexameter and pentameter measure :—

"Here a sharp doctor of Sharpville, one Sharp, sharper son of a sharper,
Lieth beneath a sharp hill—sharp in the sharpest of lands."

The Greek epigram is signalized by smoothness, acuteness, and wit; but the tragic alliterations are recommended or discredited by fantastic whimsicality alone.

There are so few points to which we can accord the elucidation rendered by citations, and so little room that can be spared for the purpose, that we shall confine our selection to a few of the more glaring examples, and refer to the work reviewed for more numerous, less offensive, and more trivial exemplifications of this bad taste. Here are a few ears as an earnest of the harvest :—

Cave sis tuam contendas iram contra cum ira Liberi.
Nævius, p. 9, v. 41.

Optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti me : hoc dolet.
Enn. p. 18, v. 46.

Scrupeo investita saxo, atque ostreis squamæ scabrent.
Enn. p. 23, v. 100.

Corpus contemplatur unde corporaret vulnere.
Enn. p. 23, v. 101.

° ° Stultust, qui cupita cupiens cupienter cupit.
Enn. p. 43, v. 256.

Quam tibi ex ore orationem duriter dictis dedit.
Enn. p. 44, v. 265.

Qui alteri exitium parat,
Eum scire oportet, sibi paratum pestem ut participet parem.
Enn. p. 51, vv. 321, 322.

Pro incertis certos compotesque consili.
Enn. p. 55, v. 352.

Umquam quidquam quisquam cuiquam quod ei conveniat, neget.
Enn. p. 61, v. 400.

Hiat sollicita, studio obstupida, suspenso animo civitas.
Pacuv. p. 68, v. 53.

Quo consilio consternatur, qua vi, cujus copiis.
Pacuv. p. 80, v. 156.

° Bergkh, Poet. Lyr. Gr. Ed. 2da., p. 468 Diog. Laert. viii, 65.

Lassitudinemque minuam manuum mollitudine.
Pacuv. p. 90, v. 246.

Pericre Danai, plera pars pessum datur.
Pacuv. p. 98, v. 320

Cum patre parvos patrium hostifice
Sanguine sanguen miscere suo.
Att. p. 123, vv. 82, 83.

An mala ætate mavis male mulcari exemplis omnibus.
Att. p. 123, v. 85.

Probis probatum potius quam multis fore.
Att. p. 149, v. 314.

Primores procerum provocavit nomine.
Att. p. 150, v. 325.

Gaudent, currunt, celebrant, herbam conferunt, donant, tenent,
Pro se quisque cum corona clarum cohonestat caput.
Att. p. 164, vv. 444, 445.

Simul et circum magna sonantibus
Excita saxis suavisona echo
Crepitu clangente cachinat.
Att. p. 179, vv. 571, 572.

Tuum conjecturam postulat pacem petens.
o o o o

Apollo, puerum primus Priamo qui foret.
Incert. Incert. p. 201, vv. 10–14.

Quod ni Palamedi perspicax prudentia.
Incert. Incert., p. 206, v. 58.

Assuredly this is an ample collection of specimens to demonstrate the licentious employment of alliteration by the whole range of the tragedians before the Augustan age. This affectation naturally superinduces other fantasies, which are also exhibited in the above quotations.

Notwithstanding the defects and the asperities of the versification, and numerous other grave anomalies of expression, there are qualities discernible even in these fragmentary particles of the old Roman tragedy which are exceedingly attractive, and readily explain those lingering predilections for this antiquated literature which were ridiculed and assailed by Horace.* There is a healthy Roman honesty and manliness in the sentiments announced: a quaint but dignified gravity and solemnity of utterance which well befitted the conquerors of the world: an intuitive sagacity and a keen appreciation of life which reappear in Tacitus, and irradiate even the scandal of Suetonius and the trashy *niaiseries* of the Augustan historians, and are revived in more than their pristine intensity and acumen in Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and the

* Hor. Epist. lib. ii, Ep. i, vv. 50–92. The general good sense of Horace's criticisms can be recognised even from these fragments of the elder literature, and renders their pointed indications valuable.

great statesmen, publicists, and diplomatists of Italy. We detect, moreover, a genial freshness and a racy vigour, whose absence in the Augustan classics is poorly compensated by the splendid refinements of consummate art. These old dramatists still exhale the air and the simplicity of rural Roman life, before it had been supplanted or infected by metropolitan graces and artificial pretensions, and which are more inspiring than the prim, stately, and precise elegances of an over-exquisite cultivation. As the old French of Rabelais, Montaigne, Marguerite de Valois, Ronsard, and Marot has a natural and genial charm which is denied to the cramped and chilly perfection of Racine, Boileau, La Rochefoucault, and La Bruyère, so these loose disjointed fragments of the elder tragedy possess attractions which are not preserved in the more regular and prudish proprieties of Virgil and Horace. The indications afforded even in this collection would tempt us to resign, without hesitation, the last six books of the Æneid, in spite of the universal and enduring fame of that admired epic, for the poem of Nævius on the First Punic War, and the Annals of Ennius.

We are neither so uncultivated in our tastes, nor so indiscreet in our judgment as to pretend to institute any equivalence or comparison between the rude vigour of the ancient and the finished perfection of the Augustan poets; but we would expect to find in Nævius and Ennius a bolder vein of original poetry, a greater exuberance of poetic feeling, than can be recognised in the erudite and laborious imitations of Virgil. Independent, too, of these literary merits, the primitive poetic annals would possess great interest in the elucidation of the history of both the people and the language. Our consent to the sacrifice intimated is not, however, suggested by such historical and philological considerations, but solely by the desire to possess the earliest specimens of the Roman epos, and a partiality for the strength, energy, and simplicity of the older literature. In all departments of art, notwithstanding the greater beauties introduced by higher culture and embodied in the master-works of the meridian age, there are merits peculiar to the antecedent periods, which are not fully compensated by the riper and chaster graces of the more polished age. Even now, with the opportunity of a minute comparison, having equal means of estimating each and being equally familiar with both, we would not resign Æschylus to save Sophocles, if an option were required; and if the choice should be offered between Æschylus and Euripides, we would cordially reaffirm the decision rendered by Bacchus in the Frogs of Aristophanes.*

ἔκρινα νικᾶν Αἰσχύλον, τιὴ γὰρ οὔ;

* Aristoph. Ran. v. 1469. Ed. Bekker. Lond.

We should be pleased to illustrate by direct citation the characteristics of Roman Tragedy which have been hurriedly indicated if our space would permit the undertaking. We should be gratified to exhibit the lofty sentiments, the acute maxims, the sententious wisdom, the pregnant utterance, and, above all, the exhilarating freshness of these old tragedians. This last peculiarity is often indicated by slight touches which must be felt spontaneously to be adequately recognised: there are but few examples remaining which, taken by themselves, directly indicate the spirit with which they are impregnated; but these are so characteristic, so accordant with the general tone of the utterance—so utterly foreign to the Greek mind, except in the single case of Homer—that we may safely ascribe the qualities evinced by them to the general tenor of the original portions of these productions when they still existed unmutilated.

A few of these examples we shall venture to quote:—

> Hoc vide circum supraque quod complexu continet
> Terram
> Solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret,
> Id quod nostri cœlum memorant, Graii perhibet æthera:
> Quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,
> Sepelit recipitque ni sese omnia, omniumque idem est pater,
> Indidemque eadem quæ oriuntur, de integro atque eodem occidunt.°

With the philosophy, good or bad, propounded in these lines we have no present concern; the sole thing to which we are desirous of calling attention is the close observance of nature and the sympathy with her changes which they display.

Here is a solitary line which could scarcely have been written by one not intimately familiar with rustic life, or without a genial interest in its trivial incidents.

> Item ac mœstitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum.†

We doubt whether the habitual resident of a great city can appreciate this notice of the dumb suffering and agony of infant beasts. It is a spectacle sufficiently striking to affect the imagination and excite the sympathy of persons who have spent much of their lives in the country. The silent anguish, the look of helpless pain manifested by some of the domestic animals are well calculated to elicit a mournful pity.

But the most marked of these passages is one which we believe to be altogether unique in the whole series of the still surviving productions of Roman literature. It seems to have made a very

° Trag. Lat. Reliqu.: p. 71, 72, vv. 86–92. Chryses. Frag. vi.

† Trag. Lat. Reliqu.: p. 149, v. 315. Attii Epinansimache, Fr. vi.

strong impression on the mind of Cicero, by whom it has been preserved, though without commemoration of the author.*

> Cœlum nitescere, arbores frondescere,
> Vites lætificæ pampinis pubescere,
> Rami baccarum ubertate incurvescere,
> Segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia,
> Fontes scatere, herbis prata convestirier.

The language is inharmonious and negligent enough, and has its full share of affectations, but there is nothing in either the Bucolics or the Georgics of Virgil which is as redolent of the fragrance of the forest and the field, or which brings home to us more forcibly the aspects of rural life and the genial vicissitudes of the changing year. The subject and the form of expression may excite a doubt whether these verses are of tragic or even of dramatic origin, or do not rather belong to a lyric poem or a song of harvest home. The latter supposition is strengthened by their consonance with the rustic feeling of poetry which manifests itself in the phrases reported by Cicero, "*gemmare vites*," "*luxuriem esse in herbis*," "*lætas segetes*,"† and mentioned by him in connexion with a passing allusion to one of these lines. Still, M. Ribbeck has received them as a genuine tragic relic, and as such we accept them for the reason previously stated. Whatever their origin may be, they are animated with that healthy, genial, lively, observant and affectionate regard for the scenes of nature which so pre-eminently characterizes the Provençal songs.

We were the more anxious to note this feature in the ancient Latin poetry, inasmuch as it is so foreign to its classical productions, which paint nature too often with the fancy of a Cockney. Moreover, this element is distinctly of Roman and not of Greek origin. At the outset of these remarks, we spoke in such sharp terms of derision of the derivative and Hellenic character of the whole body of Latin literature, and of Latin tragedy in particular, that we are glad to mitigate that censure, as far as may be consistent with the facts, by directing attention to the evidences of a genuine and native poetic tendency, in a form so meritorious and so rare among the ancients. Humboldt‡ has remarked the deficiency of sympathetic appreciation of the detailed beauties of nature on the part of both the Greeks and the Romans, but the passages cited, and others of a similar complexion which may be gathered from this repertory of mangled skeletons, may suggest that there was a period of Roman development, and a branch of Roman literature, wherein the Roman poets

* Trag. Lat. Rel.: p. 217, vv, 133–7. Inc. Inc. Fab. Fr. lxxii. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I., xxviii, sec. 69. † Cic. De Or. III, xxxvviii, sec. 155.

‡ Humboldt, Cosmos., vol. ii, p. 373. Ed. Bohn.

freely yielded to the hearty influences of the country life still habitual with the people, and reproduced its teachings in their artistic labours.

There is neither opportunity nor necessity to give utterance to all the reflections suggested by this volume, "car qui pourrait dire tout sans un mortel ennui?" Much forbearance and some discretion must always be exercised in repressing the observations which seek expression in relation to any subject. We have announced only a few of the views which have presented themselves to us on the present occasion; but they may suffice to give a satisfactory response to the question with which we commenced these remarks, and to show that many instructive lessons may be acquired even from the shattered relics of an antiquated, extinct, and almost forgotten department of literature. Very many of these lessons we have passed over in silence; the most important we have exhibited only briefly—so briefly as to afford only a limited insight into their character and use. Nevertheless, enough has been said to render intelligible the acknowledgment of our gratification at receiving the fruits of Otto Ribbeck's labours, notwithstanding they are burdened with the erudite and cumbrous divinations of his imaginative commentary.

Is it not a remarkable and mournful exemplification of the perishable nature of every human device, and of the evanescence of even high intellectual triumphs, that a copious body of literature, which won even the fastidious admiration of Cicero, and the partial homage of Virgil and Horace, and formed at one time the most refined enjoyment of a great people, should have been so completely dissipated by the changes of literary taste and the accidents of time, as to be reduced to these scanty and petty memorials of their former glory?

> Shrine of the mighty! can it be
> That this is all remains of thee?

The longest of these fragments does not exceed a dozen lines—many of them consist of only a single verse, and in numerous instances the solitary verse is incomplete, or is reduced to a phrase or a word. The aggregate of these remains, capable of being exhibited under a metrical aspect, does not attain to two thousand lines, in this collection. This is all that has been saved from the wreck of the ante-Augustan tragedy of Rome, and constitutes the *Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiæ.*

We have only to add that the work is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and is a very handsome specimen of the improved typography and preparation of recent German publications.

Art. V.—ROBERT NEWTON.

The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D. D. By Thomas Jackson. New-York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855.

"Boswell," says Macaulay, "is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly, that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere."

It is one of the strange things in literature—a real phenomenon—that in all the "Lives" of great men and small, learned and unlearned, good and bad, there are so few interesting, readable, and instructive biographies. Instead of what we want to know of a man, about whom or concerning whose actions or the results of whose course of life we feel an interest, we are furnished, by his biographer, with a *resumé* of the history of the times in which he lived; philosophical speculations on government; the rise and fall of empires; essays on the wordy warfare of the sects; or a rhapsodical eulogy on the real or fancied greatness of his subject. All, or nearly all, that we know about him, after reading from five hundred to a thousand pages, more than we knew before, is the precise time of his birth, and, it may be, some particular circumstances attending his death. Perhaps we may learn that on some day he went without his supper—what many a one has often done—and that by drinking a cup of green tea instead of black, he was kept awake when he very much desired to sleep.

It is supposed, and with reason, too, when one man undertakes to write a "life" of another, that he has materials for the biography; else why undertake it? If what was upon the surface only, and what consequently was known to all, is to be thrown together in compilation, why tax our pockets for what we already possess? A "life," in an important sense, is an original work. It is a compilation not from published documents merely, but from the private records of the subject, now no longer of use to him, and from the memoranda of friends. It is a revelation to the multitude of what was known before only to the few. The writer of a "life" either has the necessary materials for his work or he has not. If he has them not he has no moral right to publish what purports to be a biography, when, in fact, it is not. Such a practice is false pretense in literature; and the author, if he be not sent to Newgate, is subject to what perhaps is more annoying to him—the castigation of the

critics. If he has the materials and a good subject, and fails in his undertaking, he has missed his calling; whatever else he does, he had better not write "lives."

It is much to be regretted that the biographies of those whose example is worthy of imitation should be deficient in what gives to such compositions one of their greatest charms—incidents and illustrations of life; especially because, in spite of such defects, they are sought after with avidity and read by all classes of persons. Law-books find their way mostly into the untidy, smoky offices of the profession. Polemic divinity, elaborate essays on Church dogmas, and old sermons, interlarded with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, borrowed from the books, go to the shelves of clergymen, for the most part, where quite generally their slumbers are profound and undisturbed. Philosophy is taught in the schools; but only a few schoolmen read philosophy. Not so with biography; that is read by men, women, and children. There is a reason for this; indeed there is a deep philosophy in the fact: biography is the written life of man. We have consequently an interest in it of which we cannot divest ourselves if we would, and of which we would not if we could. Besides, the design of biography is to show us how to live by showing us how others lived. If it does not do this it fails in an important essential.

What we want, and what we expect, in the biography of a man whose talents, virtues, position, and achievements were such as to make his history necessary or desirable, is to know how he developed those talents; how he cultivated and fostered those virtues; by what means he obtained his position, and how he accomplished his achievements. The privacies of life, the inner man, the thoughts, the actions, the words, the freaks, the beauties and deformities of his social life; his manner of life in his own house, his carriage towards his wife, his habits with his children, his hours of study; his authors, how he used them and what he thought of them; his preparation for public life; the labour and time required for this preparation; adventitious circumstances and incidents, all these are bargained for in the purchase of the "life" of a good and great man. During the occupancy of a mansion we may look unbidden upon its external beauties and magnificent proportions. Without the owner's permission or invitation we may not cross its threshold: but if, when he is gone, his executor opens the doors, and admits us on fee, we have a right to see the house within. And we should not be satisfied to enter the front door and simply pass through the main hall to the back door, and out. He, without a further exhibition, would not fulfil his implied contract. No more does the writer of a "life"

meet his obligation to furnish the biography of a great public man upon whom, as he appeared in full dress upon the stage for more than half a century, we have been wont to gaze with admiration, by merely telling us when he was born and when he died, and that for thirty, forty, or fifty years he laboured hard, travelled far, preached much, did good, and made many warm friends.

These deficiencies are more marked, probably, in religious biographies than any other. And it is in such biographies that the requirements of society demand the fullest details and the greatest perfection.

Take one instance in proof of the correctness of the above remark. John Wesley was born in 1703; Samuel Johnson was born in 1709. But to this day we have no satisfactory life of Wesley. The best we have—and good, very good, we grant—is his own journal. Before Wesley died, and in anticipation of that event, Hampson, who was indebted to him for bread, and education, and position, had prepared a catch-penny life of his former patron and friend. Coke and Moore, that they might anticipate Whitehead, prepared hastily a life of the founder of Methodism, which is important, mainly, as a connecting link in the history of the times. Whitehead's biography of Wesley—the better portion of it—is a kind of mathematical twice-two-are-four life; the other portion of it is distorted by the prejudice of the author. Moore's life is, to a considerable extent, too identical with Whitehead's to be of special importance, except in its documents, which are valuable for reference. Southey, whose biography, in many respects, is the best and worst that has yet appeared, viewed Mr. Wesley from a wrong stand-point, and judged him by a wrong philosophy. It is no marvel, therefore, that his Life of Wesley is not Wesley's life. Watson's Wesley was not designed to be a comprehensive biography, but a review of Southey, and a defence of the man whose memory and reputation were dear to him. As such it is able and conclusive. Now all these lives together—and much less any one of them—do not give us a complete history of John Wesley. Such a life we need, a work that will find its way into all libraries; a work that will present Wesley, the preacher, the reformer, the founder, the scholar, the author, the publisher, the evangelist, the executive officer, the friend and benefactor of the poor; Wesley the MAN, interspersed and enlivened with the varying and interesting incidents and anecdotes lying all along the pathway of his eventful life, from his escape from the burning rectory, till, in accordance with his own directions, he is carried by four poor men to his grave. The world needs such a work. The children of Methodist parents demand it. Who, of all his sons, will furnish it?

Now while this is the case with one of the greatest religious men that ever lived, how is it with Johnson the moralist, who was contemporary with him? The Life of Johnson is without an equal. It informs us how he read and how he wrote. We see him in his room with his cat and companions. His tricks and fanaticisms are all brought out. His indulgences and subsequent regrets and confessions are not withheld. Johnson in rags, eating his dinner behind screens; writing for bread, and subsequently accomplishing one of the greatest literary enterprises ever undertaken by man; Johnson in his midnight disputation and morning slumbers; Johnson, in short, in all his peculiarities—his virtues and his faults—is so fully presented to us that we see him as he was. Even his physical form is impressed upon our minds. Without the aid of the artist's pencil we have his picture before us. The Life of Johnson grows not tame. We never weary in its perusal. After reading through volumes purporting to be biographies, we turn to Boswell's Johnson with increasing delight.

We must, however, check this train of thought; and, instead of dwelling upon what we want, turn our attention to the volume named at the head of this article.

It is a rule with some critics to speak in the first place in as high praise as they can of the work they review, that they may thereby placate the disposition of their author so that he will the more kindly receive what fault they have to find with his production. We pursue just the opposite course to this. We find what fault we have to find with Newton's Life at once. If the estimable author and the friends of Mr. Newton, on both sides of the water, shall be displeased with us therefor we shall regret that, but console ourselves with the consciousness of honesty and fairness in our review.

The work abounds in panegyric. The author at times is quite rhapsodical in his eulogy. Take the following as an instance:—

"When the service had concluded many of the people still lingered, apparently unwilling to leave the spot; thus exemplifying the feeling which Milton has ascribed to the father of the human race after he had listened to the discourse of a heavenly messenger:—

"'The angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear.'"—Pp. 200, 201.

Robert Newton, while he tabernacled in the flesh, could hardly have been aware of the possession of such angelic power. And, with our exalted conceptions of his pulpit eloquence, we think the picture is somewhat overdrawn.

While Newton's Life abounds in eulogy it is barren in incident. For fifty years he was itinerating—visiting various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; travelling by sea and land, by public and private conveyance, and thrown, as we may suppose, into nearly all conceivable circumstances in life. He must have been the subject of many adventures. Pleasing and varying incident must have been ever and anon occurring in his history. Incidents enough of this kind to make a small volume must have happened in connexion with that annual visit to Derby! Yet we look in vain for them. There are a few anecdotes in the volume, and those are so interesting that they make us wish for more. But throughout the entire work incidents and anecdotes are, like angel's visits, few and far between.

In the chapter containing the account of Mr. Newton's visit to America, a number of errors occur, some of which we must correct. Mr. Jackson says, that at the church where Newton delivered his first sermon in New-York Mr. Souter, his travelling companion, was "*allowed* to sit within the communion rails—an honour which he found is not *conceded* to laymen in the American churches." (P. 193.) This is a subject we never hear agitated. Our laymen have no desire to sit within the altar, as we say in this country, except when they conduct prayer-meetings, or when the audience-room is crowded. No *allowing* and no *conceding* are thought of. The design in this case was to treat Mr. Souter, as a stranger and travelling companion of Mr. Newton, politely, and to give him a seat where he could be more comfortable than in a crowded pew.

At the missionary meeting in the Greene-street Church, after Mr. Newton had spoken, "an aged man," says Mr. Jackson, "from the country, wiped the tears from his eyes with the sleeve of his coat, saying, to the person who sat next to him, 'we shall have no powdery ware now, I guess.'" (P. 194.) It seems a pity to spoil the salt-water rhetoric and upland rusticity of this sentence. Still it may be best to do it. The "aged man from the country" was a venerable minister and presiding elder of a large district, and was present to participate in the pleasures of the missionary meeting. It is highly probable, though he was from the country, that he had a handkerchief, and knew its ordinary uses. "*Powdery ware*" is language he would not use when he meant to say *powder war*. At the time of this meeting the political relations of Great Britain and the United States were much disturbed, growing out of the boundary question. The "wordy war" was already pretty sharp. Mr. Newton, in his address, spoke of the Christian regard of the people of England for the people of this country—the importance to Chris-

tianity of the union of the two nations—and the salutations with which he was charged as a delegate to the people whom he addressed. It was upon Mr. Newton's warm expression of such kindly feelings that the gentleman said to his neighbour on the platform, "we shall have no *powder* war,"—implying that our difficulties, if such were the feelings and views of the people of England, would all be settled by diplomacy. His remarks showed his just appreciation of the Christianity of the two nations, and his own desire for the greatest of all national blessings,—peace, based upon recognised constitutional right.

A slight and laughable mistake, according to Mr. Jackson, occurred in connexion with Mr. Newton's first visit to Philadelphia:—

"Before the service commenced Mr. Souter was introduced within the communion rails in front of the pulpit, and was mistaken, by the immense assembly, for Mr. Newton. The choir had prepared an anthem, which they intended to sing in honour of the distinguished stranger and as a welcome to their city. This they sang in their best style, the congregation joining as well as they were able, and all looking at Mr. Souter, who felt that he was receiving the respect which did not belong to him, and which the people did not intend to pay him; they probably wondering that he should betray any signs of uneasiness. When the anthem was finished, Mr. Newton entered the church and ascended the pulpit, and the choristers and people perceived that they had mistaken their man; but it was too late to correct the error. When the service was ended and the case was stated to Mr. Newton, he was highly amused, and said to his friend Souter, 'You have taken the shine off me.'"—Pp. 196, 197.

We can fancy that Mr. Souter's position must have been embarrassing enough, and it was not good treatment to put him in such a position. A few words of explanation will change the whole thing. In the first place it was the children of the Sabbath school, and not the choir, that sung the hymn of welcome on the occasion. In the second place, Mr. Newton had been conducted to the pulpit by the pastor of the church, and furnished with a copy of the hymn. At the close he expressed his pleasure with the mark of respect shown him by the little ones. The friends of Mr. Newton may rest assured that the Philadelphians did not allow even Mr. Souter to "take the shine off" of him while he was in their keeping.

Mr. Newton, having been introduced to the General Conference, "a vote was passed," says Mr. Jackson, "authorizing him to sit in the conference, and to *vote on all questions* that might arise." (P. 198.) The General Conference might invite Mr. Newton to a seat among its members and to participate in their discussions; but it could not authorize him to vote. The General Conference is a delegated and law-making body. The members hold their seats by the election of the annual conferences. A single vote may carry most important

temporal and spiritual results. Even the bishops can claim no right to vote. We make this correction lest some, not conversant with the proceedings of the General Conference, should suppose it has a loose way of doing its business.

The following passage, without design we may readily believe, does injustice both to the General Conference of 1840 and to Mr. Newton:—

"In the progress of the Conference Mr. Newton was impressed with the fact, that the time was mainly occupied by the speeches of young men, ministers of age and experience being scarcely able to obtain a hearing. Availing himself, therefore, of a favourable opportunity, he spoke of the respect which is due to age, and especially to aged ministers, who have been long familiar with the work of God, and whose range of observation has been widely extended. These are the men, he observed, who are eminently qualified to give advice in ecclesiastical affairs; for their counsels are not speculative, but practical. The bishops shed tears under this seasonable address, and no one attempted any reply."—P. 199.

We remark here, that the members of the General Conference do not hold their seats by seniority. They are all elected by their annual conferences, which of course they are expected to represent. One member, therefore, has the same rights on the floor of the General Conference that another has. And no member, even out of deference to age and position, would be justified in neglecting to present and defend the views and wishes of those who elected him. It is the annual conference that appears in the persons of its delegates on the floor of the General Conference.

Mr. Jackson says, "the time was *mainly* occupied by the speeches of young men, ministers of age and experience being scarcely able to obtain a hearing." We know not from what source Mr. Jackson derived his information, nor is it important to our purpose to know. It is to be presumed, however, as these "young men" presented a "very respectable appearance," and "were highly intelligent," that for the most part they were well-bred persons, and understood the proprieties of place. And, knowing somewhat the spirit and bearing of our younger and middle-aged ministers, we have no doubt while, like true Americans—blessings on them!—they thought, spoke, and acted with entire freedom, conscious of their rights, and under a proper sense of their responsibilities, they were, at the same time, respectful and courteous toward their more aged brethren and fathers in the conference. Besides, we cannot see how it was that the "ministers of experience" were "scarcely able to obtain a hearing," when the tenth rule of the General Conference requires that no person shall "speak more than once" on the same question "until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken."

We suppose Mr. Jackson uses a little rhetoric when he says that "the bishops shed tears under this seasonable address." Our bishops know their younger ministers too well, and receive from them—as other chief ministers and fathers do—too much deference to feel that a public address, on the respect due to age and experience—and that from a stranger too—would be necessary for them, or that they would consider such an address so "seasonable" as to "shed tears under it." Had Mr. Newton delivered such an address before the General Conference, designing it as a rebuke to the younger portion of the members, we very much mistake the bishops if they would not have been among the first to rebuke it. In such a case they might—and it would be no marvel—shed tears *over* the address. And the reasons why, in such circumstances, "no one would attempt any reply" are quite obvious.

This passage, as we remark above, does, we think, injustice to Mr. Newton. Naughty as the younger members of the General Conference of 1840 may have been, Mr. Newton was too much of the Christian gentleman to offer them reproof for what did not especially concern him. If they forgot the proprieties of place we are not willing to suppose that he did. His intercourse with his brethren, both in and out of the conference, during his whole sojourn among us, was gentlemanly and Christian in an eminent degree. If the passage quoted above were from the pen of a political writer, we should understand at once that it was written for political effect. Did Mr. Jackson design it especially for the younger members of the British Conference?

Mr. Newton's ministry in America was attended by large multitudes of hearers. But popular assemblies are generally over estimated as to numbers. Those acquainted with the places in which he preached will make a liberal deduction from the numbers reported to have been present. We refer to these things because, though they may seem small in themselves, they are not unimportant. In the life of such a man as Dr. Newton, whatever is not entirely true has no place. The partiality of friends, or the want of a comprehensive view of all the circumstances of time and place, may often lead the best meaning persons into erroneous conclusions, and to make false estimates.

As Mr. Newton's Life will have an extensive circulation in this country, it will not be amiss to notice his views on two or three points connected with our history and economy.

In writing to Mrs. Newton from Baltimore, he says:—

"I have refused all invitations to attend temperance and abolition meetings. Both parties are so violent and ultra, that I cannot but conclude they will

defeat their own design. There is also a great deal of what we call 'radicalism' connected with abolition movements. I have spoken freely in the conference on the subject; and I hope that what I have said may have some influence on what is here termed the 'action' of the conference."—P. 211.

At the time Mr. Newton was here there was no little excitement in the Church on the subject of abolition. It was thought also that there was much "radicalism" connected with the abolition movement; in consequence of which strong fears were entertained lest it should divide the Church. In pursuing the course which he adopted, therefore, on this subject, he no doubt acted in accordance with his own judgment under the advice of friends. But time has dissipated those fears, and shown that, in the odious sense of the term, there was little radicalism among those who deplored the "great evil of slavery" and laboured to "extirpate it." The "radicals" proved to be the apologists and abettors of slavery. So that, after the General Conference of 1844, the great secession took place, with Bishop Soule at its head; since which the branches of the tall pine of Maine have been draped in the funeral moss of the South.

We are aware that many of our English brethren take different views of the subject of temperance from those prevalent among us. Mr. Newton "concluded" that our temperance men were so "violent and ultra" that they would defeat their own design. He saw, however, long before his death, it is presumed, that that conclusion was not well-founded. The enactment of prohibitory laws in so many of the states is a cheering sign and a glorious reward for those who have laboured long and earnestly in this great and important reform. The time has come when there are few, if any, congregations in all our extended work whose pastors could use beer or wine—not to mention stronger drinks—as a beverage, and maintain their standing as evangelical ministers for a single day. We hope the time will soon come when it shall be so on the other side of the Atlantic.

Much has been said, in the older portions of the work especially, about our districts and the presiding eldership. The inquiry is often raised, "Can we not adopt the English plan?" Mr. Newton's opinion on this subject, as expressed to the General Conference and recorded in his Life, is worthy of consideration. We embrace also his remarks concerning the episcopacy. He says:—

"I have heard incidental allusions to 'moderate episcopacy;' but if yours be not a moderate episcopacy, I do not know what makes one. If there be a prayer for moderate episcopacy, it is already granted. And as to your presiding eldership, I have been asked whether it could not be altered for the better; and whether our system of district chairmen might not be more eligible. In dense and populous districts, perhaps, it might be so; but as a general plan in

your country it would be utterly impracticable. Your system has done well; and again I say, 'Let well alone.'"—P. 213.

Mr. Newton's opinion respecting the great value of class-meetings may be inferred from his remarks upon the results of Mr. Whitefield's labours in America. He observes:—

"It is remarkable that not an orphan-house, a church, or a society, founded by Whitefield, remains; while the Wesleyans number between seven and eight hundred thousand members, and upward of three thousand ministers. *But Whitefield did not institute class-meetings, and Wesley did.*"—P. 197.

We now pass to a brief notice of the history and labours of Mr. Newton.

The parents of Mr. Newton were of "yeoman descent, tall, comely, and well-favoured in their personal appearance." They possessed a sound and vigorous understanding, and surpassed in intelligence the greater part of their contemporaries in the same walks of life. They occupied a farm in Roxby—a hamlet on the coast, between Whitby and Guisborough—in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Here they spent their time in honest industry, supplying their wants from the soil which they cultivated and the flocks which they reared and tended. Mr. Jackson gives us a pretty picture of yeoman life in England. We see the hamlet resting on the coast; the waters of the North Sea spreading out to the east, and traversed by water-craft of various descriptions, plying between the Tyne, the Humber, and the Thames. Removed from the gaieties of the capital, the din of Newcastle, the commerce of Liverpool, and the smoke of Birmingham and Manchester, we can almost feel the quiet that gathers around Roxby and its adjacent districts, as Francis Newton, happy in the esteem of his neighbours, goes forth to till the soil and tend his flocks and herds. Who that has ever seen rural life in its simplicity; that has heard the lowing of cattle and the bleating of flocks; that has watched the gambols of lambs; that has breathed the fragrant air of the hay-field as the newly-mown crop of grass is gathering into the stack or barn; that has followed the meanderings of the little rill, fertilizing the vale through which it runs; that has listened to the music of uncaged birds; that has drunk in the inspiration of the early morning, all instinct and radiant with new life and beauty; that has communed at eventide, in the field, with Nature and with Nature's God, has not been charmed with pastoral life?

In their pleasant home the parents of Robert Newton said their prayers and attended to many religious duties; still they lived without the consciousness of sin forgiven, and without a good Chris-

tian hope of heaven. At this time Roxby was visited by Rev. James Rogers, husband of Hester Ann Rogers, whose biography has been so extensively read in this country, and which has been so useful to many Christians. Mr. Rogers offered up prayer in Mr. Newton's habitation. A little while after the Rev. John King preached in his barn. Soon he read the "Journal of John Nelson." Mr. and Mrs. Newton both began to feel the need of something to make them happy beyond what they possessed. They betook themselves to prayer—they wept, they made supplication to God. They believed, and they received the salvation of the Gospel. They entered upon a new life. Their house became a regular appointment on the Whitby Circuit. There henceforth, once a fortnight, on a week-day evening, the word of God was preached. Many of the people heard and believed. A class was formed, and Mr. Newton became the devoted and efficient leader. It was from such parentage, placed in such circumstances, that Robert Newton sprung.

Robert Newton was born September 8th, 1780, and was dedicated to God in baptism on the eleventh of the same month. He possessed a fine disposition and was a fearless, energetic boy. We find him engaged in the ordinary labour of a farmer for a number of years; at the same time, availing himself of all the educational advantages within his reach, he made commendable proficiency in his studies. He next engaged with a Mr. Sigworth of Stokeby, who carried on the business of a "draper, grocer, and druggist." Here his health failed him and his spirits began to droop. Returning to his father's house, he resumed his labour on the farm—an "employment more congenial with his constitution and the habits which he had formed."

But here, amid the scenes of his childhood and the pleasures of home, his heart was not at rest. He knew not God. He was inclined to entertain the infidel notions of Paine, not from conviction of their soundness, it may well be presumed, but from the fondness of novelty, not uncommon in the fickleness and restlessness of the period of life to which he had now arrived. At the same time the stirring accounts of military valour which the papers contained, and the menacing of England by France, fired his imagination. He enrolled himself with a company of volunteers and learned the sword exercise. Then his heart was set upon entering the regular service. But the "authority of the father over him was complete; and by that authority the wayward youth was effectually restrained from his purpose."

The time had now come when Robert, yielding to religious con-

victions, embraced the faith of the Gospel. The years 1797 and 1798 were seasons of gracious revivals of religion on the Whitby Circuit. Sinners were converted, wanderers from God were reclaimed, and large accessions were made to the Wesleyan societies. "During this season of visitation," says his biographer, "Robert Newton was made a partaker of the salvation from sin which the Gospel reveals, and fully entered upon the enjoyments, the duties, and the conflicts of the Christian life." (P. 12.)

It is proper to observe here that Robert Newton's conversion was marked. The former preaching of Mr. Kershaw, and the kind religious conversation of that minister with him, in his monthly visit, as a herald of the cross, to his father's house, had made a deep impression upon his mind. Now the Holy Spirit called up those impressions and reproduced conviction. His sorrow was deep, and continued for nine weeks. Prayers were offered up for him. The pious people of the neighbourhood felt great interest in his case; yet he did not find peace of mind. The blessing, however, was at hand. He entered into his room; his sister Ann, a penitent and a seeker, like himself, went with him into this place of earnest pleading with God. There they "unitedly wrestled with the Lord in prayer;" there they obtained power from on high; and there, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1798, peace and joy sprung up in their hearts.

There has been much controversy in the Church respecting ministerial qualifications. It is scarcely worth the while to waste breath and strength on this subject; the history of the Church seems clearly to settle the question. In olden time God called his prophets from the different walks and pursuits of life. He did the same in the early apostolic Church. Mr. Wesley was led providentially to call to his aid helpers in the same circumstances and condition of life. He selected men fresh from the people, full of faith, and zealous for God, to be assistants in the great work which he was raised up to accomplish; those thus selected, by their gifts, grace, and usefulness, gave full proof that they were called of God.

Robert Newton, soon after his conversion, begins to pray in public, and exhort his neighbours to seek God. In a little while he is on the "Plan," as a local preacher, and begins his long and glorious ministerial career by announcing as his first text, "*We preach Christ crucified:*" "a subject," says Mr. Jackson, "to which he adhered with unswerving fidelity to the end of his ministerial life."

Just here we must make an extract from Mr. Toase. He calls up earlier days and writes *con amore*. Speaking of Mr. Newton, he says:—

"At the very beginning he was popular and useful. Though young, his appearance was manly, and there was a noble bearing in all that he said and did. It was evident, even at that time, that he was intended to fill no ordinary place among the ambassadors of Christ. I was younger than he, and always looked up to him with admiration, and often followed him to places where he exercised his early ministry. He had not been long on the preacher's plan, before he was called to occupy the principal pulpits of the circuit; and in all cases his labours were highly acceptable. O, those were happy days! We were simple-minded and sincere. We loved as brethren, and were of one heart and soul, and thought no sacrifice too great for the advancement of the cause in which we had embarked."

In the July following his conversion he was recommended to the conference as a travelling preacher. He was accepted and appointed to the Pocklington Circuit. Here he laboured with zeal and great acceptance. His circuit contained many agricultural villages and hamlets, where the service was generally conducted in private houses, barns, and carpenter-shops. While Mr. Newton was labouring on this circuit he was not without those temptations which most men have in similar circumstances encountered. "Feelings of discouragement rose in his mind; and at times he entertained the purpose of leaving his circuit, and of returning to his former occupation at Roxby." But John Hart, a pious local preacher, to whom he revealed his feelings, encouraged him in his work, and urged him to persevere, adding, in conclusion, "*You dare not*" abandon your work. That was a word fitly spoken and in season.

In 1800 Mr. Newton was appointed to the Howden Circuit. While on this circuit he united with Miss Nodes in marriage. His entire domestic life, running on for more than half a century, was most happy.

It is not our design to follow Mr. Newton in his itinerancy more than to say that his circuits were Pocklington, Howden, Glasgow, Rotherham, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Holmfirth, London, Wakefield, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Stockport, and Salford. It will be perceived that though he travelled more than fifty years his moves, for the most part, were not long, and that he occupied repeatedly the same field of labour—especially the Liverpool and Manchester circuits. He spent but one year in Glasgow and but two in London. Mr. Jackson says:—

"From the year 1817, when he left Wakefield, to the end of his itinerant ministry, Mr. Newton's *official* labours, to which he was appointed by the conference, were confined to fewer circuits than were those of any of his contemporaries; but his labours which he *voluntarily* undertook, extended through the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. According to the minutes of the conference, Liverpool and Manchester divided between them twenty years of his public life; Salford occupied six, Stockport three, and Leeds six; so that he appears to have spent thirty-five years in five localities."—P. 94.

This will seem strange to some of our warmest advocates for the most extensive itinerancy. Mr. Newton, the most popular as a pulpit orator and platform speaker of all the Wesleyan ministers, is stationed twenty years in Liverpool and Manchester.

Mr. Newton's voluntary labours are perhaps without a parallel in ancient or modern times. We may have some conception of them when we consider that from 1817 to the close of his life, he was constantly travelling and preaching. He had only Saturday—and that but a part of the time—as a day of rest And then, such rest as he had on that day! From one to two dozen letters to answer, preparation for the pulpit on the morrow, and a social religious meeting to attend in the evening! While he was thus travelling all the week, attending missionary meetings, opening chapels, and preaching in the villages and cities, he always kept the Sabbaths for his own charge. And as a young man, for a number of years, was stationed wth him, to attend to the evening appointments, and other occasional services, the work on his own circuits was not uncared for or neglected.

In 1822 Mr. Newton made his first visit to the Irish Conference. He became after this a frequent visiter to Ireland, and laboured there successfully in the good work of his divine Lord and Master. "He attended," says his biographer, "at least twenty-three Irish conferences. Here some of his tenderest friendships were formed; and here many persons were, through his faithful ministry, turned to righteousness, and made heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ."—P. 101.

The forte of Mr. Newton was preaching. He was a "salvation preacher." We may learn from this why, with his great popularity, he was stationed in London but once, and remained there but two years. Mr. Jackson says:—

"London was less acceptable to him as a station than the other places where he laboured. Being the centre of connexional operations, numerous committees were held there, which he was expected to attend. These occupied much time, and diverted his attention from preaching, and from the work of pulpit preparation, in which, above all things, his soul delighted. The fact is, he never had that aptitude for the details of business in which some men excel. He felt that he was made for action rather than for deliberation, and that the duties of the pulpit were his especial forte and calling. He did attend the meetings of committees, as in duty bound, having in them a trust to execute; but he was always glad to escape from them to employment which was more congenial to his taste."—Pp. 76, 77.

Mr. Newton, genuinely converted, as we have seen, entered upon the work of the ministry at the age of eighteen. For fifty-three years he continued in that work, preaching the Gospel in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the United States. From the commence-

ment of his public career to its close he was a man of one work. At home and abroad he strove to save men. In the faithful discharge of his duties he had to pay the price which such efforts too frequently cost: he was at times falsely judged, and no little reproach was heaped upon him. But he could say, having such assurance as he had of the divine approbation and the divine presence, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

In 1852, and when Mr. Newton was past seventy years of age, he was compelled to take a supernumerary relation to the conference. It is delightful to see amid what respect and kind regard from his brethren, he retires from the labours and appointments of an "effective preacher." But the days of infirmity, long delayed, had come. He could no longer go forth to service as aforetime. The blanks in his "interleaved almanac" were becoming more and more common. He was learning, as he wrote his friends, to be an old man.

The following extract is from his last letter, and was addressed to his faithful friend, Mr. Turner, of Derby:—

"And now what can I say to Derby, which I am loth to give up after all these years? I believe all I can say is, that if in July I am as well as I am to-day, I may offer you one sermon on the Sabbath, and if it be thought well, one on the Monday evening."

Good man! even Derby with all its charms and endearing friendships could no longer hold him in life. His July was spent in heaven. On the 30th of April, and ten days after writing this letter, he fell asleep in Christ, saying, "*Jesus is the resurrection and the life!*"

Fletcher, Benson, and Coke had their distinct places in the Wesleyan Connexion; so had Adam Clarke and Richard Watson. Newton had his. He was not great as Clarke and Watson were, but he was great as Robert Newton, the eloquent and indefatigable minister of Christ. He came from the people; he sympathized with the people; he lived among the people; he laboured for the people; he died lamented by the people; and with the "people" saved from sin and earth, he dwells in heaven. Of no man can it be more truthfully said, "IN LABOURS MORE ABUNDANT."

Art. VI.—SCHAFF ON AMERICA.

The Political, Social, and Ecclesiastico-religious Condition of the United States of North America, with Special Reference to the Germans. By Philip Schaff, D.D., Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. 1854.

Dr. Schaff, as some of the readers of the Quarterly know, was called from Switzerland, his native country, about ten years ago, to occupy his present position in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church at Mercersburg, where, in connexion with Dr. Nevin, he has laboured with great zeal, and as far, it is presumed, as his own communion is concerned, with considerable success in building up the system of doctrine known in certain quarters as "the Mercersburg theology." In several works, published both in German and English, he has shown himself to be a man of elegant culture and profound theological learning. He has contributed several papers to this Review.

He lately visited his native land, and, during a short sojourn in Berlin, delivered several lectures on America, which the favourable opinion of certain friends induced him to publish, though in a form somewhat altered and considerably extended. The result is a book of three hundred pages, whose title forms the heading of this article. It is divided into three parts. First: The United States of North America—their Importance, Politics, National Character, Culture, Literature, and Religion. Second: The Ecclesiastico-religious Condition of America. Third: The German Churches in America.

Under the first head Dr. Schaff gives a graphic account of the wonderful growth of his adopted country; of her thirty-one organized states, with additional territory sufficient to make a dozen more, each as large as a German kingdom,—the whole, though less than a hundred years old, containing three millions of square miles and more than twenty-five millions of people. He speaks of the foreign immigration as of such magnitude as to entitle it to be called a peaceful, bloodless migration of the nations; and declares that the Americans bid them all welcome,—both good and bad, the good rather, but the bad too, in the hope, that in a new world they will become new men, thus disproving the truth of the old verse—

Cœlum, non animum mutant, trans mare qui currunt.

With the author we say, Let the good come, but we hope to be pardoned by our countrymen generally if we cannot welcome or

invite such men as the foreign burglars and murderers who make our homes and lives insecure; who fill our prisons and supply nearly the whole of our material for the gallows; who would overturn our government and establish red republicanism; who would abrogate marriage and institute licentiousness; who would blot out the Sabbath, and indeed destroy Christianity, of which it is an essential part. The patriotic piety which would prompt us to pray for the prosperity of our country and the permanence of our institutions leads us to regard such men as in the highest degree undesirable, and heartily to wish them back in their own lands, with all of their sort ever to remain.

In treating of the political condition of the country, he shows that while all the governments of Europe rest, more or less, upon the institutions of the middle age, here the last remnants of that period, with the exception of slavery in the southern states, fall entirely away. We have no king, no nobility, no aristocracy, except the unavoidable threefold aristocracy of character, of talents, and of money; no standing army and no state Church; but instead of these, perfect civil and religious liberty, as well as unrestricted freedom of speech and of the press, and access to the highest offices, even for the poorest citizens, under the reasonable and natural conditions of competency and worthiness; and that with all this apparent excess of liberty there is joined universal regard for right and law, deep reverence for Christianity, well-ordered government, and perfect security of person and property. Our author, however, is very solicitous, as indeed he should be, to make a strong distinction between the radical democracy of Europe and the cherished republican freedom of his adopted country. On this point he remarks,—

"Although a Swiss by birth and an American by adoption, I have lived too long in monarchies to deny in the least their historical necessity and high excellence. I am utterly destitute of sympathy with the shallow fanatical republicanism of so many Americans, who see no salvation for Europe except in the universal spread of republican institutions, and hence are prepared to hail with joy the vilest revolutions, born of the spirit of darkness. This comes, however, of not understanding the matter; for if they knew better they would decide differently. But unhistorical, foolish, even ridiculous as it would be to plant American institutions at once and without modification on European soil, yet on the other side, for the United States I can think of but one form of government as reasonable and appropriate, and that is the republic. All the traditions and sympathies are there in its favour. With it are connected the whole previous history and present vocation of the country; under it she has become great and strong; under it she feels happy and satisfied. We cannot imagine from what quarter a king for America could come." P. 19.

Now, while we most cordially agree with our author in his hearty denunciation of red republicanism in other parts of his book, and are

satisfied that the men who have recently undertaken to democratize Europe were wholly unsuited to the task, mainly because they rejected Christianity, yet we must hesitate to admit the historical necessity of monarchy, except so far as monarchy has kept the masses degraded, and by calling in the aid of the Church has added to the number of their masters and oppressors, thus wedding, in the minds of the people, Christianity with tyranny, and making the noble sentiments of liberty the enemy of Christ, who alone can make men truly free. Our author tells us that in this country the sympathies, the traditions, the history, were all in favour of republicanism, so much so that he can conceive of no other form of government for her. That is, if we understand him, republicanism is a historical necessity for America! She must continue a republic because she has a republican history, just as Europe must remain monarchical because her history is monarchical. But how would this argument have answered when our fathers were just emerging from the struggle of the revolution and were casting about for a suitable form of government? The stream of history then set in the opposite direction. And although our fathers were already qualified for self-government by intelligence and virtue, yet there was no necessity for the republic except in the deep sympathies of the people.

While Dr. Schaff, in different parts of his book, as already intimated, speaks in terms of just severity of many of his own countrymen as radical and revolutionary, and of the tendency of their opinions and acts as anarchical and highly immoral, we cannot but think he has included under his generally proper and discriminating condemnation one name which ought to have been spared, even in the presence of a Berlin audience. We mean that of Louis Kossuth. After speaking of the manner in which certain would-be European republican leaders, who have come to America within a few years past, have been compelled to settle down quietly into simple citizens, our author proceeds thus:—

> "The only revolutionary celebrity who has really created a great stir is Kossuth, who, during the half year of his stay in America as the nation's guest made many hundreds of English speeches, as well as a few in German, and by the power of his eloquence, in the highest degree remarkable, even in a foreign language, and by his strange gift for agitation, drew upon himself the wonder of thousands. But the history of his meteoric, rhetorical campaign through states of the Union is expressed in a few words: he went up like a rocket and came down like a stick."—P. 16.

We readily admit the failure of Kossuth, but in what sense did he fail? He certainly did not fail to excite us to the highest pitch of admiration, wonder, and reverence for his own character,

or to awaken in our hearts the deepest sympathy for his oppressed and suffering country. The very concomitants of his failure would have been a sufficient immortality for most men. But he failed to secure the coöperation of the great Western empire in the cause of Hungarian liberty; he failed to convince us that it was good policy, young as our country was, and remote from the scene of strife, to engage in a European war. He failed in England, too, where he certainly would have succeeded if the rights of man had been as dear to the government as the balance of power in Europe. But he failed in an enterprise of exalted and glorious patriotism similar to that in which Franklin succeeded at the court of France, and which brought to our shores Lafayette, the citizen of two hemispheres, with French muskets, French soldiers, and French gold. If the mission of the American commissioners was more glorious than that of the Hungarian governor, it was only because the world measures glory by no standard but that of success. The honour shown to Kossuth at the time of his visit, and which is still felt for him by Americans who are not blinded by partisanship, was a spontaneous homage to his genius, the utterance of a glowing sympathy with his noble and gallant soul, and the exhibition of a melting, though unfruitful pity for his crushed country, mingled with fierce indignation against a perjured king and his royal companions in treachery and tyranny. If Dr. Schaff had fully imbibed the spirit of Washington and the fathers of the American Revolution, he never would have abused Kossuth before an audience that hated him simply because he was a republican patriarch.

Under the head of national character and social life our author represents America as exhibiting a lively ethnographical panorama, in which we see passing before us all the nationalities of the old world. In Virginia we meet with the English gentleman of the time of Elizabeth and the later Stuarts; in Philadelphia with the Quaker of the days of George Fox and William Penn; in East Pennsylvania with the Palatine and the Suabian of the former part of the last century; in New-England with the Puritan of the time of Cromwell and Baxter; on the shore of the Hudson and in New-Jersey with the genuine Hollander, and in South Carolina with the Huguenots and the French noblemen of the seventeenth century. He shows, however, that in all this variegated manifoldness a higher unity prevails, in which we clearly distinguish the features of the American national character. This American national character, whose basis is English, greatly modified by the intermixture of other nationalities, and which, we are told, needs still further modification by contact with the deep German inwardness, our author describes

as remarkable for energy, self-government, activity, power of organization, strong religious convictions, and as possessing in a high degree the qualities necessary for world-dominion. Our social life is characterized as English in its general features, and in our large cities as rapidly tending to extravagance and luxury. New-York is compared with the French rather than the English capital, and if it were not for its many religious societies and churches, and its strict observance of Sunday, it might be called a second Paris. In respect to the intellectual enjoyments of social life among us, we translate from our author the following:—

"The deep and thoroughly cultivated intercourse with which we meet here in Berlin, where, to speak without flattery, one can spend each evening in the most suggestive and profitable conversation, with ladies as well as with gentlemen, on science, and art, and all the higher concerns of life, is, indeed, but seldom to be met with in America. Female training especially, is still, in general, very shallow there, calculated rather for outward show than for solid, inward improvement, and in some circles where from outward appearances we might expect something better, we sometimes hear for whole evenings nothing but the stalest and most intolerable every-day chat about the weather, the fashions, and the latest wedding projects. But on the other hand a certain average culture is more general there than in Europe, where the culture is confined to certain conditions of life. Republican institutions, as we may see in part in Switzerland, have a leveling, equalizing tendency, in regard to social diversities. If the overtopping heights of culture are less frequent in America, so on the other hand we shall be unable to find there any such deep depressions of ignorance. There almost every one strives to be a gentleman or lady, that is, to reach the English ideal of outward and inward, of intellectual and moral culture, as far as their circumstances and external position will allow. Almost every man has a certain, at least outward routine, can make a respectable appearance, reads newspapers and journals, can talk intelligently about the general affairs of his fatherland; if needful, can make a speech, and in general, can make a good practical use of his knowledge. The amount of sound sense, of prudence and practical skill, and of speaking talent to be found there among all classes is really astonishing."—P. 35.

From this flattering view of the American mind, the author proceeds to literature and science, and among other topics alludes to our public schools, mentions the Romish opposition to them, and rather sides with it, and says that certain prominent men in the Protestant confessions have assumed a polemical attitude toward them, and are labouring to establish parochial schools. It is true that many of the Protestant Churches, as also the Jews, have established schools of their own, but certainly, as far as we have any knowledge, those who have done so from hostility to the public schools must be looked for among the Puseyites or their Mercersburg friends.

We have some account also of college education in the country, and what is said is marked by fairness and discrimination. It is very properly stated that in the German sense of the word we have

no university,—that Yale, Harvard, and the University of Virginia make the nearest approach to it. The author makes a slight mistake, however, in attaching a theological department to the University of Virginia.

The newspaper press comes in for a share of attention, and the Germans are astonished to hear of the immense circulation of some of our American papers, among others, certain of the religious weeklies, one of which, the New-York Observer, they are told, reaches the enormous height of twenty thousand. We allude to this part of the book merely to show that better examples might have been selected; and we cannot imagine why they were not. The Christian Advocate, New-York, and the Western Christian Advocate, Cincinnati, have a circulation of between thirty and forty thousand each.

We pass now to notice the author's remarks upon the aspects of religion and the Church. He shows, very truly, that, although we have no state Church, yet the state, as such, does not leave Christianity entirely unrecognised; that in most, if not in all of the state governments, there are stringent laws against atheism, blasphémy, desecration of the Sabbath, and polygamy; and that even Congress acknowledges Christianity by the election of a chaplain for each house, as well as by providing similar officers for the army and navy. He falls, however, into a slight error when he states that the congressional chaplains have been mostly Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian. The Methodists have had their full share of representatives in this office, and of late years, indeed, more than any other denomination. The last Congress had a Methodist chaplain in each house. We call attention to this error, not because it is of any great importance in this country, but merely because the German hearers and readers of these lectures, whose ideas are so much influenced by official dignity, might have thought better of us if Dr. Schaff had informed them correctly at this point.

Dr. Schaff seems to have grave doubts respecting what is called the voluntary principle, namely, that condition of the Church in which, unsupported by the state, it is left to depend upon the hearts of its members; for although he makes many statements going to show how efficiently it works, yet he tells us it has its dark sides; and further, that he would by no means defend, as an ideal condition, the separation of Church and state, of which the voluntary principle is a necessary fruit, though he considers it preferable to territorialism and police guardianship of the Church, and holds it to be a *present* necessity.

But the great source of grief with our author in regard to the

ecclesiastical relations of our country, is found in sectarianism, (*Sectenwesen.*) On this point we translate as follows:—

"America is the classic land of sects, which there, in perfect civil authorization, can develop themselves without opposition. This is connected with the above-mentioned preponderating reformed type of the country. For in the reformed Church, the Protestant, hence also the subjective, individualistic principle is most strongly brought out. By the term sectarianism we describe the whole ecclesiastical condition of the country. For the difference between Church and sect has no existence there, at least, in the sense of established Church and dissenting societies, as they are ordinarily understood in England and Germany. In America we have no state Church, and hence no dissenters. There every religious society, if it does not outrage the common Christian feelings of the people or the public morality, (as the Mormons, who, on this account, were driven out of Ohio and Illinois,) enjoys the same protection and the same rights."—P. 81.

Further on, in the same spirit, he adds—

"There is the Romanist, with the tridentinum and the pomp of the mass; the Episcopal Anglican, with the thirty-nine articles and the book of common prayer; the Scotch Presbyterian, with the Westminster confession and his presbyteries and synods; the Congregationalist, or Puritan in the narrower sense, likewise with the Westminster confession, but with independent Churches; the Baptist, with his immersion and his rejection of infant baptism; the Quaker, with his inward light; the Methodist, with his insisting upon repentance and conversion, and his artfully-contrived machinery."

There, too, are the Lutheran, the German Reformed, the Dutch Reformed, and others, all standing side by side, in the enjoyment of the same liberty, making war upon sin, though sometimes also upon each other, and achieving triumphs of no mean character or trifling extent, since, as the author tells us, multitudes of souls are gathered every year by most of these sects, and some of them have doubled their numbers within the last ten years.

Our author admits that this confusion of sects, as he calls it, may, from a certain point of view, be regarded with favour; that a person who looks upon the *conversion* of *men* as the whole design of the Church, may well be favourably impressed with the religious condition of America. He admits that this glorious object is promoted by the great number of Churches and sects, which incite each other to increased activity and fruitfulness. He even asserts that there are in this country, in proportion to population, more truly-awakened souls and more individual effort and sacrifice for religion than any where else in the world, Scotland, perhaps, excepted; and he denies that our sectarianism works to the advantage either of infidelity or Romanism. But he tells us, notwithstanding all this, that when we come to inspect this state of things more closely, we shall find that it has "great weaknesses and dark aspects; that it sets in motion every impure motive, encourages party-spirit and party-passion,

selfishness and bigotry, and changes the peaceful regions of the kingdom of God into a battle-field, where brother wars with brother, not indeed with sword and bayonet, but with harshness and with every description of slander, and where the interests of the Church are, to a great extent, subordinated to those of party. It tears the beautiful body of Christ into pieces, and again and again throws the firebrand of jealousy and discord among his members."

What shall we say in reply to all this? Shall we deny that the Church of God in America is extensively divided? or that the different denominations sometimes engage in acrimonious controversy? By no means. Dr. Schaff himself tells us, on the very next page, that sectarianism is not specifically an American disease; that if the Church and the state were separated in Prussia, the parties that now make war upon each other with so much bitterness within the state Church would at once erect themselves into independent Churches and sects—and, if our information is correct, the liberation of the Church throughout Germany would give us a greater number of sects than we have in this country. What then does the learned author mean? Why does he connect so closely the separation of Church and state and the voluntary principle with sectarianism, which his colleague, Dr. Nevin, has laboured through a long and able pamphlet to identify with antichrist, and which he himself seems to place among mortal sins? Does he mean to bring reproach, or, at least, suspicion, upon the relation of the American Church to the state, or simply to insinuate that personally he is tired of depending on the precarious and limited support of the voluntary principle? Or does he believe, as he tells us (p. 249) Dr. Nevin does, that the Church question in the largest sense is not only the greatest theological problem of the present day, but a *question of personal salvation*. This would be a still more terrible view of the separation of Church and state, which our author "would not be willing to defend as an ideal," and which in this country would thus become the cause of the awful sin of freeing the conscience and of establishing a number of earnest, liberal, soul-saving, Christian communions.

But we are referred still further back: "Protestantism itself," we are told, "being Christianity in the form of free subjectivity," has, in its principle and essence, a tendency to the formation of sects, so that it would seem after all that the Reformation is mainly to blame for the divisions of the American Church; and that the separation of Church and state, and freedom of religion, are only so far evil as they remove the hindrances to the development of the schismatical principle of Protestantism.

Sectarianism and Protestantism, as they have shown their greatest power and secured their most striking development in this country, so, according to our author, it is in this country that they are both destined to come to an end. "Here," we are told, "and not in London or Oxford, Romanism and Protestantism are to fight their last and most decisive battle," which is to result in favour of neither of the contending parties, but in favour of an evangelical catholicism, to be reared, of course, on the ruins of the present schismatical ecclesiastical establishments of the land.

Dr. Schaff has a high regard for the Church of Rome, although he is not entirely satisfied with her type of catholicity. Hear him on this point in the following passage:—

> "What is true, and good, and great, and beautiful in the old, gray, but still ever life-powerful Catholic Church, for which, in spite of my Protestant convictions and position I have a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect, should and must be preserved; but her temporal form, the papacy, must pass away, and with it the adoration of saints, the superstitious regard for relics, the spirit of persecution, tyranny over the conscience, and everything which, with all the believing Protestant's longing for Church unity, with all his pain at the weaknesses and imperfections in his own camp, still, for the sake of his conscience, on account of the most precious benefits of the holy Gospel and of direct communion with Christ, our all-satisfying Lord, must forever separate him from the Church of Rome.—P. 151.

It sounds strangely to American ears that a theological professor in one of the Churches of the Reformation should have for Romanism "a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect." A historical respect for that system which has reddened all the streams of history with the blood of the saints, and still glories in it, telling us she would do the same thing *here* and *now* if she had the power! A theological respect for Romanism, with her transubstantiation, her worship of the host, her indulgences and purgatory, redolent of lucre; her penance and auricular confession, and her priestly power of forgiving sin! This looks to us like respect for idolatry, blasphemy, and licentiousness. But the professor goes still further, and speaks, apparently with great pleasure, of his "practically-religious respect" for Rome, that is, reverence—he venerates the mother of harlots as a chaste and holy matron; he sees in her the virtues of churchliness and outward unity, the latter indeed preserved by the rack and the faggot; while in the Protestant communions, under the working of free subjectivity, that evil principle of the Reformation, he sees only the horrible deformity of unchurchliness and the mortal sin of schism and sectarian confusion. No wonder, after all this, that our author should tell his German friends how "easy a matter it is in America

for a theologian to draw upon himself the charge of Puseyism and Romanizing tendencies," and frankly confess his own bitter experiences in this respect.

In the following passage our author speaks of the prevailing opinions of American Protestants with respect to Popery, and characterises them as prejudice :—

> "They see in it (Popery) the incarnate antichrist, the man of sin prophesied of by Paul, that exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; the synagogue of Satan, the apocalyptic beast, the Babylonish whore, an enemy of all liberty of thought and belief, a fearful power of persecution of all who think differently from her, a mighty tyranny of the conscience, a spiritual despotism which must become, necessarily, a political despotism should it ever obtain sufficient power."—P. 153.

These sober opinions of so many private Christians and learned interpreters, some of which are based upon decrees of Papal councils, the opinions of learned Romish doctors, and the admitted principles of Popery, the author condemns without distinction, nay, even makes light of, and places on a footing of equality with the abuse of Protestantism by the Papal press of this country.

Under his ecclesiastico-religious division, Dr. Schaff, after a short preface, proceeds to a characterization of the principal denominations of the country. He divides them into two groups, the English and the German. The English are the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, the Quakers, the Methodists, and the Baptists. Of the last two there are also German branches. He says :—

> "All these can be assigned to orthodox and evangelical Protestantism, since in their symbols they hold fast to the fundamental doctrines of Holy Scripture and of the Reformation, and bring forth a Christian life corresponding therewith. On the outermost boundary of orthodox Protestantism stand the Baptists and Quakers, who hence mostly bear the character of sects in the narrower sense, although the former are very numerous. On the other hand the Episcopalians form the extreme right wing of Protestantism, and are most nearly related to Catholicism; this holds especially of the High Church or Puseyite party."—P. 91.

But, although the Protestant Episcopalians are thus placed with Rome, and the Quakers and Baptists are branded as sects in the narrower sense; although the Congregationalist and Presbyterians are blamed as standing on the utmost extreme of simplicity and unimaginative tameness in matters of public worship, and especially as rejecting the use of the cross, the altar, forms of prayer, clerical robes, and Church feasts, particularly Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, yet it is for the Methodists that he reserves his sharpest language.

"Methodism is one of the most numerous of American denominations, perhaps the most numerous, and in the state of Indiana has the entire control of the political elections. It possesses extraordinary practical energy and activity, and rejoices in an organization which is most strikingly adapted to great general undertakings and systematic, fruitful coöperation. Its ministers have, as a rule, little or no scientific culture; they, however, generally possess considerable gifts for popular discourse and exhortation, and often supply by faithfulness and devotion what they lack in deeper knowledge. They are especially fitted for pioneers in new regions, for aggressive mission work, and for labour among the lower classes. Their zeal, however, is very much clouded by impure motives of proselytism, and indulges itself in the most shameless inroads on the material of other Churches under the opinion that they alone can thoroughly convert them. The Methodists have also the greatest influence over the negroes, the free as well as the slaves, and with their power of producing excitement, seem exactly adapted to the sanguine, easily-moved negro temperament. Formerly they condemned learning and theology, from principle, and as dangerous to practical piety, and appealed to the apostles and evangelists of the early Church in justification of their position; they were accustomed to boast, that although their preachers had never rubbed their backs against the college wall, still they knew better how to gather fish into the net of the kingdom than others. But in respect to this question an important change has commenced within a few years past. The Methodists begin now to establish colleges and seminaries, to publish scientific journals, and to follow the advancing culture of the times. Still it is a question whether they will not, by this means, lose more of their peculiar character, and of their influence over the lower classes, than they will gain among the more cultivated circles. It is characteristic of them (the Methodist ministers) that as soon as they get a little learning they are usually more puffed up than other people, and even in the pulpit make a vain display of it."—Pp. 121, 122.

Now we very much doubt whether our readers could find anywhere else, in the same space, as much flippant abuse and self-complacent slander as we have here. As to our being good pioneers, adapted to the work among the lower classes and suited to the sanguine easily-moved negro temperament, we have nothing to object, but joyfully appropriate as a compliment what perhaps the Mercersburg theologian uttered for the purpose of bringing us into contempt in Berlin. It is a great pity that every Church is not fitted for the work of saving the poor and unlettered, especially as Christ himself has said, "Unto the poor the Gospel is preached." But when he tells his auditors and readers that "the zeal of Methodism is darkened by impure motives of proselytism," and that she indulges in the most shameless encroachments upon other Churches, we must meet the bold and reckless assertion by a flat denial, and characterize it as false and slanderous. The writer of this article knows well the relation of Methodism to the German Churches, especially in Pennsylvania. If to go into neighbourhoods where God was almost forgotten, where the members of the regular Churches, as a rule, openly indulged in profanity and drunkenness, and, on an almost starving pecuniary allowance, to preach the Gospel with a power that

drove the people from their sins and induced them to lead a new life, evinces a zeal darkened by motives of proselytism, we plead guilty to the charge. If to gather these awakened and renewed people into separate societies when it was almost morally certain that to leave them in their old associations was to insure their return to their former habits, and when the change through which they had passed had made them objects of derision, not only to their neighbours and fellow-churchmen generally, but in most cases also to their pastors; if to take pity on such poor sheep, and in these circumstances to provide food and fold for them is to make "shameless inroads upon other Churches," then indeed are we guilty, and are not ashamed. And it is precisely to these labours of Methodism, both in awakening the people and in founding Churches in their previously God-forsaken towns and neighbourhoods, that the German Churches are indebted, at least in a great measure, for the restoration of their spiritual life, for the beginning of those better days which he tells us they are now enjoying. Dr. Schaff shall be our witness and judge on this point. After speaking of that period of the history of the American German Churches embraced between the Revolutionary war and the year 1820, which he describes as the period of "*torpidity*" and "*petrifaction*," he makes the following statement:—

"The principal incitement, (i. e., to returning life,) came, at least indirectly, from the side of Puritanic Presbyterianism and *Methodism*, and was intimately connected with the continual prevalence of the English language, which, for a few decenniums has been pressing more and more into purely German neighbourhoods, so that the newly-awakened life bore at the beginning, and still bears, at least to some extent, an English, partly Puritanical, partly Methodistic character, and for some time threatened entirely to destroy the peculiarity, especially the churchly elements, of German Protestantism, such as the use of liturgical formularies, the celebration of the high feasts, the rite of confirmation, the mystical view of the holy supper," &c.—P. 173.

We quote again:—

"Many of the richest Pennsylvania farmers are uncommonly stingy and full of the most unreasonable prejudices against every kind of progress. Alas! they are even supported in it by many preachers of the old stamp, who trouble themselves much more about their farms, their geese, and their cows, than about the interests of the kingdom of God, and who systematically keep their Churches in ignorance and stupidity. They are indeed orthodox, but far more from indolence of thought and motives of interest than from inward conviction; they are zealous for the Lutheran or the Reformed Church, and bawl themselves almost hoarse against the so-called Strablers, (Methodists,) and their new measures: but with these they assail at the same time all vital, practical Christianity. Happily, this generation of *belly priests* is rapidly dying off," &c., &c.—P. 199.

This is a specimen of that *period* of torpidity and *petrifaction* so graphically described by our author, as also of the treatment

encountered by the Methodists, when they first began to prophesy over this field of death. This is a picture to the life of the German Churches, both ministers and people: at that time "torpid" as the serpents of their own winters, petrified harder than the anthracite of their own hills, and reflecting as little light; mere fossil churches with *belly priests* for pastors, more troubled about their geese and cows than about the kingdom of God; bawling themselves hoarse with equal zeal against the Methodists and all vital practical Christianity. Over these arid and desolate wastes Methodism scattered the signs of returning life. Under her mighty, though perhaps in some cases rude efforts, portions of the torpid flocks began to struggle and revive: the "petrified" forms became conscious of joints, and the limbs of stone began to soften and move; and now we are told that the result of these labours, and of others of a similar kind put forth by the Presbyterians, is, that a better time has come, and the condition of the German Churches is decidedly hopeful. For being the instruments of bringing all this about the Methodist ministers find their reward on the other side of the Atlantic in having their zeal described as "clouded by impure motives of proselytism." But while we repel and disprove this false and ungrateful charge, we do not hesitate to state that while the Methodists have always strenuously contended that God alone converts the soul, yet they have always held and acted upon the principle, that the Church which has been the instrument of turning men to righteousness ought to provide for their spiritual culture, and to have the spiritual oversight of them. They have further held, that the openly wicked and profane, whom no scriptural Church discipline could allow to remain in the Church, are not in any valid sense members of the visible Church, and that when such men are taken in the "Gospel net" and become true Christians, it is just as much the duty of the Church through whose labours they are converted, with their consent, to receive them into her communion as it would be to receive so many heathen brought to Christ at one of her missionary stations in Africa. In all this they feel and know that so far from entering upon other men's labours, they are simply nurturing the spiritual children whom God has given them, and besides are frequently erecting a light from which others shall receive the rays of a divine illumination, and even torpid and petrified Churches renew their suspended functions. But while the Methodists, thus gladly and from conviction, have always received their spiritual offspring, they have ever scorned to decoy Christians of other communions into their own. Indeed, they themselves have suffered more from proselytism than any other Church in the land: thousands

converted among us and formerly belonging to us are now members of other Churches, and scores of those who were once Methodist ministers, both in England and in this country, are occupying the pulpits of other denominations.

It is charged again that the Methodists formerly condemned learning and theology, both from principle and from their being dangerous to practical piety. Here are two distinct charges: one is that "the Methodists formerly condemned learning and theology from principle," that is, loved ignorance for its own sake, especially in matters of theology; the other, that they considered both learning and theology dangerous to practical piety,—in other words, that they held the opinion so often attributed to Rome, namely, that ignorance is the mother of devotion. In reply to such accusations as these one scarcely knows what to say. The calumny is so obvious, that to state it is to refute it and to brand the author with reckless error or intentional misrepresentation. Perhaps Dr. Schaff supposed these things would never reach the ears of the friends of Methodism in this country, while at the same time his scandalous misrepresentation of her ministers and caricature of her history might have the effect of making our recently-established missions in Germany unpopular, as well as of arming the German emigrants against the influence of our domestic missions when they arrive in this country. This would seem to be the method adopted by the advocates of *evangelical catholicism* for the extirpation of schism, the antichrist of Mercersburg; and perhaps the new catholicism, like the old so much admired by our friend, holds the maxim, "the end sanctifies the means."

What, then, was the true relation of early Methodists to learning and theology? Why, simply this. When the Wesleys found the depths of the spiritual life, and their ministrations began to be "in power, in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance;" and when great numbers were awakened and converted as the fruit of their labours, some of these persons, feeling themselves urged by a strong desire, and by a conviction of duty equally strong, to call sinners to repentance, before they themselves or their religious guides were aware of it, were found to be preaching. The labours of these laymen produced abundant fruits, and in many cases exhibited the gifts of the labourers to great advantage. What was to be done? Mr. Wesley saw the multitudes perishing for lack of knowledge, with no man, even among the clergy, to care for their souls, and he reluctantly confirmed what the Great Head of the Church had already ordered, and made these pious and zealous laymen helpers of his ministry. But did Mr. Wesley send these men out to preach the Gospel *because* they

had not been taught Latin and Greek and were not skilled in theology as a science? Was it not rather in spite of these defects, and because although they were not learned, they were sensible, highly gifted, and, above all, deeply religious and fired with a zeal for the salvation of souls, which seemed to be the great passion of their lives? Did he send them out with the advice to avoid books, to eschew learning, and especially to keep clear of theology? We hardly need say that he himself was an extensive writer as well as publisher of books, intended to assist in training his people in the knowledge and practice of Christianity; and that in his advice to his preachers he places gaining knowledge next to saving souls. In our Discipline, —in the first ever published—the question is asked, "Why is it that the people under our care are not better?" and the answer given is, "Other reasons may concur, but the chief is, because we are not more knowing and more holy." The next answer proceeds to direct the preacher to spend at least *five hours every day in study*, and declares that a preacher who has no taste for books must "contract such a taste by use or return to his former employment."

If we come to the early history of our Church in this country, how do these slanders appear? Was Dr. Coke, our first bishop, a lover of ignorance for its own sake? Did he ignore his own learning, and assert that he could have been a more pious man, or a more efficient minister without it? Did the early Methodist ministers get this intense hatred of learning and theology, this belief that ignorance is the mother of devotion, from Francis Asbury, the father of American Methodism, the founder of Cokesbury College, one of the objects of which, as stated by himself, was to give to our young men who are called to preach "a measure of that improvement which is highly expedient as a preparative for public service;" and who, in spite of the disadvantages of his early training, and while engaged in ceaseless travel and daily preaching over the whole extent of this vast country, found time for self-culture and for the earnest study of the Scriptures in the original languages? Did our fathers learn to hate culture in general and theology in particular from the example of Emory, and Hedding, and Bangs? men whose youth was spent with one generation of Methodist ministers, their mature manhood with another, and the beautiful and fragrant old age of one of them with still another. The charge is false. For although the Methodist Church has held from the beginning, and still holds, that neither a classical nor *regular* theological education is essential to an efficient Gospel ministry; and though she has demonstrated her position in a way to make the ears of the world to tingle, yet she has always insisted with equal earnestness, that those who are called to

the work of the ministry are bound to do their utmost to cultivate their minds and to acquire knowledge, especially that which pertains to their holy calling. Our fathers in the ministry were frequently assailed as false prophets or as ignorant pretenders and interlopers, by ministers who, with a smattering of Greek and Latin and no Christian experience, had less biblical learning than those whom they abused; and when thus attacked by the *belly priests*, as Dr. Schaff aptly calls them, they replied, and very truly, that although they had never been at college, they were better instructed in everything pertaining to their sacred calling than many who had enjoyed that advantage. And in further vindication of themselves, they pointed, like Paul, to their "living epistles," and showed that "the net of the Gospel" in their hands, came to the shore laden at every haul with the evidences of success, while their maligners laboured in the dark and literally "caught nothing." Dr. Schaff has either carelessly or wilfully borne false witness against the early Methodist ministers, men of whom the world was not worthy, and who, according to his own acknowledgment, had much to do with the reawakening of his own "torpid" and "petrified" Church.

As to the ill-natured remark, that "it is characteristic of the Methodist ministers, that as soon as they get a little learning, they are usually more puffed up than others, and make a vain display of it, even in the pulpit," we reply, that we are acquainted with no Church in the land so much in danger from a little learning as the German Reformed. This results from two causes: first, the miserable Pennsylvania German dialect, the vernacular of many of their ministers and people; and secondly, the recent introduction of the mystical and metaphysical Mercersburg theology. Of the German dialect in use in Pennsylvania, where the interests of the German Reformed Church principally lie, Dr. Schaff has given a most ludicrous account in the book before us. Here is a verse of an evening hymn in that dialect which he quotes for the amusement of his cultivated audience.

"Margets scheent die Sun so schō
Owits goat der gehl Mond uf,
Margets leit der Dau in Klee,
Owits tritt mer Drucke druf."

This lingo, a mixture of mangled German and English forms, incapable of being used for any literary purpose whatever, is the native speech of a large number of those who enter the ministry in Dr. Schaff's Church. It is true that the English language grows up by the side of their vernacular, but only as a stiff and literal translation of it, the sentences standing as often on their heads as on their feet,

so that both languages are made to play the harlequin together. Now how is it possible for young men who start to college knowing neither German nor English, unprovided with the common channels of thought, the simplest instruments of improvement,—half of whose time in college must have passed before they acquire freedom and skill in either language,—how is it possible for such young men in the remaining half of their time to get beyond the point of "a little learning?" And will not these early disadvantages trammel them in all after life? But when these young men leave college and enter the theological seminary, how are they, with such slender preparation, and in the short time allowed them, to master the intricacies and fathom the depths of the Mercersburg theology?—to explain the mystery of the mystical presence, baptismal grace, and historical development? To expect such a thing is absurd, and hence, ever since this new system became dominant in the German Reformed Church, the most of her ministers seem to move like a man bearing about him a concealed treasure, of which he knows neither the value nor the exact whereabouts, though he is pretty sure he has it somewhere. The general impression is, that however clearly Drs. Nevin and Schaff may be able to see in this newly-imported, hazy, German, doctrinal atmosphere, the great body of their ministers are befogged by their "too little learning;" and hence with a discretion scarcely to be expected in this country of independent thought, they have mostly yielded themselves in unreasoning and dutiful silence to the guidance of authority, and by tacit consent have left both the promulgation and defence of the new theology to their two great leaders. But while with the majority the effect of the new teaching has been thus repressive and sedative, with a considerable number who think they see bottom through the deep or muddy waters, it has been far otherwise; and where a learned professor might have presented to his audience a body of smoke in a robe of moonshine, and supplied by rhetorical and metaphysical gymnastics what was lacking in solid doctrine, these poor fellows only grope and flounder, and in quite a different sense from that in which Milton used the words, "find no end, in wandering mazes lost," until the intelligent in the community are reminded of the country schoolmaster and his astonished neighbours,—

> "While words of learned length and thundering sound
> Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around."

With respect to the charge of "conceit" and "vain display" we will not deny that an occasional case of the kind may be pointed out among *us*, as among *others*, but that it is "characteristic" we

altogether deny: the history, the spirit, the success of our ministry all contradict it. Dr. Schaff himself tells us in a passage which we shall by-and-by translate, that the "principal thing with the Methodists is to work upon the sinner;" and we add, that this, (leaving off the sneer,) with the building up of believers and the training of children, Methodism regards as her whole work. With these the display of learning is incompatible, and yet toward these the members of the Church expect, and her authorities demand, that every sermon should tend. Methodism in this country annually receives into her communion almost as many persons as all the other Protestant Churches together;—is this great work accomplished by men inclined to idle display, or is it the result of preaching the Gospel "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth?" The charge is false; our ministers, as a general rule, whether they have much learning, little learning, or none at all, are characterized by earnestness and simplicity, and so much are these qualities the fashion among us, especially the former, that a minister who does not possess them, must seem to do so in order to be acceptable. So striking a characteristic, not only of our preaching, but of our whole Church life, has earnestness been, that Dr. Chalmers, as if to refute this charge before it was made, described Methodism as "Christianity in earnest."

Our author finds a striking resemblance between Methodism and German pietism, on which account, he says, the former have easy access to the Würtemburg emigrants, among whom there are many Pietists. We learn, on the other hand, from Dr. Nast that this last remark is a decided blunder: Methodism does little or nothing with the Pietists. About twenty per cent. of the converts of the Methodist German missions are from the ranks of Rome,—the rest, for the most part, were Rationalists or outright Infidels.

We translate another passage:—

"Methodism and Pietism agree in earnestly insiting upon subjective experimental Christianity—repentance, conversion, the new birth, and indeed in a particular way and manner, or method; hence the name Methodism. The ruling spirit of the system demands as a condition to the complete *getting through*, powerful birth pains, an earnest battle of repentance, a certain amount of feeling of sin and of grace, and ordinarily also the clear recollection of the time and place of the new birth or conversion, two things which Methodism regards as one."

We do indeed, with Jesus and the apostles, insist on experimental Christianity, repentance and the new birth; we labour to bring on the battle of repentance, and rejoice in the pangs of the spiritual birth, but we teach nothing in regard to the specific amount of any

kind of feeling whatever—just the reverse indeed—we pretend to have no mystical thermometer by which to determine the spiritual temperature either of the renewed or the penitential state.

Dr. Schaff's ignorance of our economy, considering he has undertaken to write about us, is most remarkable. He tells his readers that the legislative power lies in the conferences, the administrative in the hands of the bishops and presiding elders; that the preachers are not paid directly by the people, but from a general Church fund; that they receive a moderate but respectable and *fixed* support for themselves, for their wives, and for each of their children, so that the increase of the income keeps pace with the growth of the family; that the widows and orphans of the clergy and missionaries receive an excellent support from a special, rich, well-managed relief fund. Most of this might have been said just as appropriately of the Quakers, who have no regular ministry at all.

Our relation to Church service and the means of grace is next taken up:—

"In regard to divine service, the ordinary, God-ordained means of grace, do not satisfy Methodism, and with the sacraments she does not at all know what to do, although she still traditionally retains infant baptism and celebrates the Lord's supper four times a year as a simply commemorative institution. It has far more confidence in subjective means and exciting impressions than in objective institutions and their more quiet and unobserved, but more certain efficiency. The principal thing with Methodism is to work upon the sinner with altogether special exertions of the preacher, and for this purpose they have discovered and completed in America a peculiar machinery, which to Pietism is entirely unknown, 'namely, the system of the so-called new measures.'"

Among these "new measures" are mentioned by the author, prayer-meetings and camp-meetings, inquiry meetings and class-meetings, (the two latter he regards as in some measure a substitute for the Romish confessional,) and finally the anxious-bench, which he describes as follows:—

"A purely American discovery, namely, a seat in front of the pulpit, to which, after preaching, the penitent hearer is invited, and still further worked upon with special exhortations, in the most exciting manner, until the new life reaches the point of *breaking through*, and then the feeling of sin-pardoning grace breaks forth in a loud and ecstatic rejoicing, as just before the sense of sin had expressed itself in most vehement lamentations, tears, agonizing groans, and, not unfrequently, in convulsive fits."

What does the learned doctor mean by saying that the Methodists are not satisfied with the ordinary means of grace? They appear to us to find great satisfaction in them, and as an evidence of it, they devote their children to God in baptism, they attend the Lord's

supper,—in the eastern cities at least, not "four times a year," but regularly once a month; and on the Sabbath day, even when there is no particular excitement, they crowd their churches more than any others are crowded, to hear the preaching of the word. As to the sacraments, perhaps the doctor means that Methodists do not show their "practical religious respect for Rome" and Mercersburg, by adopting the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and the *real spiritual presence*, as Dr. Nevin would express it, *of the human nature* of Christ in the holy supper. Judging the Methodists, then, by their practices, the only fair way of judging in such cases, they seem not only to be satisfied with the ordained means of grace, but to love them. But perhaps the doctor means, not that the Methodists are *dissatisfied* with the ordained means of grace, but that they do not consider them sufficient, and hence add to them their peculiar usages. We, however, would beg leave to dissent from this view of the case; we use no means of grace the *substance* of which is new; we are only "instant out of season" as well as "in season," in the employment of what is ordained. At our camp-meetings everything is old; we have only preaching, praying, singing, and personal advice to penitents; our prayer-meetings, which Dr. Schaff admits are not modern, and which we scarcely need say, are found in the Acts of the Apostles, require no explanation, much less defence; they rest upon Scriptural promise and example, but, without either, they would have resulted from the spiritual life of the Church, as the necessary outgrowth of the sympathy of praying hearts. Our class-meetings (not to notice the stale, oft-refuted charge of Romanism, especially when coming from Romanizing Mercersburg) are a most happy and successful effort to systematize religious conversation, and to secure its weekly repetition. They afford the members of the Church frequent and regular opportunities to follow the example of those who in early times "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and *fellowship*," and with whom personal religion and the interests of Christ's kingdom were the constant themes of conversation. Similar statements might be made in respect to our mourner's bench or altar; all that is done there is to sing, and pray, and point the struggling penitent to the promises of the Gospel and the Saviour of sinners. Substantially, then, the Methodists use the means of grace instituted by Christ, and *them only;* and the objections brought against them in this connexion, relate exclusively to non-essential circumstances, such as, that the preaching, the praying, the singing, &c., are done in a grove, in a private house, or at a certain bench or altar, or on a week-day. Concerning these circumstances the apostles and the private

Christians of their day were as little careful as the Methodists; we find them, not only on the Sabbath, but "*daily* with one accord in the temple." Paul goes into the Jewish synagogues and preaches on the Sabbath days; but if it will better serve the cause of Christianity we find him "disputing *daily* in the *school* of *one* Tyrannus," keeping up these services for two years, until all that dwelt "in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus." At another time the same apostle joins with Silas in social prayer, and in singing at midnight in the prison at Philippi. The first Christian preachers and their followers were intent upon *using the means of grace;* but whether this was done in the temple, in the market-place, in the prison, in the school-room, in the private house, or whether with or without *benches*, made but little difference to them.

There are many other things in this book to which as Methodists we might object as unfair if not spiteful. Another considerable extract, however, shall content us. The author says:—

"The Methodists not only reject confirmation as a useless or hypocritical formalism, but also the idea of an objective baptismal grace, and often in a shocking manner neglect the entire religious training of their children, in the vain, God-tempting expectation that the nervous agitation of an awakening sermon at a camp-meeting, or a few hours at the mourner's bench, will supply the place of the toilsome process of parental discipline and nurture, and regular pastoral instruction. It is therefore no wonder that the young generation, under such influences, grow up so destitute of good manners and morals, and that, in many neighbourhoods where this light straw-fire of Methodistical revival has blazed up brightly, a perfect death has made its appearance, with a profane mockery of all religion."—P. 129.

This is certainly a wonderful passage,—wonderful, especially as coming from a minister of the German Reformed Church, and as uttered against the Methodist Episcopal Church! Where, in the name of all "who draw upon their imagination for their facts," did Dr. Schaff get his information? If some of the multitudes of Methodist parents have neglected the training of their children, as no doubt they have, and that sadly, have they told this accuser of the brethren or his particular friends that they were guilty of this neglect in the expectation that the services of an exciting meeting would supply the place of Christian nurture? Did he learn it from our Discipline, according to which every minister solemnly promises at his ordination, "diligently to instruct the children in every place?" which makes it his duty "to form Sunday schools in our congregations where ten children can be collected;" "to preach on the subject of the religious instruction of children once in six months in all our congregations;" "to enforce upon Sunday-school teachers and parents the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion;" "to catechise the

children in the Sunday schools and at special meetings appointed for that purpose;" in "his pastoral visits, to speak personally to the children on experimental and practical godliness, according to their capacity," with many other directions on the same subject? Did he learn it from our almost innumerable Sunday schools scattered up and down over the whole country? or from the Sunday School Advocate, visiting the lambs of our flock twice a month, and repeating in their ears the sweet words of Christ, "Suffer little children to come unto me?" or from the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with its untold pious and instructive books for children? Did he find it in our catechisms, plain or pictorial? or has he gone back to the fountain-head and learned it from Mr. Wesley's sermon on the religious education of children? or was it only a generous though unmeaning compliment, intended as part payment for the share we had in restoring life to his "torpid" and "petrified" Church? and especially for "imparting to that new life something of a Methodistic character?" Or, finally, was this written and published in Germany as so many other kindly passages of his book seem to have been, for the purpose of warning Germans about to emigrate to this country against the practical Methodists and their "artfully contrived machinery," and particularly to thwart the sectarian mischief then threatening from the Methodist missions just established in Germany? That this last was an important part of his design, seems probable, not only from the general tone of his strictures upon Methodism, but especially from two or three passages. On page 214, speaking of what has been done in this country toward making spiritual provision for the Germans, our author mentions the labours of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and then tells his Berlin audience, jealous for the honour of their nation, and proud both of their Christianity and their intellectual culture, that the "Methodists have even sent a missionary to Germany, as if it were a heathen land, in order to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion." And on page 270 he says: "A proof of the zeal of the Germano-American Methodists and of their strange overestimate of their mission (aufgabe) is seen in the remarkable circumstance, that recently they have even sent several missionaries to Germany, in order to draw it out of the slough of a real or supposed heathenism, and to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion." A little further on he adds: "Perhaps, indeed, a regular Methodistical thunder-shower in some of the dead regions of Germany might be productive of the most beneficial results; although it might be better it should fall from the native sky, and not be obliged to be first artistically imported from America." It is true, the doctor

advises the authorities not to persecute the missionaries, giving it as his opinion that if Rationalists and Pantheists are tolerated, even in the pulpit, we also ought to be let alone. But let any thoughtful man, not to say Christian, or Christian minister, look at these passages in connexion with the general tone of all he has said on Methodism, and at the same time remember the tender infancy of the Methodist mission in Germany at the time these things were uttered, and let him say, whether in the gentlest judgment of charity, Professor Schaff did not do his utmost in all that, as an adopted American citizen he dare do, to bring our missionaries in Germany into disrepute, to hedge up their way, and to secure their return to America without fruit? All this appears the more wonderful, when we remember that the author himself has told us that full one-half of the Germans who come to this country since the revolutions of 1848 are Rationalists and Infidels, and leaves us to infer that multitudes of the same kind still remain in the fatherland.

We must not fail to mention, before concluding, that Rev. Mr Nippert, one of our missionaries in Germany, has replied to Dr. Schaff's misrepresentations of Methodism in a series of letters, published in the Christian Apologist, Cincinnati. These letters are pungent and direct in style, and in spirit, pious, becoming, and dignified.

Since the above article was written a translation of Dr. Schaff's book has appeared in this country. Among other differences between the original and the translation, we notice the following: On page 172 of the translation, he has slightly modified his account of the ecclesiastical constitution of Methodism. On pages 178 and 179, besides mentioning the period of "torpidity," &c., less specifically than in the original, he withdraws the admission, that "Methodism and Presbyterianism had contributed to the revival of the German Churches;" stating in general terms that those Churches were "awakened from their lethargy by the Anglo-American churches." On page 235 he has left out the strongest part of his most objectionable passage on Romanism; that, namely, in which he confesses for it his "powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect."

The third part of the book, as it stood in the original, has been greatly altered and abridged in the translation, for reasons stated by the author.

Art. VII.—LETTERS ON RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE.

LETTER VI.

Paris, *October*, 1855.

To the Editor,—A volume has just been published in this city, of which the title and et ceteras are as follow: *Du Sommeil au Point de vue Physiologique et Psychologique. Par* Albert Lemoine, *Docteur ès Lettres*, &c. Ouvrage Couronné, par l'Institut de France. 1 vol. Paris: 1855.

The programme of this treatise was proposed a year ago by the French Academy, as follows:—"1. Of sleep in a psychological point of view. 2. What are the faculties of the soul that subsist, or are suspended, or considerably modified during sleep? 3. What is the essential difference between dreaming and thinking? The competitors will include in their researches somnambulism and its different species. 4. In natural somnambulism is there consciousness and personal identity? 5. Is artificial somnambulism (mesmerism) a fact? 6. If a fact, to study and describe it in its least contestable phenomena, to determine those of our faculties that are concerned in its operations, and to try to furnish a theory of this state of the soul in accordance with the rules of a soundly philosophic method."

This statement of the thesis, entirely worthy of a learned body, was almost faultless in philosophical precision and subordination. The successful competitor has not done well in overlooking it. A new theory of the whole subject might alone necessitate a change of order, or at least of subdivision, in the details. But when the project went no deeper than the discussion, the development, and the direction upon certain points of facts already known, but unconnectedly, it was quite optional with the author to observe the order so well presented him. This he has by no means done, or only generally and vaguely. No more has he any systematic order of his own. Not, however, that the book appears confused in the perusal. It has the superficial clearness which is the *forte* of the French savant; it is precise in expression, it is perspicuous in arrangement, it is prolixly prudent in restricting inference and speculation; it has the sound but senile character too much in favour with the present Academy, the measure and moderation of which the public also mistake for method. The real confusion and incoherence of books of this class become observable only to the few who grasp the contents at once collectively and concisely. I must attempt to give a succinct abstract of a work of which the subject is of general interest, and is also a special object of American curiosity. In doing this, I shall avail myself of the division of the theme by the Academy to arrange correspondingly the author's results or conclusions. For these alone can be presented within the limits of a mere notice: the connexion between the series of solutions, or at least of answers, will be supplied, when briefly possible, only from the premises of the writer, so that this critical addition will not need distinction in the analysis.

1. To consider sleep "in the psychological point of view," (as proposed,) it is necessary to determine what it is in the physiological. In this respect it is

not a suspension merely of "the life of relation," that is to say, of the senses and other organs that act *externally;* it applies also to the internal organs of nutrition. The heart sleeps between the alternations of pulsation, the lungs between the alternations of respiration; the sleep or rest is only short because the effort is so too. The sole difference in case of the external organs of relation is that the sleep or the repose is, in this instance, much more durable; but it is only so in just proportion to the duration of the labour. The eye could not be closed at short intervals of vision without breaking up the images reflected by exterior objects; audition could not be subjected to a like rapid intermission without disturbing and distorting the impressions of sound; and so of the other senses respectively in their departments. If only one or more of them were liable to this condition, their fragmentary reports would be at variance with the others, and would thus establish in the percipient a sort of subjective chaos; if all the senses were thus intermittent, then the chaos would be also objective; their operation, without continuity enough to seize the images or the relations of external objects, could represent them in no conformity with the reality, and would make even the persistence of animal life upon the earth impossible. It was imperative, then, as a first condition of existence, not to say of rationality, that the repose of the external senses should, like their action, have longer periods. It is this periodic respite, coinciding naturally with the night, which relieves the principal of those organs from the sounds and images besetting them, that is called sleep, physiological sleep.

2. But this is not yet sleep "in the psychological point of view;" that is to say, the sleep of the soul. Here the answer is, The soul does not sleep at all; activity, like immortality, is its inseparable essence. None of its faculties are suspended during the sleep of the body; their operation is obstructed by the resistance of the physical organs, as the will to walk in a paralytic is not suspended but impeded; the modifications thus incurred by them is more or less considerable in proportion to the degree of torpor of the organs to be actuated. And this difference in the degrees of depth, and in the times of incidence, of slumber, which are known perpetually to vary in the divers organs of the senses, is the occasion, by the diversity of their resistance to the surging soul, of dreaming, and the other phenomena of sleep.

3. Is there, then, no essential difference between dreaming and thinking? None whatever in the act itself: the observed difference is in the results, and this proceeds from the three sources just alluded to. The mental vagaries of dreams, &c., are due to false or incomplete impressions received, according as the slumber is complete or only partial, from the interior organs of nutrition, or the exterior organs of relation, or the resistance to the consequent volitions of the soul. The first order of impressing agencies,—such as the motion of the blood, the digestion of the stomach, the secretion of the fluids, &c.,—which derive a special prominence from the suspension of the sensuous organs, give occasion to the most common class of dreams—the dreams of mere *sensation.* The organs of the senses proper, when lulled imperfectly, or only partially, and forced, in absence of external objects, to repeat to that extent their recent processes, affect the soul with the impressions, in of course a mutilated form, of the things that most or last engrossed it when the body was all awake; hence the dreams,

as they are called, of memory, perception, imagination, or as contrasting with the preceding class, the dreams of *intelligence*. The soul proceeding on the elements supplied it from these two sources, and with the confidence which, from the very uniformity of its procedure, it must repose in their reality as when the organs are awake, is often stimulated by them to reaction upon the body, and thus gives rise to a third order, the dreams of action or *volition*. But in all three classes the illusion which is put, in dreaming, upon the soul, is derived exclusively from the impressions; the soul itself and all its faculties remain the same as in its soundest thinking; its very error is an attestation of this identity of state, as the sounder a logician is the more he errs upon a false assumption; even he can be corrected only by control of the other senses; but in the dreamer a certain portion of these mental monitors sleep at their post. It is the same, in due proportion, with the waking visions of the monomaniac, and even the multitude are always dreamers in thoughts that range above the senses.

The dreams of action or volition, which hold the middle in this general series of the psychological phenomena of sleep, embrace, especially, a subdivision of the most remarkable of these phenomena, which have on this account been thought, as usual, of a nature quite peculiar. The sensational and intellectual dreams are known only to the dreamer; the volitional or active dreams express themselves externally, and strike the vulgar in proportion to their coarsely physical perceptibility. The same oversight of the gradation of intermediate stages, which passes equably those three principal divisions into one another, recurs again in the misapprehension of the extreme cases of the active dreams as being, in turn, entirely different phenomena. Thus the volitions of the soul, made in pursuance of the impressions received in sleep from the interior or the vegetative group of organs, are scarcely noticed except in the case of that derangement of the blood or stomach which produces the well-known vision called the *nightmare*. When the exterior or the muscular organs are the occasion of the volitions, and may have thus remained enough awake to obey, we have the *active* dreams of talking, of writing, &c., in sleep; but that of walking, as the more manifest, has named the class *somnambulism*. In the third place, if the impressions and the consequent volitions be confined to the cerebral organs of the intellect, we find the dreamer sometimes conscious that he is dreaming, the soul conducting dialogues and disputations with itself, resolving problems as in Franklin, philosophizing as in Condillac, and, in fact, diving into the distant and the future as in *clairvoyance*. In all these cases of *active* dreaming, as in the *passive* and *perceptive* orders, the soul's three faculties, to wit, sensation, volition, ratiocination, are and act the same essentially as when the body is awake; the results only are modified through the defect of the reports and the degree of the resistances presented by the bodily organs, whether vascular, muscular, or nervous.

The dreams of this last division are included quaintly by the Academy (no doubt too prudish to employ the quack names) in the term "natural *somnambulism*;" and by "artificial somnambulism," it means mesmerizing or magnetizing. Its ensuing queries are, if in the former state the soul be conscious of its identity? and if the latter state be, in the first place, a fact?

4. Yes; personal identity continues in the somnambulist, in the ecstatic, in

the maniac, the dreamer, &c.; if not, indeed, in distinct consciousness, in recognition, in implication. When they mistake themselves for other persons, or as performing fantastic parts, or when they utterly forget such scenes on the return of the natural state, the illusion turns really only upon externals more or less intimate, upon localities, upon habiliments, upon sentiments, &c.; the nucleus of the individual remains essentially supposed. It is to this alone, moreover, that consciousness can apply. Consciousness is only one of the three elements of identity. The first of these is, that there be, objectively, a continuous existence; to be always the *same*, it is plainly necessary to *be always*. Consciousness, which is the second and the subjective element, applies but to the distinct instants of the duration; it recognises individuality, but by no means identity. The latter, being a relative notion, or embracing more than a single term, could be acquired only through a corresponding faculty, and accordingly the crowning element of personal identity is the relational condition of reminiscence. But this, connecting the successive consciousnesses at each instant as they arise, and placing thus implicit confidence at every moment in the general result, keeps no distinctive recollection of the several steps of the procedure, unless when marked by the concurrence of some more than ordinary incident. If this, however, do not seem unnatural, or quite at variance with all around it, it is through the medium of the circumstances, interwoven with the web of consciousnesses, and occasions no solution of continuity. If, on the contrary, the incident present a scene which is out of nature, or in complete discord with the reality of the situation, the trenchant contrast appears to insulate the ravished soul from its former self, the novel spectacle stands out so strikingly from the whole tenor of the reminiscence as to escape it, like unshaded objects that seem, in painting, to quit the canvass. Ignorance puts upon a peasant the like illusion in a picture, as organic malady puts upon a somnambulist as to his personal identity.

5. Artificial somnambulism or mesmerism *is* a fact, but with the following rather stringent limitations. The belief in it, as such, leaves undecided these inquiries: What are the cases that are fully verified, and are they new or out of nature? The cause or agency that produces them, which is it, physical or moral? What is the evidential value of the testimony of the dreamer as to the cause and to the character of his condition? One may believe in the production of artificial somnambulism without committing himself pro or con upon any one of these restrictive questions. They may, however, be all pronounced upon already with probability. In the production of the state in question, there is nothing unnatural or even new. Like other arts, it follows nature, and does not force her; it presented itself naturally, in antiquity, to priest and pythoness. The like effects are produced normally by opium or other narcotics. The agent of the magnetizer is not the absurd fluid pretended, but the morbid sensibility or predisposition of the subject. It is a waking case of the reactive class of dreams above explained, the soul's reaction in this instance being in imagination. It was the sense of control by the resistance of the dormant organ that threw the soul, we saw, into its visionary exaltations. But the supreme quality of an "operator" is, analogously to the organ, to impress the subject with a like sense of his control. The whole power of the magnetizers

has been maximized by Virgil: "*Possunt, quia posse* CREDUNTUR." As to the third point, or the testimony of the party magnetized, the allegation of it is a begging of the question; the sentiments or declarations which are inspired by an illusion can be, of course, no more reliable than the illusion which is their basis. The inevitable subjectivity and unreality of those explanations of the somnambulists themselves, both artificial and spontaneous, is well evinced by the contagiousness of the phenomena at special epochs, and their conformity to the condition of the age and of the individual. Thus the ecstatics of antiquity were endowed mainly with the powers of prophecy, to suit the curiosity of those ages about future events. The ascetically religious preoccupations of the middle ages gave the somnambulists the form of demoniacs; in our own day, the American "mediums" are the reporters of departed spirits, whose revelations are as puerile as the conversations of the community.

6. The final article of the programme is not a question, but a condition, a requisition as to the manner in which the subject should be treated. I briefly indicated at the outset the general manner of the author, much less conformable, I think, to method than to the spirit of the Academy; and hence, perhaps, in large part, his coronation. I close with a transcription of the author's summary conclusion:—

"Man is never wholly either healthy or sick, either wise or insane, either awake or asleep. He carries sickness in health, and health in the midst of sickness; reason still persists in the delirium of the maniac, and folly is commingled with the meditations of the sage. Never have the organs of the senses, all together, or even each of them in particular, that supreme or main degree of agility and of lucidity which would be properly called wakefulness; never are they buried in that profound torpor which would be absolute sleep. The waking and the healthy states of the body and of the mind are, as it were, an ideal type which is never realized in life. We designate by the words malady, madness, sleep, the states which diverge widely from the ordinary conditions of life and from the regular course of nature, uncertain by what names to call the states of our body and soul, which vary slightly, or but transiently, from an unsettled and relative main. At every instant, and on all sides, we quit this salutary temperament which constitutes the free possession of one's self and of his organs. Nothing is more difficult than to limit and define, perhaps because there are no limits in the continuous order of nature. Liberty, reason, are the attributes of man; but where do they commence, where do they terminate? The child who does not yet enjoy them, the idiot who will do so never, the madman who has lost them irrecoverably, the sleeper in whom they rest for a time, are they not human? Sensibility, activity, intelligence, range over the infinite degrees of a vast scale: by turns crude, obscure, confused or noble, clear or subtle, they descend or ascend with different ages, with varying conditions and circumstances. . . .

"A firm and directive will can alone maintain all the powers of our soul in the high position assigned by nature to man. Man is culpable when he abdicates it voluntarily. But this moderating power is wrested from him periodically by sleeps, and sometimes violently by the derangement of his organs. Sleep, somnambulism, ecstasy, pass the intellect through all its conditions and degrees; they crush its energy, blunt its senses, obscure its thoughts, or they give it an abnormal ardour, exquisiteness, exaltation. Sometimes the sleeper is like the animal that vegetates, immovable in his place and almost insensible; sometimes he perceives confusedly interior or exterior pain. Anon the dreamer has but the absurd or imbecile visions of the madman; anon his thoughts are clear and consequent, as when awake. In fine, the ecstatic somnambulist, in his extravagant delirium, is sometimes rapt away from the reality: but sometimes his intelligence is lucid and almost rational. At the same time, however closely

the human intellect may descend, in profound sleep and idiotism, to the unintelligent and senseless animals, it remains always unalterable, with all its powers; *for* it is not in the power of matter to extinguish in our souls completely the torch of reason, though it were to burn there without light and without heat. But, on the other hand, however high the excited organs may seem to carry it, they have still less the power of giving it new faculties."

"*A Theory of Natural History, General and Special*, by ISIDORE GEOFFROY DE ST. HILAIRE, Professor in the Museum of Natural History of this city," is a work that merits the attention of your scientific readers. With all the positive and precise doctrines of the merely practical treatises, it mixes an unusual quantity of philosophical discussion, which supplies a sort of leaven to make more digestible those technicalities. The first volume of the work, which has alone appeared as yet, might indeed pass for being a treatise of logic. It discusses all the methods affected specially to all the sciences, from the syllogism of Aristotle to the social methods of M. Comte. The author is not equally at home in all those branches; he shares the general defects in their definition and classification. Yet his views are, if but mainly from the comprehensiveness of the survey, much more sound, upon the whole, than is habitual to French *savans*. It may, moreover, be admitted, in apology for the deficiencies, that the discussion of the other methods was intended only as subsidiary to the enforcement of that applied by him to the department of Natural History.

How he has treated this his *specialité*, it would be rash, no doubt, in me to judge. M. Isidore is the son and pupil of the illustrious St. Hilaire who is the founder, at least in France, of the progressive school of physiology; and he assumes to be his heir in science as well as in succession. I may, however, venture on a single observation as to a point wherein his competency should be certainly the least contestable. His father, Geoffroy, was, it is known, the rival of Cuvier; they were antagonists in both the method and the theory of natural history. The latter was empirical, or what is vulgarly called inductive; he kept to "facts," and was the oracle of the past. St. Hilaire was deductive, analytic, a man of theory, the organ of the future, and therefore persecuted by the present. A pious purpose of the son is to vindicate the father's system; but to this end he wisely seeks to reconcile the rival theories. The most decisive means to this, however, though well known to him, he overlooks. In a previous portion of the volume, he had shown that the two methods known scholastically as synthesis and analysis, so far from being antagonistic, as is commonly supposed, are quite concordant with and complementary of each other. But these procedures were respectively the philosophical characteristics of the hostile schools of Cuvier and of St. Hilaire: the former synthetized the past, the latter analyzed the future, or unexplored, of the same department of nature. Their scientific coöperation would then be demonstrated by their methods. But our author, with this means of demonstration before his eyes, adduces nothing for the fusion except feeble generalities: a proof presumptive that his conception of the methods mentioned is not still complete, nor perhaps even that of the theory of his father. What would confirm this alternative is, that in labouring to jus-

tify his father's celebrated "*Theory of Analogues*," he fails distressingly to show its scientific character. He need, however, but define it an application to anatomy of the method of *analogy*, that is, induction of relations. And hence, no doubt, the title adopted quaintly by the great discoverer, with his habitually profound, but tortuous or unsystematical sagacity. Despite these blemishes upon the frontispiece of the great project of the son, I commend the body of his structure, and its various contents, to your men of science.

Not to forget a much more numerous and worthy portion of your readers, I must announce to them a new volume, of which the title runs as follows:—*Missions de Chine. Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la Mission du Kiang-Nan. Par le* R. P. BROUILLON *de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Paris: 1855.

The most generally interesting portion of the volume, and which occupies about one-half of its five hundred pages, is found in the Letters, which were written on the spot, from time to time, throughout the progress of the revolution which they describe. There is, besides, an introduction that treats the subject systematically. The account of Father *Brouillon* seems, however, worthy of his name. Take, for example, the following resumé of the disquisition:—"The Chinese insurrection is a product of the country; all sorts of sufferings and of resentments have been preparing it; the secret societies of Asia have fomented it, and those of Europe are not without hand in its existence. A thousand passions, a thousand interests, urge onward the movement. The discontented and the oppressed invoke it more or less loudly; the people wish it with its advantages, but without its disasters; foreigners await it; some of them second it, the devil would direct it, but God conducts it." And of course into the net of the Jesuits! It is probably this destination, depending mainly on his faith, but in patent conflict with the facts which are presented in his Letters, that produces this flat jumble in the explanation of the father. Indeed, he owns expressly that the tendency of the Chinese prophet is rather to follow Mohammed than Christ; but he no less expects that God will bring the issue to his own account, which is to say, to that of Catholicity.

Accordingly, the father and his brethren have their net spread in the shape of a mission at Nankin. The Catholics have in the city of Nankin and its province over seventy-two thousand neophytes and catechumens. With this nucleus they would not dread the competition of their Protestant rivals, if "*only the French government would give them something of the support* which the official agents of America and England give their missionaries." You may think the foreigners alluded to, in the passage cited, mean the Protestants. But no; the queer allusion is to Garibaldi and his Italian radicals. The Jesuit naturally sees the red hand of those mortal enemies of the Pope emerging in the remote regions and domestic broils of the Celestial Empire. O.

Art. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

(1.) "*Roemer's Polyglot Readers, English, French, and German,*" (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 3 vols. 12mo.,) contain copious reading lessons in the three languages named, and are designed at once to facilitate the process of acquiring them and to make that acquisition solid. The method recommended by the author is that of double translation, in which the learner first turns the foreign language into the vernacular, and then retranslates it after some time has elapsed. Professor Roemer has prefixed to one of the volumes an essay on "The Study of Languages," which, bating its undue length, is every way admirable. The books furnish excellent means of using the most excellent method of studying French and German, and we cordially commend them to all teachers and students of these languages. They are especially adapted for self-instruction.

(2.) "*Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, by Catharine E. Beecher." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 223.) There is no earthly subject on which the American people more need "line upon line and precept upon precept" than upon the laws of health. As Miss Beecher remarks in the first letter of the admirable series which make up this volume, "our people are pursuing a course, in their own habits and practices, which is destroying health and happiness to an extent that is perfectly appalling." Nor is it less true that "the majority of parents in this nation are systematically educating the rising generation to be feeble, deformed, sickly, and miserable; as much so as if it were their express aim to commit so monstrous a folly." The existence of the evil is plain and undeniable; to remedy it is not so easy. If this little volume could only be read by every parent in the land, the chances of the next generation would be greatly improved. It treats, first, of the human organs; secondly, of the laws of health; thirdly, of abuses of the organs; fourthly, of the evils resulting from such abuses; and fifthly, of the remedies for these evils. All these heads are treated with discrimination, and yet with great force and clearness. We recommend the volume without qualification.

(3.) We have received a copy of Dr. Armitage's "*Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev.* S. H. Cone, D. D.," which has been printed at the request of the bereaved Church. It gives a brief but clear sketch of Dr. Cone's life, and bears ample testimony to the many noble qualities that adorned the character of that eminent servant of God.

(4.) "*Learning to Talk; or, Entertaining and Instructive Lessons in the Use of Language*, by JACOB ABBOTT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855.) This admirable little book contains a series of pictures intended for very young children, with descriptions accompanying them. Its greatest advantage will be found to lie in the power of observation which the continued use of the book cannot fail to give a child.

(5.) ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS have published a new edition of "*The Acts and Monuments of the Church, containing the History and Sufferings of the Martyrs*, by JOHN FOXE." (New-York, 1855; royal 8vo., pp. 1082.) No book in the English language has done more to keep alive the memory, and to maintain the principles of the Reformation, than "Foxe's Book of Martyrs." It should be a household book in every Protestant family; and the Messrs. Carter have contributed their share to make it such by the opportune issue of this new and improved edition. While it omits a number of unimportant documents and narrations that encumbered former editions, it gives, in an appendix, accounts of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the Spanish Armada, of the Gunpowder Plot, and of the Irish rebellion of 1745, all written by authors contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events. The entire work has passed under the careful editorial supervision of the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, whose "Evenings with the Romanists," and other works, have made him so popular with the Protestant public of England and America.

(6.) "*Mexico and her Religion*, by R. A. WILSON." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 406.) A little more system would have added greatly to the value of this book. It contains a graphic narration of the author's travels in Mexico, a large amount of historical information, and much critical detail; but they are all thrown together without art or skill. In spite of these defects, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Mexico. The author is shrewd and clear-headed, and, while he sees well, knows how to describe what he sees in vigorous language.

(7.) "*Scenes in the Practice of a New-York Surgeon*, by E. H. DIXON, M. D." (New-York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1855; 12mo., pp. 407.) This volume is made up of extracts from the "Scalpel,"—a journal designed, we believe, to convey medical knowledge to the people in a popular and attractive form. It contains many striking narratives, and gives at the same time a good deal of information.

(8.) ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS have published a new edition (the fourth) of "*The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, by JAMES M'COSH, LL. D." (New-York, 1855; 8vo., pp. 547.) This work has been so often and so fully discussed in our pages that it is only necessary for

us now to mention what is peculiar to this edition. The book has been revised throughout; the second part is enlarged by a fuller epitome of the author's views on the forms and colours of plants; and, in an appendix, Dr. M'Cosh ventures a protest against certain principles set forth by Sir William Hamilton and by Professor Bledsoe, in the pages of this review and in his Theodicy. On the points in controversy we are still of opinion that Dr. M'Cosh's views lack profoundness and coherency: he writes like a man trying to hold two contradictory theories at one and the same time.

(9.) "*The Sure Anchor; or, the Young Christian Admonished, Encouraged, and Exhorted*, by the Rev. H. P. ANDREWS," (Boston: J. P. Magee, 1855; 12mo., pp. 216,) is one of the very best of the many books of its class that have fallen under our notice. It is thoroughly evangelical in principle; clear in statement; lucid, lively, and often eloquent in style; and at once apt and ample in illustration. We trust it will be widely circulated.

(10.) "*Bishop Butler's Ethical Discourses*, edited by the Rev. J. C. PASSMORE, A. M." (Philadelphia: C. Desilver; 12mo., pp. 375.) It was the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh that the truths contained in these sermons are "more worthy of the name of *discovery* than any other with which we are acquainted, if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers toward a theory of morals." The difficulty of Butler's style, which is, perhaps, greater in these ethical discourses than in the "Analogy," has generally prevented their use as a college text-book; but the helps presented in Professor Passmore's excellent edition go far to do away with this objection. He has prefixed to the text an excellent Life of Butler, and also Whewell's Syllabus of Butler's Sermons. In an appendix he reprints the Remains of Butler, which were first published in London in 1853, from MSS. in the library of the British Museum. The work is executed throughout in a careful and scholarly manner.

(11.) "*Tales from English History*" (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 344) will afford an excellent substitute for story-books to be put into the hands of young persons. It is excellent both in style and sentiment

(12.) "*The Southern Cross and Southern Crown*, by Miss TUCKER," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 18mo., pp. 263,) contains a clear account of the missions in New-Zealand, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. To get a complete knowledge of the progress of Christianity in these far-off isles, one must add to the present work Miss Farmer's "Tonga and the Friendly Isles," Lowry's "Missions in Tonga and Feejee," and Mr. Young's "Southern World."

(13.) "*A Geography of the Chief Places mentioned in the Bible*, by CHARLES A. GOODRICH," (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 195,) is a little manual so well furnished with questions, maps, &c., as to be admirably adapted for use in parental, Sabbath school, and Bible-class instruction. Being alphabetically arranged, it will also be of use as a Bible dictionary for children.

(14.) THE General Conference of 1852 ordered the Book-Agents at New-York to publish the "*Journals of the General Conferences*," from the organization of the Church up to 1836 inclusive. The order is now obeyed in the publication of a handsome octavo, containing all the extant Journals, with an index. (Carlton & Phillips; pp. 504.) In the preface the editor remarks:—

"Up to the year 1792 the Church business had been conducted in the annual conferences, the minutes of which are printed in the bound minutes, (so called,) always kept on sale at 200 Mulberry-street. The Christmas Conference of 1784, at which the Church was fully organized, may indeed be considered as a General Conference; but I can find no minutes of its session except those printed in the set above mentioned (vol. 1, page 21) as part of the 'Minutes of the Annual Conference for 1785.' A full account of the doings of the conference, with the Discipline ordained by it, may be found in Bangs's 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,' (vol. 1, pp. 151–218.)

"The Minutes of the General Conference for 1792 were never printed, to my knowledge, nor can I find the original copy. Those of 1796 were published in a compendious form, which is now reprinted."

In connexion with this, the agents have reprinted, as a second volume, the "Journals and Debates of the General Conferences from 1840 to 1844" inclusive; but either volume can be had separately.

(15.) "*The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages*, by L. MARIA CHILD." (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1855; 3 vols. 12mo.) To write such a book as this title would indicate should be the last result, the crowning *opus* of vast and various learning. Yet Mrs. Child tells us, in her preface, with admirable *naïveté*, that "a learned person could have performed the task far better in many respects," but that, on some accounts, she has found her "want of learning an advantage!" In the same strain she goes on: "Thoughts do not range so freely when the store-room of the brain is overloaded with furniture. In the course of my investigations, I have frequently observed that a great amount of erudition becomes a veil of thick cloud between the subject and the reader. Moreover, learned men can rarely have such freedom from any sectarian bias as the circumstances of my life have produced in me." This is something like Sydney Smith's advice to reviewers, not to *read* books before reviewing them,—"it prejudices one so." With such notions of the proper prerequisites for her task, Mrs. Child undertakes to develop the progress of religious ideas in Hindoostan, Egypt, China, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, Rome, India, and Christendom! The whole work, on which the writer has been labouring, more or less, for eight years, is one of the most marvellous instances of toil misspent and talent misapplied that the history of literature affords.

(16.) "*A Voice from the Pious Dead of the Medical Profession*, by HENRY J. BROWN, M. D." (Philadelphia, 1855; 12mo., pp. 320.) This volume contains a series of biographical sketches of physicians who have been eminent as well for religious life as for professional skill. It contains also a preliminary dissertation on Christianity, which is striking, not only from its form but from its matter. The author's aim is to refute the charge, so often made, that science and Christianity are incompatible, and to recommend practical religion to medical men by illustrations of its value in the lives of some of the most eminent of their profession. The book is very well prepared in all respects, and deserves to be widely circulated.

(17.) "*The Iroquois; or, the Bright Side of Indian Character*, by MINNIE MYRTLE." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 317.) It is very true, as the author remarks in her preface, that our books of history are very "deficient in what they relate of the Indians, and most of them are still filling the minds of children and youth with very false ideas." To give a fair and just account of the habits, manners, and history of the Iroquois is the object of the present attractive volume, which conveys a large amount of information in a most agreeable and interesting form. The biographies of Indian braves and wise men which are here given surpass in interest the romances of Indian life, which generally exaggerate all that is good and all that is bad in the Indian character.

(18.) "*Panama in* 1855, by ROBERT TOMES," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 246,) is a very graphic account of a trip across the Isthmus, made at the expense of the Panama Railway Company on the opening of their road from ocean to ocean in February, 1855. Besides giving much valuable information about the railway, and the country through which it passes, the book is full of graphic, personal narrative, and its interest never flags. Its moral tone, however, is anything but commendable.

(19.) "*Evenings with the Romanists*, by the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M. A." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 479.) There are many worthless books upon the Roman controversy put out, but this does not belong to the class. It takes up all the main points in dispute between Romanists and Protestants—such as the reading of the Scriptures, the unity of the Church, confession and absolution, the mass, the papal supremacy, &c., and treats them, by direct appeal to Scripture and reason, with a calmness of discussion and a fairness of argument that hardly even Romanists could find fault with. As a manual of the controversy, for ordinary readers, the book is invaluable.

There is a curious history connected with the reprinting of this book, as we learn by a slip from the "Protestant Churchman." An edition of the work was issued some months ago by Mr. H. Hooker, of Philadelphia:—

"The title-page professes to be a complete republication of the original English book, omitting simply the mention of the introductory chapter, which we afterward

find has been left out. As 'Seymour's Evenings with the Romanists, republished by H. Hooker,' we received the work, supposing we were to read the book thus described. We found it, in itself, most suspicious, extremely meagre in its doctrine, and unsound in its conclusions; surprising characteristics as coming from a man whom we knew to be so thoroughly Protestant and evangelical as a minister of the Church of England. 'The advertisement' prefixed to this American edition announced that the 'introductory chapter, which was of a general nature, and parts of other chapters, in the London edition, which seemed to be redundant, or least adapted to be useful here, have been omitted; while the author is left everywhere to speak in his own words without addition or alteration.' We should have supposed, of course, that such a notice was true and full. But we were subsequently induced to compare this edition with the English one, and our astonishment at the unfaithfulness of the republication was extreme. We found more than *one-third* of the book thrown out. *Two whole chapters*, besides the introductory, rejected with no notice of the fact. *Many pages together*, in repeated places, cut out, and the extremes bounding them brought together and joined, as if immediately consequent and connected. Sometimes even a *sentence thus divided*, and two separate parts of separate sentences, brought together as if originally one. But even this is not the whole difficulty, nor the half of it. The passages omitted are *habitually the faithful testimony of the author's Protestant and Scriptural doctrine*, and the very best and most useful parts of the book; while such connexions are sometimes made of passages as make him to teach the very opposite to what he intended to teach. And yet the advertisement says, '*the author is left everywhere to speak in his own words, without alteration or addition.*' Who has been the agent of thus dishonestly garbling this valuable book we do not pretend to know. The publisher's name is the only one connected with it, and, though we do not charge him personally with the unjust omissions of which we speak, he must bear the whole responsibility. We warn our readers against buying this book as 'Seymour's Evenings with the Romanists,' which it is not. If the publisher had hired a Romish priest to expurgate the work, he could hardly have done it more effectually for the Papists' purposes. And we are sure the excellent author would remonstrate with a just indignation against such an outrageous perversion of his work, if he should ever find a copy of it before him."

We need hardly add that Messrs. Carter's edition is an exact reprint of the English text.

(20.) "*Memoir of S. S. Prentiss*, edited by his Brother." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1855; 2 vols. 12mo.) The subject of this memoir is well remembered as one of the most brilliant political speakers this country has produced. These volumes reveal his family life, in which he appears as a kind and affectionate son, brother, husband, and father. Pity that these "natural virtues" had never been sanctified by personal religion. One cannot read without sadness this sketch of a career so brief, yet so brilliant: so splendid, yet so full of disappointments. The interest of the work is very great: it would have been greater if the two volumes had been condensed, as they might easily have been, into one.

(21.) "*Introduction to Biblical Chronology from Adam to the Resurrection of Christ*, by PETER AKERS, D. D." (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1855; 8vo., pp. 411.) Of this elaborate work no one is competent to speak critically who has not carefully and thoroughly studied it. At present we can only express our gratification to find among our ministry one capable and willing to go through the long-continued labour of preparing such a book. A careful review, by a competent writer, is in preparation for our pages.

(22.) "*The Christ of History*, by JOHN YOUNG, M. A." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 260.) The argument of this work, at least in an extended form, is novel. Taking as a basis the simple fact of Christ's humanity, the author undertakes to demonstrate from it his divinity; or, as he expresses it in his preface, "dismissing all preconceptions, assuming nothing which is not virtually and even formally admitted by enemies as well as friends," he hopes to show that the *manhood* of Christ, as it appealed to the senses and to the minds of the men of his own times, "supplies and sustains the proof of his *Godhead*." He does not assume the inspiration of the Scriptures, but only takes for granted, in a broad and general sense, that they are historical and veritable—a point which is, in fact, granted even by infidels. The argument may be simply stated in one sentence, namely, that such a human life as that of Jesus Christ is utterly inexplicable, except on the ground of his Divinity. The work is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of *The Outer Conditions of the Life of Christ*, namely, his social position, the shortness of his earthly course, and the age and place in which he appeared. Book second treats of *The Work of Christ among Men*, unfolding his ministry and his doctrine, both as to its matter and form. The third book treats of *The Spiritual Individuality of Christ*, his oneness with God, his moral perfection, both in motive and in feeling, &c. This outline will suffice to show that the author really comprehends the scope of his present theme, and grasps it with a master's hand His learning is well up to his undertaking, and his logic matches his learning. The work will certainly make its mark upon the times.

(23.) "*The Christian Life, Social and Individual*, by PETER BAYNE, A. M." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1855; 12mo.) This is another very noticeable book, both from its aims and its execution. The first part is a statement of what the Christian life is, or ought to be, both individually and socially; and part second is an exposition of this statement, and an illustration of it in actual biographies. In the first place Christianity is set forth as the *basis of social life;* and, as illustrations, we have three biographical sketches, namely, Howard, and the rise of philanthropy; Wilberforce, and the development of philanthropy; and Budgett, the Christian Freeman. In the second place our author sets forth Christianity as the *basis of individual character;* and for illustration, he gives us sketches of John Foster, Thomas Arnold, and Dr. Chalmers. Part III treats briefly of the "Positive Philosophy" and of "Pantheistic Spiritualism." Mr. Bayne conducts his argument very skilfully; and some of his biographical sketches are masterpieces of condensed and vigorous narrative. For young persons of a skeptical turn—especially such as are carried away by Thomas Carlyle—this book will be a valuable medicine; and it is so well prepared that the medicine will be by no means "hard to take."

(24.) "*The Parabolic Teachings of Christ, by the Rev.* D. K. DRUMMOND." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 440.) In the Introduction Mr. Drummond defines the "parable," and, at the same time, includes the "allegory" and the "proverb" of the New Testament under the

one head of "parabolic teaching." He thus introduces the "Good Shepherd," the "True Vine," &c., which are generally excluded from expositions of the parables. His principle of interpretation aims at avoiding the extreme of finding too much in the parable, on the one hand, and too little on the other. Another peculiarity of the work is, the classification adopted by the author, with a view to throw light upon the individual parables by regarding them as parts of a system. This attempt, which we consider laudable in itself, though some of the best expositors pronounce it vain, has often been made before, and we think, in some cases, more successfully than by Mr. Drummond. His divisions are—I. Man in Satan's Kingdom; II. The Prince of the Kingdom of Light; III. Christ's Work in its Personal Character; IV. Christ's Work in its Historical and Prophetical Character; V. The Second Coming of Christ. As a whole, the work is a valuable contribution to our expository literature.

(25.) "*Waikna; or, Adventures on the Mosquito Shore*, by SAMUEL A. BARD," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 366,) is certainly very pleasant reading, but whether fact or fiction most abounds in its pages it is hard to tell. Its detail of personal adventure reads like a romance; its descriptions of the Mosquito country and people have the air of truth. At all events, the author has succeeded in making an exceedingly attractive book out of very unpromising materials.

(26.) "*The Contrast between Good and Bad Men illustrated by the Biography and Truths of the Bible*, by GARDINER SPRING, D. D." (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1855; 2 vols., 12mo.) The title of this book hardly conveys a true idea of its nature. It is, in fact, a series of practical lectures and sermons, chiefly founded on the *characters* of Scripture; and, as such, it is a good and useful book. Dr. Spring's writings are not remarkable for force or originality of thought; but they are generally clear, sensible, and suggestive.

(27.) WE have seldom seen a religious novel, so called, that we could recommend so freely as "*Nellie of Truro*." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 432.) It is a great advance, in every respect, upon "Vara," by the same author, published some months since. The narrative is simple throughout; the incidents are natural and well grouped; the dialogue is sometimes spun out to a wearisome extent, but is otherwise sufficiently dramatic; and the moral tone is not only unexceptionable but praiseworthy. The whole impression left by the book is that a simple and child-like faith in Christ is the best of all preparations, not merely for the next world, but for this.

(28.) WHEN Sir David Wilkie was setting out on his journey to the East, a friend asked him if he had any guide-book? He replied, "Yes, and the very best," pulling out his pocket Bible. So also, on the other hand, he wrote back from the East, that "to the painter of sacred history, this whole territory supplies what can be learned nowhere else." These thoughts are well worked out in "*Bible Light from Bible Lands, by the Rev.* JOSEPH ANDERSON." (New-

York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 344.) Mr. Anderson has travelled through the lands of the Bible, and has given us the results of his observations in this volume, not in the shape of a diary, or of a book of travels simply, as so many have done before him, but in a form which blends the attractions of personal narrative with the instruction of a systematic treatise. The work is divided into three books, of which the first is entitled, "*Predictions verified:*" and under this head Mr. Anderson compares the prophecies concerning Egypt, Arabia, Idumea, and the land of Israel, with the present condition of those countries as seen by his own eyes. The second book treats of "*Descriptions illustrated,*" and gives apt accounts of places, customs, usages, &c., now existing, as illustrative of the Bible records. The third book, "*Allusions explained,*" sets forth, in the clear light of existing facts, many passages of Scripture which, from their allusions to purely Oriental habits, &c., are obscure to Western readers. Our readers may see from this outline that the book is a remarkably sensible one; indeed, we know no better "companion to the Bible" for ordinary readers, so far as mere illustration is concerned.

(29.) QUITE similar in its aims and execution to the book just named is, "*Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land,* by PROFESSOR H. B. HACKETT." (Boston: Heath & Graves, 1855; 12mo., pp. 340.) As the author states in his preface, the work does not claim to be a book of travels, and would be misjudged if viewed in that light. The object has been, not to present a connected view of the geography of Palestine, or to detail at any length the personal incidents which travellers usually make so prominent in their journals; but out of the mass of observations and facts which fell under the writer's notice, to select those which seemed to be capable of being used with some advantage, for the purpose of promoting a more earnest and intelligent study of the sacred volume. Professor Hackett has carried out his purpose admirably; so, while his work has the substantial merits of a scientific description of the Holy Land, it has the charms of a personal narrative admirably told. The following specimen alone will suffice to show what varied powers and acquisitions the author brings to his task:—

"Eastern brooks in general flow with water during the rainy season; but, after that, are liable to be soon dried up, or, if they contain water, contain it only for a longer or shorter time, according to their situation and the severity of the heat of particular years. Hence the traveller in quest of water must often be disappointed when he comes to such streams. He may find them entirely dry; or, he may find the water gone at the place where he approaches them, though it may still linger in other places which elude his observation; he may perceive, from the moisture of the ground, that the last drops have just disappeared, and that he has arrived but a few hours too late for the attainment of his object.

"The chances of obtaining water in the desert are equally precarious. The winter torrents there, owing to the rapidity with which the sand absorbs them, are still more transient. The spring which supplied a well yesterday, may fail to-day; or the drifting sand may choke it up and obliterate every trace of it. On the ninth day of my journey after leaving Cairo, we heard of a well at some distance from the regular course, and as the animals (except the camels) needed to be watered, we turned aside to visit the place. We travelled for some miles over immense sand-heaps and under a burning sun, with the thermometer at ninety degrees of Fahrenheit. It was our lot to be disappointed. We found the well, indeed, but without a drop of water in it that could be reached by us. The

wind had blown the sand into it, and buried it up to such a depth that all hope of relief from that source was cut off.

"The liability of a person in the East to be deceived in his expectation of finding water is the subject of repeated allusion in the Scriptures. In Job vi, 15, sq., it furnishes an expressive image for representing the fickleness of false-hearted friends:—

> "'My brethren have dealt deceitfully like a brook,
> As the channel of brooks which pass away;
> Which are turbid by reason of the ice,
> In which is hidden the melted snow.
> As soon as the waters flow off they are gone;
> When the heat comes, they vanish from their place.
> The caravans on their way turn aside;
> They go up into the desert, and perish.
> The caravans of Tema search anxiously,
> The wayfarers of Sheba look to them with hope.
> They are ashamed because they trusted in them;
> They come to them and are confounded.'

"Our English version of the above passage fails to bring out the image distinctly. The foregoing translation, which I have brought nearer to the original, may be made clearer, perhaps, by a word of explanation. The idea is, that in the spring the streams are full; they rush along swollen from the effect of the melting snow and ice. Summer comes, and they can no longer be trusted. Those journeying in the region of such streams, fainting with thirst, travel many a weary step out of the way in quest of them, in the hope that water may still be found in them. They arrive at the place, but only to be disappointed. The deceitful brook has fled. They were in the last extremity—it was their last hope, and they die."—P. 17.

The work is filled with passages of similar beauty and aptness.

(30.) "*Sallust's Jugurtha and Catiline, with Notes and a Vocabulary*, by NOBLE BUTLER and MINARD STURGUS." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 397.) In this edition we have the text printed in clear and large type, a copious and carefully prepared vocabulary, and a sufficient body of notes. The vocabulary was prepared by the late W. H. G. Butler, who, it will be remembered, fell by the hand of Ward, in Louisville. It bears the marks of a faithful and scholarly mind, and deserves the encomiums of the editors of the book, namely, "that few school vocabularies so thorough and accurate have ever been published." The notes are mainly grammatical and illustrative, not, as is too often the case, filled out with needless and pedantic references, or with worse than useless translations of the text. We cordially commend the book as an excellent school edition. We hope that in the next edition the vocabulary will be placed where it should be, at the end of the volume.

(31.) AMONG the latest issues of Mr. BOHN'S "Libraries," we have "*The Works of Philo-Judæus*, translated by C. D. YONGE, B. A." (12mo., pp. 490.) This volume completes the work, so that the entire works of Philo, which have heretofore been inaccessible to the English reader, are now put within the reach of very narrow purses. We find, also, the second volume of "*Pliny's Natural History*" in the "Classical Library." The most acceptable book to metaphysical readers in all the series thus far published, is the "*Critique of Pure Reason, translated from the German of* IMMANUEL KANT." (12mo., pp. 517.) The translation is by Mr. Meiklejohn, who has succeeded far better than all

who have preceded him in attempting to introduce Kant to English readers. Whatever difficulty the reader may find here will be due to the abstruseness of the matter, and not, as is so often the case, to the incapacity of the translator.

(32.) OUR Sunday-School Union has been very prolific in its issues of late, and the quality is equal to the quantity. The "*Child's Preacher*" (18mo., pp. 451) contains a series of addresses to the young, founded on Scripture texts, a volume which will be very useful in showing *how* the young ought to be preached to. "*Childhood, or Little Alice*," (square 12mo.,) is a very pretty and simple story for children, well written and beautifully illustrated. To say that "*Stories for Village Lads*" (18mo., pp. 176) is by the author of "Frank Harrison," will be enough to commend it to young readers. "*The Contrast*" (pp. 156) gives an account of two young men who were convinced of sin at the same time, one of whom denied his Master and died without hope, while the other became a faithful minister of the Gospel. "*The Herbert Family*" is an epistolatory narrative, contrasting religion with infidelity from the effects of each. All our readers are familiar with the writings of "Old Humphrey"—a name dear to little folks. He has ceased to write, and we now have a "*Memoir of Old Humphrey, with Gleanings from his Portfolio*, (18mo., pp. 298.) This memoir of the excellent Mr. Mogridge will be acceptable not only to the children, but to all older readers who value Christian devotion. "*Blooming Hopes and Withered Joys*" is a collection of narratives and stories by the Rev. J. T. BARR, the well-known author of the "Merchant's Daughter." "*Four Days in July*" is a sketch of a pleasant excursion to the country, by one of the best writers employed for the Sunday-School Union. Perhaps the best of all the story-books recently issued is "*Johnny M'Kay; or, the Sovereign*," the story of an honest boy: we have read it through at a sitting. The fourth volume of the "*Early Dead*" contains brief memoirs of deceased Sunday-school children, on the same plan as those given in the previous volumes.

(33.) "*A String of Pearls*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855; square 12mo.) contains a verse of Scripture and a pious reflection for every day in the year. Such books, when well prepared, are useful to Christians of all ages, and the present one contains selections made with admirable taste and skill.

(34.) MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS propose to reprint "*Bohn's Classical Library*" entire, and to furnish it at even lower prices than the London edition has been heretofore sold. We have already received "*Smart's Translation of Horace, revised by* T. A. BUCKLEY," (12mo., pp. 325,) which is too well known to need any notice at our hands, except the expression of a wish that a new and better translation had been prepared, instead of this reprint of a comparatively bad one. The next issue is "*Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars*," (12mo., pp. 572,) a translation of far higher character than the preceding, and accompanied by notes and a careful index. "*Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus*, translated by the Rev. J. S. WATSON, M. A." (12mo., pp. 538.) The translations are, in the main, easy and reada-

ble; pains have been taken with the text, and a careful index is added. "*Xenophon's Anabasis and Memorabilia*," by the same translator, is an improvement upon the previous versions of Spelman & Fielding. A Geographical Commentary by Mr. Ainsworth, author of "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks," is added to the book, and is of great value as an illustration of the Anabasis. "*Davidson's Virgil*" (12mo., pp. 404) has been carefully revised for this edition, by Mr. Buckley, who has added notes for the use of more advanced scholars. One of the most acceptable volumes in the series is "*Cicero's Offices, Cato Major, Lælius, Paradoxes, and Scipio's Dream*, by C. R. EDWARDS." (12mo., pp. 343.) In the notes, the editor adduces, very copiously, the opinions of modern moralists, to aid the reader in comparing them with Cicero's. The enterprise of placing these versions of the great classic writers within the reach of all readers of English at such unprecedentedly low prices is a very laudable one, and nothing but a most extensive sale can bear the publishers out in it. We trust that their largest expectations will be realized.

(35.) WE are glad to see that a second edition of "*Select Popular Orations of Demosthenes, with Notes and a Chronological Table*, by J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College," (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 237,) has been published. We have before given an unqualified commendation of this work, and now need only say that this new edition has been carefully revised by the accomplished editor.

(36.) "*The Priest, the Puritan, and the Preacher*, by the Rev. J. C. RYLE." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 360.) The "Priest" is Bishop Latimer; the 'Puritan" is Richard Baxter; and the "Preacher" is George Whitefield. Mr. Ryle's delineations of these eminent men are spirited and discriminating; and a practical aim is, as usual in his writings, everywhere predominant.

(37.) "*The Escaped Nun*" (New-York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1855; 12mo., pp. 344) is a fair specimen of a very worthless class of books.

(38.) "*New Church Miscellanies: or, Essays Ecclesiastical, Doctrinal, and Ethical*, by GEORGE BUSH," (New-York: W. M'George, 1855; 12mo., pp. 372.) Dr. Bush's style is always clear, straightforward, and vigorous; and these essays, republished from the "New Church Repository," are in his very best manner. There are few of the papers that have interest except for Swedenborgians; but there is one on "Slavery and Abolition," abounding in practical wisdom and charity.

(39.) WE briefly noticed in our last number the Essay on Theism, by Mr. Tulloch, which received the second prize in the Burnet competition at Aberdeen. We have now received the *first* prize essay, "*Christian Theism: the Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being*, by ROBERT ARNOLD THOMPSON, M. A." (New-York: Harper & Brothers,

1855; 12mo., pp. 477.) Mr. Thompson seems to have got the Burnet prize almost by accident, as he had begun his preparations for the volume before he heard of the proposed competition. He had hardly a sufficient stock of learning for so great a task; indeed, he states in his preface that even the works of Sir William Hamilton were unknown to him till he had begun to write; and that his acquaintance with Leibnitz, Descartes, and Malebranche was at that time limited to second-hand information. As a writer, he lacks the freedom and skill which nothing but long practice can impart; but, with all these drawbacks, he has made a book of great value. He is a clear and profound thinker; he sees what is needed as a book for the times; and, instead of simply reproducing old lines of argument, he sets himself to find the limits to which, from the nature of the human mind, the argument of Theism must necessarily be confined, and then he states it with great directness and force. Book I treats, therefore, of the first principles of knowledge, and of their misapplication in systems of Atheism and Pantheism; Book II exhibits the direct evidences of Natural Theism; Book III sets forth the manifestation of the Divine character in nature; and Book IV of the revelation of the Divine character in Scripture. There is also a valuable appendix on the doctrine of causality. The work should be found in every theological library.

(40.) ANOTHER book in the same department of science is, "*God Revealed in the Process of Creation, and by the Manifestation of Jesus Christ*, by JAMES B. WALKER." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln.) The former work of this author, "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," has gained a world-wide celebrity; nor will his reputation be diminished by the present essay. It embodies a thorough exposure of the fallacies of "The Vestiges of Creation," and of the whole system of thought on which that somewhat famous book proceeds. We regret that we have not space for a complete analysis of the work.

(41.) THE Rev. Parsons Cooke, of Lynn, has written a book vilifying Methodism in unsparing language. We have received a justly severe review of this tirade, under the name of "*A Defence of Methodism*, by the Rev. DANIEL WISE." (Boston: J. P. Magee; 12mo., pp. 84.) Mr. Wise shows most thoroughly that Mr. Cooke's "Estimate of Methodism is pragmatical, fallacious, and false." A Congregational minister in New-England, in the year of grace 1855, might find better business, one would think, than abusing his fellow-Christians.

(42.) HARPER'S "Story Books" continue to appear promptly, and abundantly maintain their reputation. No. XII is "*The Studio*;" or, illustrations of the theory and practice of drawing, for the use "of young artists at home."

(43.) "*Conversation, its Faults and its Graces*," compiled by ANDREW P. PEABODY," (Boston: 18mo., pp. 130,) is a very useful little book, pointing out the true ends of conversation, and exposing a number of current improprieties in writing and speaking.

(44.) Messrs. Carlton & Phillips have just issued their new and magnificent edition of "*The Holy Bible*," (royal 4to.) which, in point of the neatness of the typography, and the excellence of the binding, will bear comparison with any edition of the sacred word yet issued in America. Indeed, the Turkey morocco and velvet copies rival, in solidity of execution and exquisite finish, the finest English Bibles.

(45.) Few story-books for children come under our notice that are not disfigured by provincialisms and inaccuracies of expression—a fault more hurtful to young readers by far than to older ones. It is a great satisfaction, then, to fall on such a book as "*Harry Budd*," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; square 12mo.,) which is not only a captivating story, with an excellent religious tone throughout, but a specimen of pure and chaste English writing. Our agents have chanced upon a rich mine if they can induce the writer of this book to write more.

(46.) "*Hill-Side Flowers*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1856; 12mo., pp. 240) is a volume of poetical selections, made with rare taste and judgment. It does not include the standard "specimens of the best poets," of which such collections are commonly made up; but, to use Bishop Simpson's language in the beautiful Introduction which he has furnished to the volume, "it seeks rather to present in a permanent form, either original contributions, or selections from the graceful poetry that so often adorns the periodical literature of the day." The profits of the work are devoted to a new church just built on the Hudson. With this additional merit added to its intrinsic ones, we cordially recommend "Hill-Side Flowers" as a gift-book of the best and purest class.

(47.) Of the following we regret that we can give only the titles:—

"Holding forth the Word of Life;" a Discourse before the American Baptist Publication Society at Chicago. May, 1855. By Rollin H. Neale, D.D.

Annual Register of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1855.

The Relation of Science to the Useful Arts; a Lecture delivered to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. By Daniel Treadwell.

Our Country's Mission in History; an Address before the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania College, September 19, 1855.

A Description of five new Meteoric Irons; with some Theoretical Considerations on the Origin of Meteorites. By J. L. Leavitt, M. D.

The Regard due to the Virgin Mary, with an Examination of the New Roman Dogma. By the Rev. Mason Gallagher, Rector of the Church of the Evangelists, Oswego, N. Y.

The Revolt of Tartarus; a Poem. Montreal, 1855. Pp. 81.

Homer; an Address delivered before the Belles Lettres and Philological Societies of Dickinson College. By the Rev. D. D. Whedon, D. D.

Slavery Indispensable to the Civilisation of Africa. Baltimore: J. D. Toy.

The True and the False in the Prevalent Theories of the Divine Dispensations; a Discourse delivered in the Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C. By the Rev. M. D. Conway.

Report of the Board of Trustees of Oneida Conference Seminary, 1855.

Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered before the Graduating Class of the Wesleyan University, by the Rev. C. K. True, D. D.

The Testimony of Jesus. Part I. Philadelphia: E. Jones.

The Young Communicant's Catechism. By the Rev. J. Willison. New-York: Carters, 1855. Pp. 48.

General Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Rutger's College, from 1770 to 1855.

Letters on College Government, and the Evils inseparable from the American College System in its present form: originally addressed to the Hon. A. B. Meek, one of the Editors of the Mobile Register. By Frederick A. P. Barnard, M. A.

The Old and the New. A Sermon containing the History of the First Unitarian Church in Washington City. By Moncure D. Conway.

A Sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, May 16th, 1855. By the Rev. Samuel Bowman, D. D.

Christ's Kingdom on Earth: a Self-Expanding Missionary Society. A Discourse for the Presbyterian Board of Missions; preached in the First Presbyterian Church, N. Y., May 6th, 1855. By the Rev. Stuart Robinson.

Lecture on the Cultivation of the Christian Elements of Republicanism. By Rev. O. H. Tiffany, A. M.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

(From our German Correspondent.)

Halle, 1855.

The quarrel of the Theological Faculty of Göttingen with a number of Lutheran clergymen in the kingdom of Hanover and other parts of Germany is one of the most important recent events in the German Protestant Church. These strictly denominational Lutherans have found that the professors are not quite sound in *Lutheran* orthodoxy; hence they demand that the faculty be wholly or partially composed of denominationalists of unimpeachable soundness. Among the opponents of the faculty there are some men of great piety and merit. The controversial writings of Rev. Dr. Petri and the superintendent general of Mecklenburg, Dr. Kliefoth, (Kirchliche Zeitschrift von Kliefoth & Meier, 1854, No. 1,) especially the latter, are written with remarkable talent, and explain, in a manner at once clear and interesting, the successive steps of their progress from a more liberal stand-point up to a very exclusive Lutheranism. They have many followers in this respect in Germany. They look at the prevailing theology of Germany as antiquated; *Neander* and his disciples are considered as not more than half-orthodox; and the orthodoxy of Hengstenberg is, at most, estimated at three-quarters. Thus this Göttingen controversy is a new stage in the contest of denominational orthodoxy against the Union and against theological science, which, in this contest, sides with the Union. These Lutherans go back to a stand-point somewhat like that of the *Formula Concordiæ*, and, therefore, do not much differ from the party of Flacius, which persecuted and, for a time, suppressed the Melancthonians. In like manner the old Lutheran party of the present day think that they alone are entitled to the name of the Lutheran Church. If you ask them about the Union, they will tell you that the Lutheran Church *is* the union, being the right mean between Catholicism and the Reformed Church. Do you ask about the Lutheran Church, they tell you, "We, and we alone, are the Lutheran Church;" or, perhaps, even,

"We alone are *the* Church." Nevertheless they vastly disagree among themselves, not a few of their professors and ministers having mingled either modern or Romanizing opinions with old Lutheranism. In particular on the Church, the ministry, and the Sacraments, Puseyistic ideas are rather widely spread among them. They are far from realizing a Church according to their notions. Adhering to the Lutheran tradition more in words than in deed, they permit in themselves the very deviations which they blame in others. There is no little confusion among them on the conception and degree of the liberty to be allowed in theological investigations. Also a remarkable aversion to Spener and Pietism is on the increase among them. They say that Spener was no genuine Lutheran, and that he transplanted reformed elements into the Church: his endeavours to bring about a revival of faith and Christian life in individuals and smaller communities was in their judgment equivalent to a dissolving of the Church into individuals, and to an endangering of the Church ministry. For the same reason they look with some suspicion at the activity of laymen in the Home Mission, the object of which is to renew, by the united exertions of clergy and laymen, a Christian life in the people now pining in misery and infidelity. This conduct of the Lutherans toward Pietism manifests clearly how they would consider Methodism, for there is nothing in the German Church more resembling Methodism then Pietism. Both proceeded from the same want; both aim to lead the people, that had been neglected by pastors contented with a cold orthodoxy, to a living Christianity of inner experience and active love, and similar means have been used for this purpose by both. The faculty of Göttingen has issued, in this Lutheran controversy, first a Memoir to the State Ministry for Education, and then a Declaration ("Erklärung") as a reply to the attacks made on the Memoir. This Declaration is an excellent treatise, and by far superior to anything that has been written in this controversy. It examines the task of theological faculties with reference to literary culture in general, with reference to the symbolic books of their denominations, and with reference to ecclesiastical developments. It is written with a liberal mind, stern piety, theological profoundness, and a warm interest in the affairs of the Church. It preserves at the same time a tone of moral dignity and calmness that does not allow itself to follow the opponents in using sarcastic and mocking language.

We have great pleasure to refer on this occasion to a work of one of our first theologians, Professor Dr. Julius Müller, of Halle, on "*The Evangelical Union, its Essence and Divine Right.*" ("Die evangelische Union, ihr Wesen und göttliches Recht, Halle, 1854.") It treats of the Union according to its biblical right, its history in Prussia; tries with great skill to exhibit the *consensus* of the Lutheran and Reformed symbols, retaining their formulas as much as possible unchanged; and accompanies this exposition with profound and important investigations on the particular dogmas of the symbols. We are of opinion that this keen and thorough comparison will considerably promote the understanding of what is common and different in the denominations. The style of the authors shows the animation which springs from a love of the Gospel, not denying itself even to adversaries, and that clearness and elegance which distinguish the former works of the author, especially his celebrated treatise on "The Doctrine of Sin."

"*Handbuch des Methodismus, von Ludwig S. Jacoby, Prediger der bischöflichen Methodistenkirche. Bremen*, 1853." (*Hand-book of Methodism, by Jacoby.*) The author of this work is right in quoting the words of a German Evangelical minister, the rise of that "Methodism is one of the most important events of modern times, and that few events have been more effective in a regeneration of the Evangelical Church." We think that hardly any German theologian of thorough knowledge will deny this, even if he is not favourable to the progress of Methodism. Since it has found its way into Germany the interest for and against it has become more lively, but still the number of those who are well acquainted with its history and peculiarities is limited. The author deserves thanks, therefore, for having given in his work a characteristic of Methodism in a plain, popular, and yet captivating manner. He describes the life of John Wesley, and knows how to fascinate his readers by the recital of his conversion, of his struggles, and successes. He then developes the gradual organization of the community, touches briefly upon the achievements of Fletcher, and proceeds to the "origin of the Methodist Missions" in the activity of Dr. Coke, who for the sake of the Mission crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, and who, even in the 68th year of his life, set out for the

East Indies. The second division of the first part contains the history of Methodism in America. Here German readers take a particular interest in the split caused in the Church by the slavery question. The author increases the vivacity of the narration frequently by introducing the leading persons as speaking. There is many a striking, ingenious, edifying word in these speeches. The second part treats of the *doctrine;* which, mostly, is explained by extracts from the works of Wesley. The vigour, the inner experience and impressive language of this eminent man are admirable; and it is plain that in the principal doctrines, as in justification by faith, there is no deviation of importance from the teachings of the Evangelical Church of Germany. The third part discusses, in the same clear and intelligible way, the Church government of Methodism. The fourth part treats in particular of the peculiar institutions of the Methodist Church, and defends them against objections. Although we must abide by our opinion that some of these institutions, *ex. gr.*, the class-meeting, cannot be introduced in the Evangelical Church of Germany, yet we willingly concede to the warm, calm, and skilful apology of the author that they have been very useful for the Methodist Church, and that something similar is needed in the German Church. I believe also that this is felt universally, and that active ministers know where to find remedies. After what has been said, we think this work a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Methodism, the essence and import of which are made intelligible also to non-theologians.

Before concluding, I would here mention that in 1853 a professor of theology in a German university made a voyage to London, where he stepped into an open church, not knowing that it was a Methodist church. He was shown into an adjoining room, where he found a number of devout people assembled, and an old venerable-looking man was leading the religious exercises. Each one in the society spoke some words from the heart, and at the close all others uttered their assent. The earnestness and cordiality prevailing throughout the assembly, and the piety of the words spoken, edified the stranger to a high degree. After all had spoken, the leader of the assembly called, in a friendly manner, also on the stranger to utter his sentiments in a similar way. He complied with this request willingly, and the assembly spoke their Amen with visible interest. The stranger, as he told me himself, parted greatly satisfied with those with whom he had so soon become one in the Lord.

"*Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie überhaupt*, von Dr. W. Gass, Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald." 1854. (History of Protestant Dogmatics, by Dr. W. Gass. Berlin, 1854. 8vo.) Among the works published recently on the theology of the 16th or 17th century the one mentioned takes a prominent place. Although dogmatics is now the principal science of theology, yet a history of it was still wanting. In this work it is carried through the most productive period, to the end of the 17th century. The author distinguishes the founding of dogmatics by Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin, and their successors in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. First he gives a general description: the politico-ecclesiastical condition, the progress of the other theological disciplines, and the study of philosophy and its relation to theology, a very interesting and instructive section, the object of which has been but little examined as yet. Then the author shows the character of the theology of that time in the prescriptions given for the regulation of studies; how the inner and practical side is not entirely wanting, but how there is yet too much of drilling and polemics. Then follows a history of the fundamental notions on inspiration, holy writ, authority of symbols, distinction of fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith. After this, the group of Lutheran dogmatic writers: Hutter and Gerhard, Calixt and his adherents; the completion of the system by König, Calov, Quenstedt, and others. Thereupon, the works of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries. This will suffice to set the copiousness of material contained in this work in clear light. The author does not expatiate upon particulars; but it is one of the excellences of the book that he always keeps the general points of view before his eyes. Hence he has well succeeded in giving characteristics, his summaries clearly comprise the result, the order is well-membered, and the reader, notwithstanding the intricacy of the matter, sets himself easily right. The style is plain, but not without dignity; the expressions are choice, and the judgment passed with a thoroughly educated and liberal mind.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1856.

ART. I.—JULIUS CHARLES HARE.

1. *Guesses at Truth.* By TWO BROTHERS. First Series. Fifth Edition. Revised. London: 1855.
2. *Guesses at Truth.* By TWO BROTHERS. Second Series. Third Edition. 1855.
3. *Sermons preacht in Herstmonceux Church.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A., Rector of Herstmonceux, Archdeacon of Lewes, and late Fellow of Trinity College. Cambridge: 2 vols. 1841 and 1847.*
4. *The Victory of Faith, and other Sermons.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, &c. Second Edition. 1847.
5. *The Mission of the Comforter, and other Sermons, with Notes.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE. Second Edition. Revised. 1850.
6. *Essays and Tales.* By JOHN STERLING. *Collected and edited, with a Memoir of his Life.* By J. C. HARE, &c. 2 vols. 1848.
7. *The Means of Unity: a Charge. With Notes on the Jerusalem Bishopric, and the Need of an Ecclesiastical Synod.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
8. *Letter to the Dean of Chichester on the Appointment of Dr. Hampden.* Second Edition. With Postscript. By J. C. HARE, &c.
9. *The Better Prospects of the Church: a Charge.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
10. *The Contest with Rome: a Charge delivered in* 1851, *with Notes; especially in answer to Dr. Newman's Lectures.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
11. *Archdeacon Hare's Last Charge.* 1855.
12. *Two Sermons, on the Occasion of the Funeral of Archdeacon Hare.* By the Rev. H. O. ELLIOTT, M. A., and the Rev. J. N. SIMPKINSON, M. A. 1855.

THE above list includes the principal writings of the late Julius Charles Hare, with the exception of the translation of Niebuhr, which he executed in conjunction with Dr. Connop Thirlwall, and by which he first gained a wide reputation as a scholar. We have not put on our list his famous "Vindication of Luther against his recent English Assailants," because it was originally published as a huge note in the second volume of the "Mission of the Comforter," and appears as such both in the first and in the second edition of that work. It is now published, as on every account it

* *Preacht*, not *preached*. Hare had his own system of spelling, somewhat resembling that of W. S. Landor. There is principle and consistency in it, and often it

deserved to be, in a separate form. A volume of "Notes to the Victory of Faith" has been promised ever since the publication of the text in 1847, and has been announced for three years past as "preparing for publication." We believe, however, that this is still reserved for Mr. Hare's executors to publish, owing, as we presume, to the repeated attacks of severe indisposition which, during the last years of his life, too often compelled the interruption of his literary, and the suspension or postponement of his official labours.

Julius Charles Hare had an elder brother, Augustus William, a graduate of Oxford, and fellow of New College, who became, after leaving the University, rector of Alton Barnes, a retired village in Wiltshire.* Between these two brothers there existed a tender affection, and there appears to have been considerable similarity in their tastes and opinions. They were the joint authors of the "Guesses at Truth;" a work of which the rare merits were generally recognised long before the authorship had ceased to be a secret. Augustus William was also the author of a posthumous volume of "Sermons to a Country Congregation," which had the singular good fortune to attract the attention and gain the high praise both of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, at that time in the height of their unrivalled eminence as the arbiters of taste, the Minos and Rhadamanthus of literary destinies. Their gifted author died in 1834, while still in the prime of his life, and left his brother, but for the "good hope" which religion afforded, inconsolable on account of his loss.

Some of our readers may remember the brief but emphatic notice of Archdeacon Hare as "the coryphæus" of the Broad Church school of Church of England divines, which we gave toward the commencement of our article on "Mr. Maurice and his Writings" in a former number of this Review.† Little did we think, when writing those remarks on "the genial, accomplished, and erudite archdeacon," that within not many days from the publication

is apt and convenient, though sometimes the results look funny enough, e. g., *forst* for *forced*. In addition to his archdeaconry, Hare held the preferment of prebendary of Chichester, and was one of the chaplains in ordinary to the queen. Let us add, in this miscellaneous note, that the "Guesses at Truth" were originally published in two volumes. Of these the first volume, with large additions, has been republished in two volumes, issued at a considerable interval from one another, and designated *first* and *second series*. The original volume, with additions, has been announced for publication as the *third series;* but it was still unpublished at the time of Hare's death.

* There were two other brothers, one older and the other younger. But of them nothing of importance is related.

† January, 1855, p. 29.

of our article that distinguished man would be no more. But so it is. Broken down, not by weight of years, but by repeated attacks of severe illness, Julius Charles Hare has passed to his place above. A prince in intellectual wealth, an oracle for sagacity, a poet in genius, a master in criticism and in polemics, a champion of Protestantism, a brave and truthful, but, at the same time, gentle and loving spirit, a devout and humble Christian, has left the world to find out its loss, and not a few devoted friends and warm admirers to mourn his departure. It is with such an estimate of his character that we undertake the office of reviewing his writings. In some important respects we are compelled to deem his views and teachings defective; but he was, notwithstanding, a noble and a lovely spirit among men.

The position of Archdeacon Hare was peculiar, and is not easily to be defined. His antecedents and connexions, so far as we know them, would have led us to expect that his place would be found at that pole of the Coleridgean Broad Church school, where pseudo-philosophic anti-evangelism meets infidelity half way. He was the friend and biographer of Sterling, who for a short time was his curate, and whose dangerous errors he has not concealed, and yet, in too many instances, has not attempted to reprove and confute. He married a sister of Mr. Maurice's, whose wife, again, was a sister of Mrs. Sterling, and, by Hare's will, Mr. Maurice is appointed his executor, and inherits the bulk of his library. In more than one place of his writings, Hare seems to identify his opinions on the subject of inspiration with those contained in Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit;" yet, on the other hand, his own writings breathe more of the evangelical spirit than any other of the school to which we have referred. Often, indeed, he all but comes up to the full standard of explicit evangelical orthodoxy; though it is not to be concealed that in other places his statements are seriously defective. He has, besides, in one of his latest works so referred to the "evangelicals" by name, as to seem to make their cause his own; though, again, it must be admitted that sometimes elsewhere his remarks have implied some disparagement of them and their doctrine. He often refers, in terms which imply high approbation, to the writings of Mr. Maurice; yet we can find no trace in all his works of any approximation to Mr. Maurice's specific views, but, on the contrary, we think there is proof positive that, as to most of these views, he is altogether at variance with him. On the other hand, he appears as the courteous and discriminating, but decided opponent, of the doctrinal and ceremonial High Churchism of Bishop Wilberforce (of Oxford), toward which we may presume that the

views of Professor Trench,* his examining chaplain, incline, especially as in his exegetical writings there is nothing to disfavor this presumption, while there is evidence to support it. He is the declared enemy and the able and intrepid assailant of Tractarianism. With easy and brilliant mastery of learning and of logic, he has met and refuted Dr. Newman at every essential point in his attacks upon Protestantism, and has broken at every point the line of defences wherewith, in his "Development Theory," he attempted to surround Popery. Moreover, he published the most complete vindication of Luther from the calumnies of Bossuet and others, that Protestantism has yet produced. So that, while indisputably a writer of the Broad Church school, and too often showing a tendency toward considerable laxity of doctrine, while, it is to be feared, scarcely sound and heart-whole as to the grand central and vital doctrine of justification by faith in the vicarious and expiatory sacrifice of Christ, yet it appears that Archdeacon Hare sympathized more strongly, and was disposed to fraternize more closely, than any other member of that school, with orthodox evangelical teachers of the old-fashioned Lutheran and Methodist doctrines, and that he held an independent position equally remote from the new Platonizing semi-infidel and from the High Church poles of the Broad Church schools. In Church politics he was a liberal, and a conservative reformer. He had long pleaded for the restoration of Convocation, but would have its form amended, and the rights of the laity (who, except in so far as churchwardenship may go, are ignored in the English Episcopal Church) recognised, defined, and conceded. By seminal reforms he would prevent the incoming of "radical reforms" [so called] or of revolution.† Dwelling thus alone in the Church field, being a

* The Rev. R. Chenevix Trench, an early and intimate friend of Hare, Maurice, and Sterling, has succeeded Maurice in the divinity chair at King's College.

† Hare's feelings as to reform are indicated in the following pregnant extract. He is finding fault with the phrase *radical reform* as "involving an absurdity," and thus concludes his remarks:

"The word may perhaps be borrowed from medicine, in which we speak of a *radical cure*. This, however, is a metaphor implying the extirpation or complete uprooting of the disease, after which the sanative powers of nature will restore the constitution to health. But there is no such sanative power in a state; where the mere removal of abuses does not avail to set any vital faculties in action. In truth, this is only another form of the errour, by which man, ever quicker at destroying than at producing, has confounded repentance with reformation, *μεταμέλεια* with *μετάνοια*. Whereas the true reformer is he who creates new institutions, and gives them life and energy, and trusts to them for throwing off such evil humours as may be lying in the body politic. The true reformer is the seminal reformer, not the radical. And this is the way the Sower, who went forth to sow His seed, did really reform the world, without making any open assault to uproot what was already existing.—*Guesses at Truth. First Series, p.* 280.

Let our readers take notice that in this extract and elsewhere we leave Hare's peculiar spelling as we find it.

man of no party, and belonging to a school the adherents of which are too eclectic and too minutely independent to have a common organ, even if they were numerous enough among the people at large to be able to sustain one, Archdeacon Hare was never able, if he had been disposed, to identify himself with any public journal.* He exercised no influence through the columns of a newspaper; he contributed to no review or magazine. Perhaps this may be one reason why his decease has received so little notice in English periodicals. Three or four lines sufficed for it in the *Athenæum*, and the short notices which have appeared in the *Christian Observer* and *Church of England Quarterly Review*, though highly laudatory, are most meagre and inadequate. An extended article on Hare has, however, appeared in the *Quarterly Review*.

Julius Charles Hare was born September 13th, 1795, at Herstmonceux, a rural village and parish in Sussex, situated near the southern coast of England. His father was a gentleman of good estate, lord of the manor, and having in his gift the rectory of Herstmonceux. His mother was the daughter of Bishop Shipley, of St. Asaph, and is said to have possessed a fine and noble character. Lady Jones, the widow of the celebrated Sir William, was remembered by him as his aunt, and as one of the guides of his childhood. On the father's side, also, a bishop was among his ancestors, Francis Hare, a churchman of learning and reputation, well known as chaplain to the great Marlborough, having been Bishop of Chichester. This bishop became the lord of Herstmonceux Castle, and his descendants remained in the property till after the birth of Julius Hare. Young Hare, as might be expected from such connexions, was sent to one of the great schools of England. At the Charter-House he was prepared for the University; and it is very remarkable that, among his schoolfellows, there were Waddington, the Church historian, now Dean of Durham, and Grote and Thirlwall, the future historians of Greece. Manning, too, as we gather from sundry hints in Hare's writings, was another of his school-fellows. After a brilliant career at school, he went to Cambridge in 1812. Before this period he had spent much time, in boyhood and in youth, on the continent. We are

* In the independence and isolation of his position Hare resembled his friend Dr. Arnold, between whose views and his own there were many points of agreement or sympathy. Dr. Arnold somewhere says, in reference to his own relations at the same time with Oxford and with the London University, that he was considered a "latitudinarian at Oxford and a bigot at London." Dr. Arnold, however, was a more *modern* man than Hare. He had not the same veneration for by-gone learning and wisdom. He was less reverent and conservative, and the frequency and profuseness of his contributions to newspapers and periodicals contrast strongly with Hare's tastes and habits.

informed that he playfully said that "in 1811 he saw the mark of Luther's ink on the walls of the Castle of Wartburg; and there first learned to throw inkstands at the devil."* The period when Hare went to Cambridge was one of renovated activity and of high promise for both the English Universities. Among Hare's companions and friends during his residence at Cambridge were numbered such spirits as Whewell, Sedgwick, and Thirlwall, the last of whom was associated with him as fellow of Trinity College, and was afterward his partner in the work of translating Niebuhr. About the same time there were at Oxford, Arnold, J. T. Coleridge, (now Justice Coleridge,) Whateley, Pusey, Newman, Manning, the Wilberforces, &c., with several of whom, Arnold in particular, Hare became afterward acquainted through the medium of his brother Augustus, who was at this time at Oxford, and who formed one among this brilliant galaxy. Manning had been Hare's schoolfellow, and many years later was his neighbour, friend, and official colleague, as a beneficed clergyman and as archdeacon in the diocese of Chichester. Few things seem to have occasioned Hare more astonishment and grief than the secession, a few years ago, of this amiable man and beautiful writer—a brother-in-law, we believe, of the Wilberforces—to the Church of Rome.

It appears, from his own account, to have been during this period of his residence at Cambridge, that Hare and some of his friends came, as he expresses it, on their "entrance into intellectual life," under the influence of the writings of Wordsworth and Coleridge, his obligations to both of whom, particularly to the latter, he never loses an opportunity of stating; whom he acknowledges as the "stimulators and trainers of his thought," and "by whom," he says, "the better part" of his contemporaries, as well as himself, "were preserved from the noxious taint of Byron," from his "antagonism to establisht opinions and sentimental, self-ogling misanthropy," &c.† It must not be forgotten, however, that there were at this time other influences at Cambridge besides those either of Byron on the one hand, or of Wordsworth and Coleridge on the other. Charles Simeon was in the zenith of his usefulness, and from the reverent mention made by Hare, both of him and his distinguished follower and friend, Henry Martyn, in the last pages of his last sermon on the "Victory of Faith," we cannot but hope and believe that the faith and piety of Simeon had its share in moulding the character of Hare, notwithstanding the divergency on some points of no small importance between the devoted Calvinistic clergyman and the grave, accomplished gownsmen who attended his ministry. Hare's success at

* Quarterly Review, June, 1855. † Mission of the Comforter. Note Sa.

college fully equalled the promise of his earlier academical career. He was esteemed one of the finest classical scholars even in classic Trinity. For a short time he left college to study the law, but disrelishing the change, and advised by Whewell, he soon returned to Trinity, where he had a fellowship, and became assistant tutor and classic lecturer. From his Life of Sterling, it appears that he held this office in 1824, at which time there were attending his lectures, John Sterling, Richard Trench, and Frederic Maurice, all of whom not only looked up to him as a teacher, but clave to him as a friend. It will not be deemed a violent conjecture if we suppose that it was, in part, through the influence and advice of Hare that these three remarkable men, two of whom were, in after days, to depart so widely and lamentably from the faith of Christians, were led to the study and admiration of the writings of Coleridge, whose personal friends and *hearers* they afterward became, and of whom Hare says, in allusion to the influence of his writings on the mind of these men, that "at the time it was beginning to be acknowledged by more than a few that Coleridge is the true sovereign of modern English thought." "The *Aids to Reflection*," he adds, "had recently been published, and were doing the work for which they are so admirably fitted; that book to which many, as has been said by one of Sterling's chief friends, owe even their own selves." (*Life of Sterling*, pp. 14, 15.) In 1828, Hare and Thirlwall published the first volume of their translation of Niebuhr, the second volume of which was published in 1832. Niebuhr's third volume was left to be translated by other hands. In 1828, also, appeared in two small volumes, the "Guesses at Truth; by Two Brothers."

In 1832, Hare left Cambridge to enter upon the living of Herstmonceux, to which he had been presented by his brother. Before entering upon his pastoral work, he took an extensive tour, in the course of which he visited Rome for the first time. Here, at the English chapel, he preached a sermon, which is published at the end of the same volume with the "Victory of Faith," and is dedicated to Chevalier Bunsen, whose acquaintance Hare made for the first time on this visit to Rome, where Bunsen was then minister from the court of Berlin. In the dedication, Hare says of this sermon:

"In my own eyes its chief value is, that it formed a new link in our friendship. From the very first, indeed, you had received me with that frank and gracious cordiality which I have so frequently found in your countrymen: from the very first, we both found that we were bound together by our common admiration and love for Niebuhr. But this sermon, you said at the time, convinced you that there was a still more intimate principle of union between us."*

* Such a notice as that quoted above reveals in a very pleasing light the

What the value of this friendship was to Hare, will be partly understood by those who are familiar with the published letters of the late Dr. Arnold, some of which are addressed to Bunsen, while in others he frequently speaks of him. No higher compliment could be paid to Bunsen than that which is paid by Hare, when he says, in this dedication, that his "friendship was the most precious part of the treasure he brought away" from Rome. It will be remembered by some of our readers, that some of Bunsen's most valuable recent contributions to the knowledge of Christian antiquity, have been affectionately dedicated to Archdeacon Hare.

Returning from the continent in the latter end of 1833, Hare proceeded to take up his residence at the rectory of Herstmonceux. Doubtless, to such a genial lover of nature and of all homely pleasures and virtues, there must have been much to please and to satisfy in thus returning to spend his days, as a country clergyman, near his patrimonial home, and to preach in the village church to which he had been taken in his childhood, and which stood in the graveyard where the dust of his fathers reposed. Yet it is not easy to imagine a more seemingly unlikely training for the office of teaching his congregation of country-folk, poor and unlettered tillers of the soil, than to have been engaged so many years as classical lecturer at Cambridge, and select preacher before the choicest audiences of the University. Nevertheless, he appears to have been both a happy and a useful man at what he loved to call his "dear Herstmonceux." This retirement, with its quiet duties, and tender, holy memories, seems to have satisfied his heart's desire, so that, when other and richer preferment was offered to him, he declined it. And how well he followed in his brother's steps—how successfully he endeavoured to accommodate himself, in his style of preaching, to the simplest of his village congregation, without falling below the edification of the few families of the gentry or squire-

Christian character of Bunsen, and reminds us of a passage in Hare's "Guesses at Truth," which might have expressed the experience of a Wesleyan Methodist: "In a regenerate world, the bars and bolts which sever and estrange man from man, would burst like the doors of St. Paul's prison at Philippi, and every man's bonds would be loost. Something of the kind may be seen even now, in the open-hearted confidence and affection which prevail almost at sight among such as find themselves united to each other by the love of a common Saviour—a confidence and affection foreshowing the blessed communion of saints." (*Guesses, &c.*, First Series, pp. 181–2.) It is easy to understand how readily and how firmly Hare and Bunsen would become united to each other in friendship, if it is true, as Arnold says more than once in his correspondence, that there was a very singular resemblance, in character and disposition, between Bunsen and Hare's brother Augustus William.

archy who might attend his ministry, is attested by the two volumes which he published of his parish-sermons. There is internal evidence, moreover, in these sermons, that as pastor no less than as preacher, in his ministrations to sick, and poor, and dying, he fulfilled the calling of his office.

In 1840, he was appointed Archdeacon of Lewes, such being the title of the archidiaconal district in which Herstmonceux is situated, one of the two into which the diocese of Chichester is divided. This is a High-Church diocese, on the whole, and Mr. Manning, a very High-Churchman, who has since, alas! become a pervert to Rome, was the other archdeacon. The principles of the new archdeacon must have been unacceptable to not a few of the clergy of the district. At the archdeacon's visitation in 1835, when but recently come into the diocese, having been appointed to preach at Hastings, he addressed the assembled clergy on the subject of the weakness and strength of their Church, probing its faults and exposing its infirmities with no faltering hand. While he maintained that episcopacy is indispensable to the *perfect* development of the idea of the Church, and is of apostolical institution, he denied absolutely that it is necessary to the *existence* of a Christian Church. "I cannot," he says, "discover the shadow of a word in the gospels to countenance" this idea. "Feeble and flimsy," he proceeds, "as are the Scriptural arguments on which the Romanists maintain the inalienable primacy of St. Peter, they are far more specious and plausible than those derived from the same source, on the strength of which it has been attempted to establish the absolute necessity of episcopacy to the existence of a Christian Church." "Let us rejoice," he says a little afterward, "that the salvation which Christ wrought for his people, is not tied to any one form of Church government or other—to anything that man can set up, or that man can pull down. Let us rejoice that in Christ Jesus neither episcopacy availeth anything, nor anti-episcopacy, but a new creature." Subsequently, he attributes the estrangement of so many of the people of England from the Episcopal clergy and the established Church, among other principal causes, to the dry, unspiritual, unedifying character of the preaching of the clergy in former days. He speaks of these as having been "too often nothing but the dry husks of didactic morality—often nothing but the parings and scrapings of controversial theology, delivered in a language, three-fourths of which the people could not understand, made up of long-tailed words of Latin origin, which would have been almost as intelligible to them in their original as in their derivative form—and in involved logical sentences, which they were utterly unable to disentangle."

The archdeacon, further on, refers to the condition of the great towns of England, for the benefit of which he affirms that, "for scores of years, next to nothing was done by the Church or the state of England; that which was done, being done almost entirely by members of the dissenting communions."

Having thus pointed out the practical errors and shortcomings of the Anglican Church, he then proceeded to indicate some of the causes—the "hindrances and disadvantages" connected with the actual condition of the Church—which had contributed to produce such results. Of these he mentions three—the want of "a regular governing and representative council," a rightly constituted and regulated "convocation," "the manner in which the highest clerical dignities were filled up during the last century, sometimes with political partisans, sometimes with persons whose sole claims lay in certain accidents of personal connexion, sometimes—and this was almost the best case—with men distinguished [merely] for theological, or, it may be, classical learning;" and "the broad and almost impassable line of demarcation drawn between the clergy and the laity, as if they were two distinct castes, with totally different offices, each of them to be carefully barred out from encroaching on the other."*

We have given so full an outline of the principal portions of this sermon, not merely as characteristic of the candour and liberality of Archdeacon Hare, and of the plain-spoken fidelity with which he was accustomed to admonish his brother-clergymen, but as indicative of the position held by himself, and by Broad Churchmen generally, in reference to Church policy and polity. The "distinctive character" of this party, Mr. Conybeare says, "is the desire of comprehension," and their "watchwords are charity and toleration." Assuredly, within certain necessary limits, this is the only character which can be wisely or safely sustained by the members of a national Church establishment. The aim of the strict High-Church party, those who believe in apostolical succession and exclusive salvation, and who deliver over dissenters to "uncovenanted mercies," must be to secure uniformity of creed, ritual, and all external Church action, as their only means and index of unity. But the motto of the Broad Churchman is rather unity in variety, and variety in order to unity. This is the position which Archdeacon Hare maintained with increasing earnestness to the last, and which he has especially contended for in a sermon on the "Unity of

* Victory of Faith and other Sermons, p. 322, and pp. 333–342. Erastianism, patronage, and the dogma of the priesthood are, briefly, the hindrances and evils indicated above.

the Church," and its introductory dedication to Archdeacon Manning, (who had advocated the opposite view,) and in the notes on this sermon and dedication, which will be found (both sermon and notes) in the two volumes of the "Mission of the Comforter." The same view is also maintained in his "Contest with Rome." While, however, on this point, and on the associated questions of the sacraments and the priesthood, differing from the Romeward section of the Anglican Church, the Broad Church agrees with the High Church of all grades, from the Bishop of Exeter and Dr. Pusey downward, in desiring to see Convocation revived, and the Church enabled to take independent action. On this point Hare long anticipated the recent movement, and he continued steadfastly to advocate the same view. Only it was his desire—as it is that of every Broad Churchman—to see the laity conjoined with the clergy in Convocation, and the clergy themselves much more fairly and adequately represented than according to the actual model. The evangelical section of the English clergy generally differ both from the High Church and the Broad Church, in regard to this question, deprecating the restoration of the Convocation to functional life. The reason of this is, that while, on the one hand, they lack breadth and boldness of view, such as would lead them to contend for a remodelled Convocation adequately representative of both the laity and the great body of the clergy; on the other hand, they feel a shrewd fear and strong foreboding lest, as the Convocation is actually constituted, the learning, eloquence, and general ability of the predominating High-Church element should prove utterly destructive to the prospects of evangelical religion in the Church of England.

Hare's twenty years of life, after his settlement at Herstmonceux, were years of quiet retirement, but yet of great mental activity. His attention was wakefully alive to all the important questions of the day, affecting the religion and social condition of the nation, and especially the interests of the Church of England. He evidently felt it to be his particular duty to do battle against the progress of Tractarianism and of Romanizing errors. While a recluse student at Cambridge, and conversant with the great Popish writers more than with Popery itself, he showed that indulgence to Popery which is shown by so many scholars. He understood its heresies and rightly estimated its usurpations; but he admired the glory and power of its earlier history; he sympathized, to a certain extent, with its love of ritual beauty and splendour; and could not be insensible to the musical power and pomp of its services. Indeed, to admire music and painting, sculpture and architecture was (liter-

ally) a part of Hare's religion, as it was a part of his creed, a favourite tenet of his "broad" churchism, that music, painting, and all the arts not only may, but should, be made tributary to religion. To cultivate his taste was a dictate of his piety. And with what a keen and exquisite relish he had studied the works of the masters of art of all schools, but especially of those Italian masters whose genius was employed upon sacred subjects, will be remembered by all who have read the "Guesses at Truth." It is no wonder, then, that his æsthetical tastes, as well as his catholic sympathies as to all things human and humanizing, should have disposed him to regard with as much leniency as was possible in a good Protestant, the errors and sins of the Church of Rome, more particularly in the ages preceding the Reformation. For like reasons, he would be disposed to regard with indulgence the earlier movements of the Oxford High-Church party. But he never seems to have vacillated in his *principles* on these subjects. His acquaintance with mediæval and modern history, his love of liberty and abhorrence of despotism, his independent spirit of investigation, which led him as strongly to require, as he freely conceded, the right of private judgment, and his profound admiration of the character of the German and English reformers, especially of Luther, all these things constituted for him a seven-fold shield against the influence of Romish principles and Romeward tendencies. His visit to Rome in 1833, of the effect of which upon his mind he speaks in his later editions of the "Guesses at Truth, First Series," seems to have added depth and vividness to his convictions of the essential evil and necessary curse of Romanism; and it may be justly affirmed, that during the last fifteen years of his life Hare was the most independent, fearless, effective, and in every way accomplished opponent of Tractarian sophistry and bigotry, and of Roman audacity and assumption, to be found in the ranks of the English clergy. His "Mission of the Comforter," and his "Contest with Rome," are mainly controversial. He was cut off in the midst of this work; his last charge, delivered not long before his death, having been a powerful and energetic admonition, suited to the needs of his Church. What his feelings were with reference to this work, and how his aspect toward Romanism had become changed in the course of years, is partly indicated in his *Guesses at Truth, First Series*, pp. 230–237, pp. 28–30, and pp. 51, 52.

Mr. Elliott, in his funeral sermon on Archdeacon Hare, justly says, in reference to his archidiaconal charges:

"In them, very conspicuous, was the genuine and outspoken love of what he held to be truth and righteousness, accompanied by a largeness of heart in seeking and discerning all the good that could be found in all. Some of us

were of opinion that his generosity of praise precluded him from the equal discernment of evil; and that his love of peace, which had its roots in his heart, attempted unions which too great difference of principles rendered impossible."

This is a feature of his character which must be borne in mind in estimating his conduct; and it may assist us to understand his grief and surprise at the ultimate secession of Archdeacon Manning, (which yet was in itself the natural termination of his previous course,) his unqualified praise of Maurice, and his undiscriminating veneration for Coleridge, in whom he seems only to have regarded the goodness and wisdom which were apparent, and to some extent predominant, in his writings, without caring to notice the error and evil which were sometimes intermingled, and oftener still, thickly set in tangled depths behind or underneath, in the shape of notes, appendices, &c. Acute as Hare was, and energetically as he opposed what he regarded as pernicious and threatening error or heresy, he had no delight in hunting for error through abstrusities of thought and language, or in beating the bush of mysticism to drive it into open day; and sometimes, like John Wesley, he suffered his charity to blindfold his acuteness.

Hare had, for some years before his death, been subject to a very painful internal disease. Its returns had latterly become increasingly frequent and severe, and one of these carried him off on the 23d of January, 1855, at Herstmonceux. He died in the faith and consolation of the Gospel. His last clear words were remarkable. In answer to the question how he would be moved, he said, in a voice more distinct and strong than he had reached for several past days, with his eyes raised toward heaven, and a look of indescribable brightness, "Upwards! Upwards!" His age was fifty-nine. We have already, in the foregoing sketch, afforded our reader the means of forming some estimate of the position, character, and accomplishments of Archdeacon Hare, whom, so long as he lived, the public rightly regarded as the principal and ablest representative of the loose and somewhat nebulous party known as the Broad Church. We should very insufficiently perform our task, however, if we did not add some more specific remarks upon his character and qualifications as philosopher, critic, controversialist, and religious teacher.

We begin with Hare's philosophy, for philosophy should lie at the basis of criticism, and the truths which it is in search of, or which it professes to have found, are, for the most part, such as religion rather assumes than expressly reveals, although consistency with the plain teachings and implications of Divine revelation is the highest test, so far as it can be applied, of the correctness of

philosophical conclusions. We have already seen how emphatically Hare acknowledges his obligations to the teaching and influence of Coleridge. Such acknowledgments are very thickly scattered over his writings. Indeed, he quotes Coleridge expressly, and in a way of full and exact citation, not only more frequently than any other uninspired writer, but in his notes to the "Mission of the Comforter," more frequently than the Scriptures themselves, and he yields to him an authority and reverence, after the sacred writers, only inferior, if inferior, to that which he pays to Luther. From this, and from Hare's eulogies of his brother-in-law, Maurice, it has been very naturally inferred by many, that Hare had fully embraced Coleridge's peculiar philosophical and metaphysical views. Hence, not only by the writers in the "English Review," but by others, he has been involved along with Coleridge, Maurice, Sterling, Francis Newman, and even Blanco White, in one common sentence of undiscriminating condemnation. There can be no doubt that the philosophy of Coleridge and of Maurice has shaped their theology, and been at the root of their religious heresies. Hence it would be very natural to expect, that if Hare agreed with them in philosophy, he would at any rate approximate toward them in his theological views. If, therefore, justice is to be done to him, it is a vital inquiry to what extent his philosophical views coincided with those of Coleridge. It is true, indeed, that what is expressly philosophical does not take up much of Hare's writings; but the inquiry may not be the less vital and important on that account. It is plain that he had a settled philosophy, and that his philosophy imbued his criticism, and gave a hue and tone to his theology. Nor can his relation to Coleridge and to English theology be understood, or a complete view of his character and genius be gained, unless this inquiry be determined.

Hare calls himself one of Coleridge's "pupils;" yet we doubt if he was one of his disciples. It is probable that Coleridge had not finally settled his philosophico-theological views until Hare had for some time been an independent student of German literature and philosophy. It is certain that the "Aids to Reflection" were not published until Hare's principles were determined, and his position as a thinker and scholar fixed. In 1816, Coleridge, shattered in body, all but wrecked in mind, and palsied in moral power through his terrible vice of opium-eating, found refuge and guardianship under the vigilant, though tender and reverent care of the Gillmans, at Highgate. Hare was then a man of established reputation at Cambridge. We gather from the "Guesses at Truth," and the "Notes to the Mission of the Comforter," that Hare, in middle age, had been for many years familiarly acquainted with the philosophical

writings of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling, and that he had exercised upon them his independent powers of criticism. Probably he had a much more extensive and profound acquaintance for many years of his life, with not only German theology, but German philosophy, than Coleridge ever had.* It is scarcely to be supposed, therefore, that in the maturity of his own powers and learning, he would adopt at second hand from Coleridge that philosopher's rendering and adaptation of Kant's philosophy of Pure Reason and Schelling's Dynamic Philosophy.

What was the amount of Hare's personal intercourse with Coleridge, or when it commenced, we know not; but it is not difficult to understand the general reason which led him to hail with gratitude Coleridge's appearance and influence as a moral teacher and philosophical reformer. Let it be remembered that, during the latter part of the last century, and the early years of the present, the received philosophy in England was sensationalism in intelligence and thought, and utilitarianism in morals; and that the received theology contented itself with dealing forth, when didactic, the dry husks of a powerless moralism, and when argumentative, with insisting upon the external evidences of Christianity. Grotius and Paley (whose *Moral Philosophy* was a text-book at Cambridge) were the oracles on the subject of the Christian evidences. The sermons of Blair were the favourite model of preaching. True, even then there were such men as Venn, Simeon, Newton, and Scott in the pulpits of the Establishment, but these were stigmatized as enthusiasts and Methodists. There was, indeed, also the learning, logic, orthodoxy, and eloquence of Horsley. But his eloquence was academic, not popular; his orthodoxy was wholly wanting in evangelical feeling and fervour; his preaching utterly lacked the *spirit* of holiness and love. It was a heartless, pithless, powerless, Christless age. Arianism and Unitarianism, always found alongside of sensationalism and materialism, had crept like a fog-blight over half the face of British Christianity. From such a condition of things, and from all its causes and accessories, the spirit of such men as Hare revolted. We can scarcely wonder that they were ready to fly for refuge from Condillac and Priestley to Kant; from the cold, aguey flat of British thought and feeling to the transcendental heights of

* Writing in February, 1849, Hare says, in his "letter to the editor of the English Review," "That there is such a thing as German faith, that there are precious masses of German thought, I know, from an experience of more than thirty years, for which I shall ever be thankful." It follows from this that his direct and independent acquaintance with German philosophy and theology must have commenced at least as early as 1818.

Germanism, with all their mistiness. Nay, even the idealistic egotism of the Hegelians would seem less repelling than a fatalistic materialism. Under such feelings, it is easy to understand how the appearance of a teacher like Coleridge would be welcomed. He was the declared enemy of the sensational and utilitarian philosophers. He was reputed to have mastered the German philosophy, to have abstracted from it what was sound and true, and to have attained to a clear vision, from the utmost height of human thought, of the ultimate unity, the perfect and vital harmony, of philosophy and theology, of the revelation of reason and the revelation of God. He professed himself a devout and orthodox Christian believer. He spoke on Christian subjects in a corresponding tone of reverence. He read and loved the works of Leighton, Jeremy Taylor, and others of the old divines of the English Church. He decried dry orthodoxy, and taught that a mere dogmatic faith was dead. He spoke of spiritual influences, and magnified the internal and spiritual work of Christianity. Thus opposing himself equally to dry, dogmatic orthodoxy, and to shallow, flippant infidelity, he appeared as a new star in the heavens, and soon was surrounded by others, enough to form a constellation. These rejoiced to be found at the opposite pole to the luminaries of the Edinburgh Review, who were unhappily distinguished at that time for a sceptical and irreverent spirit.

We believe that the foregoing remarks fairly account for the position which Coleridge gained at the head of a school, and for the fact that Hare early enrolled himself among the number of his admirers. This he would do without pledging himself beforehand to his peculiar views in philosophy and theology. What those views were it is not our present business minutely to inquire. They were not given to the world in anything like a fair outline until many years had passed away; and though the world was eagerly and wonderingly expectant, they were never given but in outline or in fragments. Where they are most peculiar—where they profess to solve the perilous and profound difficulties which surround the estate of man—they become particularly and impenetrably abstruse. That Hare, in his repeated commendations of Coleridge, means to commit himself to this incomprehensible philosophy, we cannot believe. His own perspicuous intellect and pure transparency of style must be taken as evidence that this could never be. It is remarkable, too, that he never quotes or refers to these abstruse passages. Nor can we imagine anything likely to be more abhorrent to his taste than to be compelled to seek a path through such dark and tangled, thorny and fruitless thickets and wildernesses of thought as some of Coleridge's notes and appendices. But what Hare chiefly valued in

Coleridge, was his noble ideal of thought and purpose, his reverent spirit, his far-seeing, practical wisdom, his critical and intuitive sagacity, his union of deep learning, fine taste, and recluse habits, with philosophic breadth of view and wide human sympathies.

One main point, perhaps *the* main point, of Coleridge's Intellectual Philosophy was the Kantian distinction between the Reason and the Understanding. Upon this distinction Coleridge grafted his peculiar, and, as we think, unchristian doctrine of the Logos. Many who have not followed Coleridge in the theological doctrine, have agreed with him in reference to the metaphysical distinction. The understanding is the logical faculty in man, the reason is the intuitive faculty, which stands face to face with spiritual and essential truth; and the immediate object of which is, as Mr. Morell says, "the good, the beautiful, and the true." The intuitive faculty in man has thus assigned to it an entirely separate sphere, and that the very highest. It dwells in a region apart, elevated above that of the logical understanding, and is quite independent of it. Being thus independent of the understanding, it is independent, so far as the morally good and right is concerned, of revelation also, (which must be presented to it through the understanding,) except in so far as it may, by its own light and authority, approve and warrant that which revelation brings before it. For reason, understood as above defined, must, whether in matters of taste, criticism, or morals, be the supreme judge, and be a law unto itself. Thus the scintillations of genius and the light of piety are but different manifestations of the same faculty. How well this accords with Coleridge's supplementary doctrine, that reason is the light in man of the divine Logos, and how naturally it is developed into Maurice's doctrine of the identification of the Word or Son of God, with all men, will be readily seen. How nearly related it is to the theories of the modern Pantheists is no less obvious.

How far Hare agreed with Coleridge as to the distinction in question it is hard to say, though there can be no doubt that he did so to a certain extent. Coleridge himself distinguishes all men into two classes, "besides which," he says, "it is next to impossible to conceive a third. The one considers reason a quality or attribute; the other considers it a power."—(*See Literary Remains*, vol. iii, p. 33.) Hare evidently belonged to the latter class, and so far he agreed with Coleridge. It is a main feature in his philosophy to take knowledge in man of instinctive or "intuitive" principles, which constitute his laws of spiritual activity and feeling, which operate before they are recognised, which may be in continual operation, and yet never be recognised, which can never be adequately under-

stood, and in attempting to apprehend and define which the understanding is extremely liable to positive and serious error; but which, nevertheless, imply the deepest truths and most vital mysteries of our being. These intuitive principles Hare follows Coleridge in calling ideas, and in referring to reason as the source or "power" from which they proceed. The abstractions of the understanding, as distinguished from these ideas of the reason, are termed conceptions; the doctrine being that no conception can ever be an adequate or perfectly true exponent of an idea. These ideas, indeed, though they correspond to certain profound and mysterious truths—truths too deep to be sounded by the plummet of the human understanding, are not themselves so properly truths, as, to use Coleridge's words, "truth-powers"—operative or productive laws, "manifesting themselves and their reality in their products." Further, Hare follows Coleridge in maintaining that these instincts, intuitive principles, or laws of the human spirit, are directly from God, and imply, if we could but learn their lesson and read their meaning, divine and essential truths. Such a "truth-power," to give one striking instance, is, according to this philosophy, man's sense of free-will, which operates from the beginning, which implies a mystery not to be explained, which, though it be denied, is not the less operative, and in attempting to conceive and explain which men's understandings have fallen into grievous error.

That such were Hare's views might be proved by many citations from his "Guesses at Truth," which, indeed, are pervasively coloured by this philosophy of ideas. But one citation will be sufficient, which will at the same time illustrate Hare's sentiments as to the philosophy of Locke, (whom we think he misunderstood,) and of his successors.

"The purport of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, like that of its unacknowledged parent, and that of the numerous fry which sprang from it, was to maintain that we have no ideas, or, what amounts to the same thing, that our ideas are nothing more than abstractions, defecated by divers processes of the understanding.

"There is no hope of arriving at truth, until we have learnt to acknowledge that the creatures of space and time, are, as it were, so many chambers of the prison-house, in which the timeless, spaceless ideas of the Eternal Mind are shut up, and that the utmost reach of abstraction is, not to create, but to liberate, to give freedom and consciousness to that which existed potentially and in embryo before."—*Guesses*, &c., *Second Series*, p. 219.

There can be no doubt, indeed, that in general Hare must be described as a transcendentalist in philosophy; and that he not only agreed thus far with Coleridge, but admired greatly Coleridge's German masters, who were also his own. He speaks in the highest

terms not only of Kant, but of Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling; and one object of his "Guesses at Truth" is manifestly to reproduce and interpret to the English mind some of the profound and true ideas (for there are such) brought to light by their philosophical studies. Still it is plain that he had read these writers discriminatively. He does not speak as if he had adopted the peculiar system of any one of them; and it is impossible that he could have agreed with them all. He seems to have abstracted from each of them, and to have adapted to his own philosophy that which appeared to him to be true. How far he acted in a similar way with Coleridge is the question. We have seen to what extent he certainly agrees with him. We cannot, however, believe, much as he admired and commended him, that he went all lengths with him. For example, Coleridge, in a passage of his Table-Talk, with which many passages in his writings fully accord, speaks of "that higher state, to which Aristotle could never raise himself, but which was natural to Plato, and has been to others," [himself, for instance,] "in which the understanding is distinctly contemplated, and, as it were, looked down upon from the throne of actual ideas, or living, inborn, essential truths." He speaks of the spirit's ascending into "the empyrean of ideas." He identifies the reason with the divine Logos, making Him, in this sense, to be the "light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." He denies, as many have learned from him to deny, the possibility of a revelation *ab extra*. He dares even to speak of the Trinity as an "idea," and to analyze this "idea" in such a way as to resolve the Tri-unity into what is really no better than a refined, Platonized Sabellianism—only not Sabellianism, because not allowed to be conceived under any conditions of time and space.

Such were some of the results of Coleridge's peculiar philosophy as applied to solve, or as used to measure and define, the mysteries of being, human and divine.* To these results we cannot believe, and we find no evidence to prove, that Hare gave in his adhesion. Nowhere does he seem to make reason a supreme, intuitive power, whose sphere is above and aloof from that of the understanding. Nor does his nomenclature uniformly agree with that of the Coleridgeans. Sometimes, indeed, especially in his "Victory of Faith," he appears to use the words reason and understanding in senses almost the inverse of Coleridge's, and we can scarcely avoid concluding that one object which he had in view in writing that series of discourses was to oppose those German philosophers who identify

* See the disquisition on the Reason and Understanding in the "Aids to Reflection," and the "Notes upon English Divines."—*Literary Remains*, vols. iii and iv, *passim*.

faith and reason, and to show that the highest objects of faith are such as reason, whether called speculative or practical, could never by itself, or with the understanding as its minister, have discovered, or enabled men to conceive.

In his "Guesses at Truth, First Series," p. 113, occur the following connected apothegmatic passages:

"When the pit seats itself in the boxes, the gallery will soon drive out both, and occupy the whole of the house.

"In like manner, when the calculating, expediential understanding has superseded the conscience and the reason, the senses soon rush out from their dens, and sweep away everything before them. If there be nothing brighter than the reflected light of the moon, the wild beasts will not keep in their lair. And when that moon, having reacht a moment of apparent glory, by looking full at the sun, fancies it may turn away from the sun, and still have light in itself, it straightway begins to wane, and ere long goes out altogether, leaving its worshippers in the darkness which they had vainly dreamt it would enlighten. This was seen in the Roman empire. It was seen in the last century all over Europe, above all in France."

In this latter true and beautiful passage it will be observed that the conscience is adjoined to reason, and both are supposed to be enlightened by revelation, directly or indirectly, through the written word or through tradition; reason is not made a primary light, or independent authority.

Such passages as the following seem to be explicit in their opposition to the dogma of the separate supremacy of the reason, and are couched in phraseology very different from that of either Kant or Coleridge:

"The word *reason* is often used to signify the whole complex of our reflective faculties; while at other times it is restricted to the logical faculty, or the power of drawing inferences. In the former sense reason is much less likely to err; though even then it needs to be continually refresht and replenisht by influxes from the imagination and the heart. . . . . In the latter sense, reason has often been a fruitful parent of errour and mischief, especially since the middle of the last century: and in this sense I have used the word when speaking against it. When nothing more than the mere faculty of reasoning, reason is most fallible; as is proved by the myriads of abortions and misgrowths in the history of philosophy and science. This, its fallibility, does not arise merely, or mainly, from slips of inaccuracy, but still more from its neglect of those corrections and adjustments which must be introduced at every step, before logical inferences can become scientific inductions."—Preface to Sermon entitled "The Children of Light," in "*Victory of Faith*," p. 205.

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"He who is the worthy, satisfying object of faith, must be a living personal being, a being to whom we stand in a living personal relation, who acts upon us, and will continue so to do. Nay, in its higher manifestations, as trust in Him in whom we believe, faith requires not merely a living personal god, but a god on whose love we can rely. Now the god of what has erroneously been called natural religion, is not such a god, as has been observed already. He is a bare notional abstraction, devised to supply a ground and consistency for the truths of reason, ... but standing in no direct personal relation to

man. He is necessary, indeed, to our existence; but, so far as regards our after-life, it is the same thing whether there be such a god or no. Hence he is not an object of faith, but solely of belief. The reason may be brought to acknowledge him; but he will exercise no more power over the heart and will than any truth of geometry or ontology. If the heart is to be stirred, if the will is to be roused and renewed, faith must have a god to believe in who is not like the god of philosophy—a shadowy complex of negations to the conditions of time and space, shrouded in the abyss of eternity; but a god who cares for his creatures, and watches over them, and has given proof that he does so."—*Victory of Faith*, pp. 140, 141. Cf. pp. 122, 123, 130.

There is in such teaching as this no approximation to any form or modification of that philosophy of Schelling which Coleridge vainly attempted to transform and transfigure into a conformity with the spirit and doctrines of Christianity, and which substitutes for faith in a personal and living God, the "intuition by reason of the absolute." No, the warm pulses of Hare's living faith would have ceased to beat in the chill and rarefied atmosphere of that transcendental peak of the intuitional philosophy on which Schelling and his followers had chosen their abode.

We fear some of our readers may be disposed to think this discussion more curious than useful, and scarcely necessary in order to form a sufficiently accurate estimate of Hare as a writer and teacher. But we confess that, in our judgment, the point into which we have been inquiring is fundamental. The most vital errors of Coleridge, and of a considerable number of those who profess to belong to his school, are connected with the distinction they make between reason and understanding. This distinction, itself nearly resembling one of the peculiar tenets of the Alexandrian neo-Platonism, serves them as a stock on which they graft, if we might not more properly say a root from which they develop a system of neo-Platonic doctrine, more or less complete and defined, and which may now take the shape of such a "philosophy of religion" as that which has been taught by Mr. J. D. Morell, or again may be logically carried out into such a scheme of doctrine as that taught by Mr. Maurice in his "Theological Essays," which are only a fair and thorough-going *reductio ad absurdum*, as evangelical and orthodox Christians may be pardoned for considering them, of germinal principles very distinctly to be recognised in Coleridge's writings. It could not, therefore, but be a pertinent and an important inquiry how far Hare agreed with Coleridge on this point. Hare could not have come so near as he does to the evangelical school, if he had believed in the independent supremacy of reason, apart from the understanding, as the power or sense whereby we ascertain and authenticate beauty, truth, and goodness.

Plato might, by his dialectic science, seek after τὸ καλὸν κἀγαθὸν,

and no doubt was often able by his "intuitions," common to himself and to others, to expose false and evil notions, and to bring to light that which was good, and beautiful, and true. But surely this is no reason why the admirers of Plato should, at this time of day, strive to establish a system which makes the mind, in its sense of goodness, truth, and beauty, independent of the teachings and corrections of the reflective and logical understanding. No doubt those have erred who have recognised, or seemed by their customary languages to recognise, nothing in man but the powers of sensation and of reflection, no intuitive activities and judgments, no primary beliefs, no moral sense; some of whom have reasoned about the soul as if it were merely passive, or at most possessed but a mechanical activity, sustained wholly and solely by influences and impulses from without; while others have seemed to suppose that logic and reasoning were the only powers by which it is to be moulded and formed, to be swayed and controlled. And Coleridge, no doubt, so far did good service as he opposed himself to such ideas as these, although he seems to us to have erred in the estimate which he formed of Locke's philosophy as related to these ideas, and to have greatly exaggerated the danger on that side of the question, while he rushed, in the other direction, into equally extreme and yet more dangerous error. Hare welcomed Coleridge as taking the lead in a controversy that needed to be fought, but he did not go all lengths with him. What his views were may be partly gathered from the quotations recently given. We add a few illustrative extracts here. Of the two first, taken from the first series of "Guesses at Truth," the former is an apophthegm not from the pen of Hare, but of his brother; there can be no doubt, however, that he fully adopts it as his own.

"The feeling is often the deeper truth; the opinion the more superficial one."—P. 257.

"On the other hand, historians are apt to write mainly from the understanding, and therefore presumptuously and narrow-mindedly. Dwelling amid abstractions, the understanding has no eye for the rich varieties of real life, but only sees its own forms and fictions. Hence no faculty is more monotonous; a Jew's harp itself is scarcely more so; while the imagination embraces and comprehends the full, perfect, and magnificent diapason of nature."—P. 399.

The passages which immediately follow are from the "Contest with Rome," and refer to Dr. Newman:

"Logic is ever his favorite weapon, his harlequin's sword, with which he works whatever transformations he pleases. Now logic, it is well known, or, rather, the abuse and perversion of logic, has ever been a fruitful source of all manner of errors. By logical deductions from an abstract conception, which can never at the utmost be more than a shadowy ghost or a skeleton of a living idea, the physical philosophy of antiquity and of the schoolmen

was led into those extravagances from which Bacon delivered it. By logical deductions from premises imperfectly apprehended, all the heresies by which the Church has been troubled sprang up. . . . . Thus, even in speculative matters, logic is a mere Cyclops, one-eyed, looking straight before it. But still more delusive is its guidance in practical life. . . . The great use of our dialectic faculty is to serve as a corrective for the logical, as we continually see in the Platonic dialogues," &c.—Pp. 107, 8.

"The shallowness of this passage might be deemed marvellous, as proceeding from so acute a logician, were it not continually found that the logical faculty is totally distinct from the apprehensive and the intuitive, and often subversive, or at least perversive, of them."—P. 127.

These passages are not only characteristic of Hare, but express a feeling, or rather a principle, common to the whole Coleridgean school. It must not, however, be supposed that Hare carried his feeling on this point to anything like the absurd lengths to which Maurice goes, who is perpetually pouring contempt on logic, and really seems to consider neither the faculty nor the science as good for anything. On the contrary, Hare is not only himself a master in logic, but his writings abound with allusions which show how highly he valued its right use, and how much he enjoyed its skilful and legitimate display.

We have been considering Hare as a philosopher. He has composed no philosophical treatise; but a truly philosophical spirit pervades all his writings. He is not, indeed, abstruse or abstract; he does not deal in metaphysical terms or transcendental jargon; but apophthegms, maxims, reflections, the fruit of wide reading, deep thinking, keen observation, and intuitive sagacity, aided by a rich fancy, and quickened by a warm and genial heart, attest him to be a true and profound philosopher. His "Guesses at Truth" are a repository of critical essays upon many subjects both of philosophy and literature, intermingled with crystals and gems of philosophic thought or moral sentiment.

What our readers have already learned of Hare will have prepared them to expect that he was one of the finest and most genial of critics. Scarcely anything, except the pure sciences, seems to be out of his range. He appears to be equally familiar with the most various themes, and alike graceful, wise, and witty in handling them all. His versatile genius is equally prepared to discuss poetry and philosophy, or painting and sculpture, or the drama and the histrionic art, or oratorios and even operas, (!) while, at another time, his exact erudition is as remarkable as the searching keenness of his criticism, when he is exposing the ignorant errors in a reprint or translation of some old divine or father, printed at the Oxford press!

It will be remembered that, although Hare would certainly have

refused to be called an Arminian, he was certainly no Calvinist. But his admiration of excellence, wherever found and of every kind, was most large-hearted and catholic:

"Calvin's Commentaries, although they are almost entirely doctrinal and practical, taking little note of critical and philological questions, keep much closer to the text, and make it their one business to bring out the meaning of the words of Scripture with fulness and precision. This they do with the excellence of a master richly endowed with the word of wisdom and with the word of knowledge: and from the exemplary union of a severe masculine understanding with a profound insight into the spiritual depths of the Scriptures, they are especially calculated to be useful in counteracting the erroneous tendencies of an age when we seem about to be inundated with all that is most fantastic and irrational in the exegetical mysticism of the fathers, and are bid to see divine power in allegorical cobwebs, and heavenly life in artificial flowers."—*Mission of the Comforter*, Note H, p. 449.

[Luther's words] "As he himself has somewhere said of St. Paul's words, 'are not dead words, but living creatures, and have hands and feet.' It no longer surprises us that the man who wrote and spoke thus, although no more than a poor monk, should have been mightier than the Pope and the Emperor to boot, with all their hosts ecclesiastical and civil—that the rivers of living water which issued from him should have swept half Germany, and in course of time the chief part of northern Europe, out of the kingdom of darkness into the region of evangelical light.* No day in spring, when life seems bursting from every bud, and gushing from every pore, is fuller of life than his pages; and if they are not without the strong breezes of spring, these too have to bear their part in the work of purification."—*Ibid.*

"Luther, if we take the two masses of his writings," [German and Latin,] "which display different characters of style, according to the persons and objects they are designed for—in the highest qualities of eloquence, in the faculty of presenting grand truths, moral and spiritual ideas, clearly, vividly, in words which elevate and enlighten men's minds, and stir their hearts, and control their wills, seems to be incomparably superior to Bossuet, almost as superior as Shakspeare to Racine, or as Ulswater to the Serpentine. In fact, when turning from one to the other, I have felt at times as if I were passing out of a gorgeous, crowded drawing-room, with its artificial lights and dizzying sounds, to run up a hill at sunrise. . . . . Bossuet's mind was so uncongenial to Luther's, so artificial, so narrow, sharing in the national incapacity for seeing anything except through a French eye-glass—his conception of faith, as I have had occasion to remark in previous notes, was so meagre, so alien from Luther's—and the shackles imposed upon him by his Church so disqualified him for judging fairly of its great enemy, that we need not be surprised at any amount of misunderstanding in him, when he came forward as an advocate in such a cause. Still, however fiercely 'the eagle of Meaux' may have desired to use his beak and claws, he might as well have peckt and clawed at Mount Ararat, as at him whom God was pleased to endow with a mountain of strength, when he ordained that he should rise for the support of the Church out of the flood of darkness and corruption."—*Ibid.*, note W, pp. 660, 661.

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* Hare had been quoting an exposition of Luther's on John vii, 37–39, in the course of which he says, "That same word which is preacht has such a hidden power, that, in the devil's kingdom, where he rules mightily, it will sweep devils by heaps out of the heart, as the Elbe sweeps down chaff. He knows well why he calls God's word a river; for it does great things and many; it rushes along," &c.

These latter quotations have introduced us to Luther, Hare's great hero. The last, indeed, though given as a sample of Hare's critical faculty, is, it will be seen, taken from the famous Note W., now published separately under the title of "A Vindication of Luther against his recent English Assailants." Here, then, we pass on, by a natural transition, to consider the claims and merits of Hare as a controversial writer. Of course, his critical faculty is called into play continually when he is writing controversially; nevertheless, as a controversialist he shows powers for which in his criticisms there was little scope. Hare's course as a critic ended with his residence at Cambridge. He became a controversialist almost from the beginning of his residence at Herstmonceux, and continued such to the end of his life. More especially, after the year 1840, when he was appointed archdeacon, he felt it to be his duty to take a prominent part in ecclesiastical and theological controversy. Most, if not all, of his charges, however generous in spirit and catholic in their Christian feeling, partook more or less of this character; and of these a considerable number have been published with notes. We believe that those not published in his lifetime, are likely to be issued by his executors, with the notes he had prepared. The notes to the "Victory of Faith" will probably be largely controversial. The "Contest with Rome," and the "Vindication," just referred to, are his most important writings of this character, already published. In the former of these he sifts Newman's writings, and brings forward weighty and convincing testimony and argument against the doctrines and assumptions of Popery; in the latter he triumphantly vindicates the memory of Luther from the calumnies first published by Bossuet, and recently revived and endorsed, with divers additions and aggravation, by certain English writers. He seizes the assailants of Luther one after another, with a strong, unyielding grip, and holds them fast till he has fairly plucked them bare. In this way he deals with Bossuet, Hallam, Newman, Ward, and Sir W. Hamilton. The last is, of living men, the most formidable assailant Luther has had, from his position and reputation. Upon him, accordingly, Hare bestows the largest share of attention; and most complete and terrible is the castigation he inflicts. Hare possessed the capital advantage over all his opponents, that he was far more completely and intimately acquainted with Luther's history and writings than any of them. Indeed, it is amazing how slight and second-hand was the knowledge which even such men as Hallam and Hamilton possessed of the matters on which they presumed to pronounce, as Hare abundantly demonstrates. Then, he was defending the cause of the highest

human liberty, and of truth and heroism, against the cause and kingdom of darkness and bondage, of intellectual and spiritual slavery and death. Such a theme was worthy of Hare's powers, and, which is more to say, his powers are equal to his theme. There is a life and energy about his writing on this theme scarcely to be equalled elsewhere. The pulse and currents of Luther's life seem to beat within his heart, and now warm him to an eloquence of the highest strain, and then jet forth in outbreaks of wit, sometimes of classic beauty and vividness, at others of the homeliest and raciest style, but always apt and forcible. His mastery of logic is no less remarkable than his other gifts, though he does not affect logical forms and phrases. Sir W. Hamilton is one of the most celebrated logicians of Britain, as Hare takes care his readers shall not forget; but he found himself foiled at his proper weapon by one of a very different school and training from his own. He was supposed, also, to be a master of *all* erudition; but this imagination Hare effectually dispelled. As a critic Hare may remind us of the accomplished anatomist; but as a controversialist he seems rather like the brilliant swordsman. And Sir W. Hamilton must often have been confounded at the swift and sudden scimitar-play by which all his fences and guards were foiled, and his weapon so often struck from his hand. Or, again, we may admire the taste, the subtilty, the truth, the profundity of Hare's critical analysis and judgments; but, in addition to the same qualities displayed in his controversial writings, we admire the conversational rapidity of retort, the frequent flash of *wit* arising from the encounter of *wits*, and the colloquial but appropriate and effective raciness and homeliness of style. We are reminded by these qualities not only of Luther, but of quaint Latimer. Only Hare is always, however severe or even personal, the gentleman and the scholar; his homeliness is never gross, his quaintness is never violent or eccentric. Almost every kind of sparkling and of eloquent writing may be found in his wonderful "Vindication," except that appropriate to the pulpit, in which, indeed, Hare never seems to have excelled.* And what is quite as remarkable as any other characteristic of this performance is, that, whatever may be the subject and whatever the variety of style which Hare employs, he generally makes very plain English—the most simple words and the most idiomatic phrases, do his work. Indeed, till we read him, we had no conception what a man of pith and heart, and of real genius and scholarly accomplishment, could achieve with Anglo-Saxon

* The King of Prussia sent Hare his portrait in a gold medallion, as an acknowledgment for this "Vindication," which, our readers are no doubt aware, has acquired a European reputation.

English. We recommend his writings, and especially this "Vindication," to all those among our readers who wish to study the genuine character and proper capabilities of the English tongue. Our space will only allow of our giving a very few samples of what we have been attempting to describe. And yet why do we talk of samples? As well talk of giving a *sample* of spring's glories, or of the treasures which the "dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear." What we have to offer are but a very few trifling specimens out of hundreds scattered thickly over the pages of Hare's controversial writings. And, of course, these, brief as they must of necessity be, can convey no idea of the various and exact learning, and the argumentative power, which distinguish these writings. Before we present the specimens we have selected from the "Vindication," we are tempted to quote one—but one—paragraph from the "Contest with Rome," a work the merit of which is only inferior to that of the "Vindication," in so far as the argument is less continuous, and as the personal and living interest possesses less grandeur and unity.

From the "Contest with Rome," then, we merely quote the following:

"Dr. Newman, in his *Lectures on Anglicanism*, p. 8, asserts that our Church 'is a thing without a soul, does not contemplate itself, define its intrinsic constitution, or ascertain its position;' that, 'it has no traditions; it cannot be said to think; it does not know what it holds, and what it does not; it is not even conscious of its own existence.' As though it were essential to the existence of a soul, that it should be busied in defining its intrinsic constitution, and ascertaining and circumscribing its position. As though it were not the constant characteristic of an energetic genial soul, that it pours itself out in action upon the world without, without wasting its time in defining its intrinsic constitution, or ascertaining its position. As though this itself were not indicative of a checkt, represt action. Is it not the grand and blessed peculiarity of our political constitution, that all our institutions, all our liberties, have grown out of particular emergencies—that we have never set ourselves down, like our neighbors on the other side of the Channel, to define our intrinsic constitution, and ascertain our position? Yet for this very reason do we understand our position better, because we know it practically, from acting in it—not speculatively, from theorizing about it. Nay, was not this the spirit and principle of the whole Catholic Church in its best ages? as it continued more or less until the *anti-Catholic Council of Trent set about defining its intrinsic constitution, and ascertaining its position, and building circumvallations about it, wall beyond wall, and bastion beside bastion, with batteries of anathemas mounted upon them desolating the country round.*"—*Contest*, &c., pp. 144, 145.

The following sentences from the "Vindication" refer to Sir W. Hamilton:

"Still in one sense the reviewer is not so guilty as he appears. For strange though it may be deemed, it unquestionably is the fact, as I have already hinted more than once, that he had never set eyes on the original Latin of any of these four sentences. The garbling, the misrepresentation, the mistranslation, are not the reviewer's sin, but Bossuet's, in the second book of whose *Histoire*

des Variations the four sentences stand, almost consecutively, though not in the same order, in one page. § XVII. *As a thief is sometimes detected through some flaw in his shoe or boot, which happens to coincide with the footprints about the spot where the robbery was committed, so here we may feel confident that the reviewer, who verily needs an expert policeman to track him, took his quotations from Bossuet, because, after the Chinese fashion, they copy Bossuet's faults.*"—*Mission, &c.*, second edition, p. 811.

The two next passages refer to the frequent vehemence of Luther's language:

"Moreover, I would contend that common justice requires we should make the amplest allowance for occasional over-vehemence or hastiness of expression, when we consider, not merely the peculiarly energetical tone of his mind, but all the circumstances of his condition—the darkness out of which he had to work his way, with scarcely any help save that of God's word and Spirit—the might of the errour he had to fight against, its deadening influence, the abominations it had given birth to, the number of enemies he had to encounter, and the almost superhuman rapidity and vigour with which he carried on his single-handed warfare. . . . . When we remember, too, that during this whole time his mind was continually expanding, and that many of these writings were epochal acts in the history of the world, utterances of truths which history has signed, and sealed, and attested with the witness of ten generations—what can we think of the spirit that would carp, and cavil, and sneer at a few inconsiderate expressions? *When the world's doom-bell tolls, it must shake the belfry. When the waters burst forth from their frost-bound prison, the ice will crack, not without a noise; and they will probably splash over the banks.*"—*Ibid.*, pp. 688, 689.

"These instances are notorious; a multitude of similar ones might be cited from Luther's writings, especially from those belonging to this critical period of his life, when all his powers were stretched beyond themselves by the stress of the conflict. To our nicer ears such expressions may seem in bad taste. Be it so. *When a Titan is walking about among the pigmies, the earth seems to rock beneath his tread. Mont Blanc would be out of keeping in the Regent's Park; and what would be the outcry if it were to toss its head and shake off an avalanche or two!*"—*Ibid.*, p. 797.

How finely drawn is the following picture of Dr. Newman:

"When we look back on the author's career, when we reflect how he has gone on year after year sharpening the edge of his already over-keen understanding, casting one truth after another into his logical crucible, and persuading himself that he has dissolved it to atoms, and then exhibiting a like ingenuity in compounding the semblance of truths out of fictions—when we reflect how in this way he appeared to be gradually losing the faculty of distinguishing between truth and falsehood, and the very belief in the existence of any power for discerning truth, nay, as it seemed at times, in the existence of any positive truth to be discerned, and how, taking refuge, as it were, from the encroachments of a universal scepticism, he has at length bowed his neck under a yoke which a man, gifted with such fine qualities of mind and character, could hardly assume till he had put out the eyes of his heart and conscience, as well as his understanding—it is not in scorn and triumph, but in deep sadness and awe, that we repeat, *Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?*"*—*Ibid.*, p. 725.

* This is the motto to Newman's first "Lecture on Justification."

We must find space for the following noble passage, with which we bring our quotations to a close. It will be seen that the contrast is between the Fathers and the Reformers:

"Although Christianity, being in her essence above the relations of time and space, renders her devout votaries in a certain sense independent of them with regard to their own personal spiritual life, yet, when they set themselves to teach or to act upon others, the variable elements of their nature, those which are necessarily moulded and modified by the moral and intellectual powers and agencies they are brought into contact with, come into play. Hence it is next to a moral impossibility, that men living in the decrepitude of the ancient world—under the relaxing and palsying influences of the Roman and Byzantine empires, when all intellectual and moral life was fast waning away, and the grand and stirring ideas and aims which had drawn forth the energies of the classical nations in their prime, had been superseded by rhetorical tumour and allegorical and grammatical trifling—should have mounted to such a pitch of intellectual power as to be beyond the reach of the noblest minds in the age when all the faculties of the new world were bursting into life, and when one region of power after another was laid open to man, and called him to start up and take possession of it—the whole circuit of the earth he lived in, the infinitude and the sublimities of the universe in which it is comprised, the world of night surpassing that of day, and swallowing it up in its unfathomable depths; the classical nations rising out of their millennial sleep, with the beauty of their art and of their poetry, and their heroic glory; while the incipient knowledge of the newly discovered races tended along therewith to bring out self-consciousness, and to make self-knowledge more distinct,—and the Book of God, speaking in each man's native tongue, became indeed a living book, the Book of Man, revealing the inmost thoughts and purposes of his heart."—*Ibid.*, p. 706.

Here we must stay our hand. It yet remains for us to do what we may be able toward ascertaining the position which Hare held as a religious teacher, and the peculiar characteristics of his theology. To this task we shall devote a second paper, for which the present has cleared the way. We wish it were likely that in Hare as a theologian we might find as much to admire and as little to regret as in Hare the philosopher, critic, and controversialist. But we fear this is not likely to be the case. Yet we rejoice to believe that, with all genuine and Scriptural Christians, he did, notwithstanding his theological defects, "hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

Art. II.—ROMANISM FALSE AND PERSECUTING.

The Complete Notes of the Douay Bible and Rhemish Testament. Extracted from the Quarto Editions of 1816 *and* 1818, *published under the Patronage of the Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests of Ireland, as the authorized Interpretation of the Church, and the infallible Guide to Everlasting Life. With a Preface, embodying the Facts and Documents connected with the Publication of both Editions; Dr. Troy's and Dr. Murray's Denial of them; the List of the Subscribers throughout Ireland; the List of certain Notes suppressed in some Copies of the Second Edition. With a copious Index, referring to all the Principles of the Church of Rome worthy of remark in the Notes, which appear utterly subversive of the Gospel of Christ and of all Christian Charity among Men.* By the Rev. Robert J. M'Ghee, A. B. Dublin: Richard Moore Tims. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1837.

Roman Catholicism, at the present time, is undergoing a severe scrutiny. What it is, and what its tendencies, are questions which are discussed with as much interest as if it had but just obtruded itself upon the notice of the world. It would seem that many have either not read history, or have read it to little purpose. They seem just now to have waked up to the real importance of a system which winds itself through all the various ramifications of society. A certain class of persons not Romanists, nor yet Protestants, but, on questions of religion, free and easy souls, often ask, Why is not Romanism as good as any other religion? and why are not Roman Catholics as good as any other Christians? These Simon Pure patriots talk much and earnestly of religious freedom and equal rights; they reprobate intolerance, bigotry, and narrow sectarianism. The constitution, say they, guarantees to every citizen the liberty of worship, and if you refuse to favour the elevation of a Roman Catholic to any position of honour or of profit, on account of his religious faith, you make war upon the constitution of the country, and, besides, you make yourself an intolerable bigot. This reasoning has had a run for twenty or thirty years. The vast influx of Roman Catholics into this country within the last few years, and the evident catering of politicians for Roman Catholic favour, have inspired leading spirits in the Romish communion with confidence, and they have thought it expedient to busy themselves with the politics of the country. The rapidity with which they have acquired power to mould legislation, by managing political leaders, and balancing parties, has at length startled some who had long been disposed to regard them as an oppressed class, subjected to proscription and persecution even in this land of freedom. They now see that Romanism is not a mere abstraction, nor a mere negation in the social

system, but is a virus making its way rapidly toward the heart of the body politic.

With many this is a discovery of modern times—one of the novelties of a fast age. Until recently, those who have discussed the claims of Romanism in the light of history have been charged with dealing in antiquated lore, and with being decidedly behind the times. They live in the feudal ages—they riot among old dusty tomes—they are foolish enough to judge of Roman Catholics of this age by Tetzel, Thomas à Becket, and Richelieu. They judge of Romanism in our republic by Romanism under the monarchies. In certain quarters this is still thought to be quite conclusive reasoning. Some, however, are beginning to wake up to the fact that Romanism never changes. That which made it dangerous to governments in olden time makes it equally dangerous to governments in these modern times; and that which made it dangerous to monarchies makes it dangerous to republics. It always was, and still is, the creature and tool of one mind, and that mind the embodiment of a grasping and changeless despotism. The study of history, in connexion with the subject, has revived, and men think more profoundly and philosophically, and it will probably be long before the public mind will be lulled to sleep by the syren song of shallow-brained politicians.

There are two leading questions in the Romish controversy, namely: Is Romanism addicted to falsehood? and, Is she addicted to persecution? To these questions, the book whose title-page is placed at the head of this article, speaks. The preface of the book—containing 127 pages—most conclusively proves, that, when they meet their opponents, Romanists will practise evasion, double-dealing, and downright falsehood. The body of the volume, consisting of the notes on the Douay Bible, fully evinces that Romanism is essentially proscriptive and persecuting. It is the moral and political aspects of the system of Romanism to which we shall direct attention in this review, and we shall confine ourselves strictly to our text.

The notes, especially those upon the New Testament, generally breathe a spirit of bitter hatred toward Protestants; but there are several of them so atrocious, that they have been, in some cases omitted, and in others repudiated. As these notes will frequently be referred to in this part of the discussion, we shall insert several of them in this place.

"Matt. xiii, 29, 30. *Lest perhaps.* The good must tolerate the evil when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church, and commit the matter to God's judgment in the latter day; otherwise, where evil men, be they heretics or other malefactors, may be pun-

ished or suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be CHASTISED OR EXECUTED.

"Luke xiv, 23. *Compel them.* The vehement persuasion that God used, both externally, by force of his word and miracles, and internally by his grace, to bring us unto him, is called compelling; . . . . proving that they who are, by their former profession in baptism, subject to the Catholic Church, and are departed from the same, after sects, may and ought to be compelled into the unity and society of the universal Church again. . . . . They are to be reached NOT ONLY BY GENTLE MEANS, BUT BY JUST PUNISHMENT ALSO.

"2 Tim. iii, 9. *Folly.* All heretics in the beginning seem to have some show of truth, God for just punishment of men's sins permitting them for some time in some persons and places to prevail; but in a short time God detecteth them, and openeth the eyes of men to see their deceits, insomuch that after the first brunt they are maintained by force only, all wise men in a manner seeing their falsehood, though, for fear of troubling the state of such commonwealths where unluckily they have been received, they cannot be so suddenly extirpated.

"Rev. ii, 20. He warneth bishops to be zealous and stand against false prophets and heretics, of what sort soever, by alluding covertly to the example of holy Elias, that in zeal killed four hundred and fifty false prophets of Jezebel, and spared not Achab nor Jezebel themselves, but told them to their faces that they troubled Israel, that is, the faithful people of God.

"Rev. xvii, 6. *Drunk with the blood.* It is plain that this woman signifieth the whole body of all the persecutors that have, and shall, shed so much blood of the just, of the prophets, apostles, and other martyrs, from the beginning of the world to the end. The Protestants foolishly expound it of Rome, for that there they put heretics to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer."

Here we have the genuine doctrines of the Church of Rome, on the subject of forcing conformity to its principles and modes of worship, and of persecuting and exterminating heretics. And to show that they consider these views not mere speculations, but practical rules, they have put them into their Bible. Some account shall now be given of the Douay Bible and its notes.

It is not the policy of the Roman Catholic Church to give the Scriptures to the people. But when "the faithful" happen to live in Protestant countries, where the Bible is freely circulated among the people "in the vulgar tongue," they are furnished with a Roman Catholic version, accompanied with learned notes, which are understood to be the authorized commentary of the Church upon the sacred text. It was in consequence of the translation of the Scriptures into English from the original Hebrew and Greek, that the Roman Catholic version from the Latin Vulgate was brought out.

When the Protestant Reformation had become firmly established, under the reign of Elizabeth, the learned Romanist doctors who had fled from what they considered the unjust persecutions of the Protestant Queen of England, established a college at Rheims in France,

and in 1582 issued a translation of the New Testament, with notes: this is called "The Rhemish Testament." This college was subsequently removed to Douay, in the Netherlands, where the Old Testament was also translated and published, with notes, in 1609. What is called the Douay Bible is composed of these translations, and the notes which originally accompanied them, or so many of these notes as it may be thought expedient, under the circumstances, to publish.

The Roman Catholic theory is, that the *sense* of holy Scripture is to be found in the authorized expositions of the Church. The written Bible is not the word of God, but the sense of the writing is the true revelation, and the Church communicates that sense to the faithful, guided by the light of her infallible traditions. The Church is the divinely-authorized teacher; she teaches through her lawfully constituted ministry; and her ministers bear her teachings to the people either *viva voce* or in written commentaries. What they teach by the word of mouth, is fugitive, and not always capable of review, but is presumed to be in accordance with the will of the Church. What they write and the Church approves, has the sanction of her infallible authority. As it is important for the faithful to know what writings have the sanction of "Holy Mother," and what have not, she has constituted the "Holy Office of the Inquisition," to examine all the publications which are likely in any country to fall into Romanist hands. Those books which are forbidden are entered in the "Index Prohibitorius"—such as need correction, are corrected in the "Index Expurgatorius"—and such works of Papal doctors as have long passed without censure or correction are deemed orthodox. While some books are prohibited and others corrected by the Holy Office, others are explicitly sanctioned, and still others are passed in silence. The last class have a *quasi* sanction, but Romish controversialists either acknowledge or deny their authority just as they find occasion.

How far the notes of the Douay Bible have the sanction of the Roman Church, it would seem, is a disputed question, it probably having been considered a matter of policy to leave it open. It cannot, however, be complained of as a matter of injustice, if that Church should be held responsible for both the translation and notes, although they may never have been explicitly sanctioned by the learned inquisitors. It has never been the fault of the Romish Church to leave heretical books uncondemned. Nor is it to be supposed that so important a step as the translation of the Scriptures into English, accompanied by notes, which profess to be a collection of the traditionary interpretations of the Church, would be under-

taken at a Roman Catholic college, without sanction from head-quarters. This would be the reasoning of an outsider upon the subject, and the most natural conclusion is, that a Roman Catholic, who should be permitted by his priest to read the "Catholic Bible," would take the notes as the authorized interpretations of the Church —the true and infallible sense of holy Scripture. So far, then, as the notes attached to the said Catholic Bible shall be read by Catholics, they will be likely to be regarded as the voice of God, and, of course, will do much toward forming their religious belief and moulding their character.

Is there any reason why the persecuting notes of the Douay Bible should not be sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church? They are but the echo of the popes' bulls, and the utterance of principles upon which the Romish Church has ever acted. There would be some reason in the squeamishness of some of our liberal Catholics, in relation to these notes, if the Roman Catholic Church had never sanctioned anything of the kind in her teachings or her examples, but, as the matter stands, it is mere nonsense to question their authority. The whole spirit, tone, and language of the Rhemish notes are in exact conformity with the spirit and practice of Romanism—the worst sentiments they contain have exact parallels in the decrees of the popes.

We next come to the history, given by our author, of the publication of the Douay Bible in Ireland, in 1813 and 1818. In tracing this history, we see fully carried out that principle of the Jesuits, that "to speak with equivocation is not always a lie, therefore not intrinsically bad."

Up to the year 1788, there had been six different editions of the Rhemish Testament printed and circulated. During this year an edition was published in Liverpool, which, it seems most probable, was circulated in Ireland. In or before the year 1810, steps were taken to bring out an edition of the Douay Bible in Ireland. In 1813 this project was under way. The work was issued in numbers, under the sanction of the high functionaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and was circulated not by open sale, through the trade, but was delivered to subscribers by agents trained for the purpose. The advertisement upon the cover is as follows:

"The Holy Catholic New Testament—patronized by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Lord Primate of all Ireland, and Archbishop of Armagh; His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Coadjutor, Archbishop of Dublin, and President of the Royal Catholic College of St. Patrick's, Maynooth; the Right Rev. Dr. Maylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork; the Right Rev. Dr. Power, Roman

Catholic Bishop of Waterford; the Right Rev. Dr. Ryan, Roman Catholic Coadjutor, Bishop of Ferns; the Right Rev. Dr. Delany, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighton; the Right Rev. Dr. O'Reily, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore; the Right Rev. Dr. Mansfield, V. C. of Ossary; the Most Rev. Dr. Bodkin, Roman Catholic Warden of Galway; the Rev. Dr. John Murphy, Archdeacon of Cork; the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, Dean of Cork; and near three hundred Roman Catholic clergymen in different parts of Ireland.

"*Now publishing in numbers and parts*, by J. A. M'Namara, Cork, a new, superb, and elegant edition of THE CATHOLIC BIBLE; containing the whole of the books in the sacred Scriptures; explained or illustrated with valuable notes or annotations, according to the interpretation of the Catholic Church, which is our infallible and unerring guide in reading the Holy Scriptures, and leading us unto salvation. Translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions in divers languages. These genuine translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English language were first finished and published by the English Catholic College at Rheims, A. D. 1582, and the English Catholic College at Douay, A. D. 1609."

After a description of the plan of the work we have the following:

"By permission of His Grace, Dr. T. Troy, Catholic Lord Primate of Ireland, this work is carefully revising by the Rev. P. A. Walsh, Denmark-street, Dublin. Dublin: printed for the proprietor, by James Cumming & Co., at the Hibernian Press Office, No. 1 Temple Lane, 1813."

Next follows the "prospectus" and "address," after which it is added that, "Proper people will be employed in each town throughout Ireland to leave the numbers and parts, as soon as published, at the respective house of each subscriber."

Three thousand copies of the work were in process of being printed, and were all delivered to subscribers in numbers, except five hundred copies, which Mr. Cumming, the printer, retained as security for his pay for bringing the work through the press. In the latter part of the year 1814, M'Namara failed in business—the work being completed to the book of Romans—and Cumming was left with nothing to rely upon, to remunerate him for his labour, but the five hundred copies of the work which were in his hands. Cumming being a Protestant, it was necessary for him to procure the use of the name of a Catholic bookseller to give the book currency with Catholics, and he accordingly made an arrangement with a Mr. Coyne to become sponsor for the work: it was accordingly published in his name. Mr. Cumming, instead of confining the circulation to subscribers, through the agency of "proper people," put the work into the market in Dublin and London. By this means it fell into the hands of Protestants, and became matter of public animadversion, in connexion with the question of Roman Catholic emancipation, which was being agitated by O'Connell and others. The character of the notes was brought out in a review by the

Courier, in October, 1817. The following extracts will show the point and spirit of this review:

"Thus though the Roman Catholic Church commands her members to avoid all communication *in spirituals* with Protestants, as a great and *damnable sin;* yet, where the community is infected with Protestantism, she *permits* them to converse with their Protestant fellow-subjects in worldly affairs, *unless they shall be by name declared to be heretics;* but even such conversation must be avoided as much as possible, being contagious and noisome to good Roman Catholics, and is permitted by their Church, only because *necessity forces it!* Such is the tolerant spirit of that Church, whose members now clamour for admission to the political power of the state, on the alleged ground of the duty of toleration!

"But how long would Dr. Troy, and his brethren the Romish priests, consider even such toleration justified by *necessity?* We are informed in the following annotations: 'The *good* (i. e. the Roman Catholics) must tolerate the *evil* (i. e. the Protestants, &c.) when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger or disturbance of the whole Church, and commit the matter to God's judgment in the latter day; *otherwise*, where evil men, be they *heretics or other malefactors*, may be punished and suppressed, without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and *ought*, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be *chastised* or EXECUTED,' (Matt. xiii, 29); and again, 'All heretics,' though in the beginning they may appear 'to have some show of truth,' yet in due time their *deceits and falsehoods* shall be known by all wise men, though for troubling the state of such commonwealths where unluckily they have been received, they cannot be *so suddenly* EXTIRPATED, (2 Tim. iii, 9.) So SUDDENLY EXTIRPATED!

"In another part of this newly published and sanctioned Roman Catholic Bible, the words of Hierom are perverted, in order to convince the Romanists that their 'zeal ought to be so great towards' *all Protestants* and 'their doctrines, that they should give them the anathema, though they were never so dear to them,' and '*not spare even their own parents*,' (Gal. i, 8.) And at the same time, the Roman Catholics are informed that 'the Church and holy Councils use the word anathema for a *curse* against *heretics*,' &c.; and, that to say, 'Be he anathema,' means, 'beware you accompany not with him—accursed be he, *away with him!*' Such are the exhortations now addressed to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and addressed to them in their Bible, as the authorized exposition of the word of God."

Thus much from the *Courier*. The *British Critic* also noticed the persecuting notes of this "Catholic Bible" in a similar strain. The articles in the Courier and the Critic spread alarm through the ranks of the Roman Catholic legions in England and Ireland. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, hastened to make a disclaimer, in which he declares himself entirely innocent of the publication, which he describes as "a new edition of the Rhemish Testament, with annotations, published by Coyne, Dublin; and Keating & Co., London, 1816, said to be revised by me."

Now let it be observed that the writers in the Courier and the Critic had only seen copies of that part of the edition of the Douay Bible which Mr. Cumming had put into the market, and in his advertisement he does not give the whole catalogue of authorities published upon the cover by M'Namara, but simply says:

"Approved by the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin." Of course the reviewers paid their special respects to Dr. Troy, and Dr. Troy comes forward and denies all connexion with this new edition of the Rhemish Testament—published by Coyne—1816. The *Courier* and the *Critic* had said nothing about M'Namara's edition dated 1813, sanctioned by a host of dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and delivered to subscribers by "proper people," and Dr. Troy felt himself at liberty to answer according to the information of his assailants. He had not sanctioned—he had not even seen this "new edition of the Rhemish Testament," and to act out the farce he proceeds to say: "But having read, and now for the first time considered these notes, I not only do not sanction them, but solemnly declare that I reject them generally, as harsh and irritating in expression, some of them as false and absurd in reasoning, and many of them as uncharitable in sentiment. They further appear to countenance opinions and doctrines which, in common with the other Roman Catholics of the empire, I have solemnly disclaimed upon oath."

Monstrous notes these, which Dr. Troy had never sanctioned nor ever seen, until they were assailed by Protestant editors; but whether they differ in a single iota from those which he had seen and sanctioned in the edition published, in part, by M'Namara, and dated 1813, the most reverend archbishop does not say.

Dr. Troy had an interview with Coyne, and informed him that the publication had done great mischief. "Finding its way into England," said he, "it has armed our enemies against us, and this at a time when we were seeking emancipation." Upon this the following dialogue ensued: Coyne. "Did not your grace approve and sanction the publication of a Bible by a Mr. M'Namara, of Cork?" Dr. Troy. "I did." Coyne. "Did not your grace depute the Rev. P. A. Walsh, of Denmark-street Chapel, to revise, correct, and approve for publication, in your grace's name, the said Bible of M'Namara?" Dr. Troy. "I did." Coyne. "Then, my lord, that is the Bible now in your hands." Dr. Troy. "I never authorized the Rev. Mr. Walsh to approve a Bible with the Rhemish notes."

This conversation is detailed in a letter to Dr. Troy, which Coyne published for his own vindication. The interview referred to took place on the 13th of October, 1817. Dr. Troy's disclaimer is dated the 24th of the same month, and Coyne's letter the 26th, and Coyne says his letter was called forth by Dr. Troy's disclaimer. Coyne also asserts in his letter, that after the interview on the 13th of October, he had sent to Dr. Troy "the numbers of this said Rhemish Testament," on the covers of which are printed these

words: "Now publishing, by M'Namara, the Catholic Bible. To render it the more complete, the elegant, copious, and instructive notes or annotations of the Rhemish Testament will be inserted. By permission of His Grace, Dr. Troy, Catholic Lord Primate of Ireland, this work is carefully revising by the Rev. P. A. Walsh, Denmark-street, Dublin. Printing by Cumming." Accompanying the "numbers of the Rhemish Testament" sent to Dr. Troy, by Coyne, was a letter calling the special attention of his grace to the advertisement, which, "from motives of delicacy" he thinks it best to "suppress."

Now here is a curious state of facts. Dr. Troy—according to his own acknowledgment to Coyne—stands sponsor for M'Namara's edition of the Douay Bible, and is one of the subscribers; the publication proceeds to the book of Romans, and his grace never finds out that the Rev. P. A. Walsh, whom he had employed to prepare it for the press, had been guilty of publishing the exceptionable notes in question, on his authority, until the naughty Protestant scribblers aroused him from his strange ignorance of a fact of so much importance to him personally, and to the Church under his pastoral oversight. The numbers had been delivered at his palace by some one of the "proper people," employed as distributers, at intervals, for the space of some four years, and his name paraded in capitals on the cover of each number, as sanctioning and patronizing the work; his friend Coyne sends him "the numbers of the said Rhemish Testament," with the endorsement of "Dr. Troy, the Catholic Lord Primate of Ireland," upon the covers, and a letter calling his special attention to the contents of these covers; and a few days afterward his grace ignores the whole matter of M'Namara's publication, with his own endorsement, solemnly declaring that he had just then, "for the first time, read and considered these notes." Now, if any one in his senses can persuade himself that "His Grace, Dr. Troy, Catholic Lord Primate of Ireland," honestly tells the truth in this matter, we must say that we sincerely pity his simplicity.

But who could suppose that, at the very moment when these transactions were passing, Dr. Troy was lending his authority to the publication of a new edition of the same Bible, notes and all, at Cork, by the famous bankrupt, M'Namara. Strange as it may seem, this was the fact. This fact is proved by new advertisements, precisely like the one already given, with the exception of such alterations as changes in the position of some of the eminent indorsers required, with a few verbal changes wholly unimportant. There is an addition to the form of the first advertisement which is

especially noticeable: "By permission of His Grace, Dr. Troy, Catholic Lord Primate of Ireland, this work is carefully revising by Rev. P. A. Walsh, Denmark-street, Dublin." In his disclaimer Dr. Troy says: "I not only do not sanction them"—the Rhemish notes—"but solemnly declare that I utterly reject them, generally as harsh and irritating in expression, some of them as false and absurd in reasoning, and many of them as uncharitable in sentiment:" and he, together with eleven dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, patronize the new edition of these very notes—published at Cork—as being "according to the interpretation of the Catholic Church, which is our infallible and unerring guide in reading the Holy Scriptures, and leading us unto salvation." This disclaimer, however, was for the public; the notes were for "the faithful."

The next character who figures in this grand farce is the celebrated Daniel O'Connell. The Dublin Evening Post of Dec. 6, 1817, gives the following notice of the proceedings of the "Catholic Board:" "Mr. O'Connell moved for a committee to disclaim the Rhemish notes. * * * They should not let the present opportunity pass of recording their abhorrence of the bigoted and intolerant doctrines promulgated in that work. 'There was not a moment to be lost.' He would not remain a Catholic an hour longer, if he thought it *essential* to the Catholic faith to believe that it was lawful to murder Protestants, or that faith might be innocently broken with heretics. Yet such were the doctrines to be deduced from the notes to the Rhemish Testament." The movement met with opposition in the "Catholic Board," and, after a variety of manœuvrings, was suffered to die. O'Connell could not have been ignorant of the official patronage which was at that moment being extended to "the bigoted and intolerant doctrines" of the said notes; and whether or not he was serious in his efforts to procure their condemnation by the "Catholic Board," the bishops found means to stave off the action sought to be obtained. They preferred to handle the subject themselves rather than to trust it with the impetuous O'Connell, whose language upon the subject had not been characterized by that Jesuitical duplicity and reserve in which they were so eminently skilled, and which better befitted the occasion.

The Irish edition of the Douay Bible assumed so much importance that the House of Commons appointed a committee to examine the subject, and, if possible, ascertain whether the Rhemish notes had been officially patronized. This committee was appointed in 1825, and Rev. Dr. Murray, Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin, appeared before them and submitted to an examination. The reader will

observe that the committee knew nothing of the editions of M'Namara's Bible, published in the years 1813 and 1818, with the sanction of all the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and that Dr. Murray's answers only refer to five hundred copies of the work published by Cumming in 1816. Hence the learned coadjutor follows the example of his primate in his disclaimer, and answers according to the information of his interrogators. We here give so much of the examination as is necessary to our purpose:

"'Are you aware that an edition of the Testament with notes was published in Dublin in about 1816, by Dr. Troy?' 'I am. That edition was published under a misconception. Dr. Troy had given his sanction to an edition of the Bible, supposing it to be the same that he had before sanctioned; but as soon as he found his mistake he withdrew his approbation, and I do not find that the edition is in use among Roman Catholics.'

"'Were not those notes the usual notes in use among Roman Catholics? Were they not extracted literally from those of the Douay version?' [Mark the answer.] 'They were not used in Ireland before; for there had not been in that country any previous edition of them.'"

The learned coadjutor dodges the point as to the identity of the notes, and falsifies the fact, as to the use of the Rhemish Testament, and a previous edition. The Rhemish Testament had long been in use, in England and Ireland, among Catholics, and as Dr. Murray speaks now of Cummings's edition of five hundred copies, he knew very well that M'Namara's edition had been circulated and "used in Ireland before," and that it was a "previous edition."

"'Do you believe the edition of the Scriptures, with those objectionable notes, is at the present moment circulated under the authority of any one individual of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland?' 'My belief is, that it is not; I do not know of a single instance of it, nor did I ever happen to meet with a copy of it in circulation.'"

Now there is not only evasion, but downright falsehood in these answers. The distinguished gentleman speaks, indeed, of "an edition of the Testament, with notes, published in Dublin in about 1816," and of "*the edition* of the Scriptures with these objectionable notes;" and of this "edition," he says, it had been published under Dr. Troy's authority by "mistake," and that he does not find it "in use among Roman Catholics," and his "belief is, that it is not, at the present moment, circulated under the authority of any one of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland." At the same time, another "edition of the Scriptures with these objectionable notes" was being circulated among the Roman Catholics of Ireland, "under the authority" of twelve archbishops and bishops, and Drs. Troy and Murray were among them! And over and above all this, the prospectus of M'Namara's edition of 1818 boasts of the patronage

of "three hundred Roman Catholic clergymen in different parts of Ireland."

Now what is to be thought of reverend bishops, archbishops, and lord primates, who will practise such monstrous duplicity merely to serve a turn? They were, indeed, struggling for freedom from the disabilities which had been imposed upon them by the English Protestant government, and of this no one ought to complain; but why do they practise lying and fraud in order to accomplish their object? In this, however, they only carry out the principles of their great authority, Suarez. He says:

"To speak with equivocation is not always a lie, therefore not intrinsically bad; therefore neither is to confirm it with an oath perjury, or intrinsically bad; and the reason is, because a lie is a thing contrary to the mind of him who speaks, because he is bound to use words conformable to his own intention, and is not always bound to conform them to the intention of his hearers. But he who uses equivocal words in a sense conformable to his own intention, cannot be said to speak contrary to his intention; therefore, he neither lies, nor puts forth a lie; therefore to speak thus is not intrinsically evil; for it is only on account of its being a lie that it could be evil. Whence we conclude, that to confirm such a form of speaking by an oath is not perjury, because by such an oath God is not called as a witness to a lie; for that is not a lie, and there can be no perjury without the charge of a lie. We speak strictly and properly of perjury. Whence we conclude that such an oath is not intrinsically bad, because it has truth, and can easily have the other concomitants of an oath, as is evident."—*Suarez, lib. iii, de jur. præcept. et peccat. ei contrar., ch. 9, assert. 1, no. 2, p.* 475.

Now Drs. Troy and Murray being only "bound to use words conformable to their own intention," and not "bound to conform them to the intention of their hearers," what they said was not "a lie" nor "intrinsically bad." According to the rules of law, religion, and common sense, these learned doctors did perpetrate gross falsehoods, and were fearfully wicked in the whole transaction; but they practised upon another code of morals.

The next scene of the drama is laid in the city of Glasgow. The Rev. R. J. M'Ghee had possessed himself of the numbers of the Douay Bible printed in Ireland between 1813 and 1818, and in the advertisements upon the covers he found the clearest evidence of the complicity of Drs. Troy and Murray in the publication of the notes which they had so explicitly repudiated. The disclaimers of these gentlemen had produced their desired effect. The House of Commons had been completely gulled, and the British nation had rested upon the truth of the denials of Drs. Troy and Murray for the space of eleven years.

At a meeting of the *Protestant Association* in Glasgow, on the 26th of January, 1836, Mr. M'Ghee brought forth his documents, and produced so clear a conviction of the grossest deception and

falsehood on the part of the Roman Catholic officials, that the association took decided action upon the subject. A series of resolutions was passed which embodied the principal facts, and constituted an overwhelming argument against Romanism in Ireland. Dr. Troy had gone to his account, and Dr. Murray had succeeded him in the office of Archbishop of Dublin. When the proceedings of the Protestant Association met the public eye, Dr. Murray's friends became alarmed. Dr. Murdock, Archbishop of Glasgow, wrote to Dr. Murray, "expressing a wish to know the history of the insertion of the obnoxious notes into the edition of the Bible published in 1818 at Cork by Mr. M'Namara." To this inquiry his grace replies: "I beg to assure you, in reply, that I am wholly unacquainted with the history to which you allude. I had no connexion whatever with that edition, and I never once saw it until your letter induced me to send in search of a copy of it, which, after some difficulty, I procured."

Dr. Murray's letter was published in the *Glasgow Argus*, and Mr. M'Ghee replied in a telling review of all the facts, which go to show the moral impossibility of the truth of Dr. Murray's professions of ignorance of the said edition of the Douay Bible. This Bible was circulated everywhere throughout Ireland, and the names of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland; the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland; and the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin, stand at the head of a list of three hundred and sixty subscribers for the city of Dublin alone.

There had been a great excitement in relation to the publication of the Rhemish notes in 1817. Dr. Troy had publicly abjured them, and denied any connexion with their publication. Dr. Murray had confirmed Dr. Troy's statements before the committee of the House of Commons in 1825. And yet these notes came out, with a list of subscribers, among whom were these very men, Drs. Troy and Murray, with a profession of enjoying the official patronage of these learned archbishops, and these argus-eyed gentlemen knew nothing of the matter! Is it not really marvellous how easy it was for Roman Catholic archbishops to find out some things and to be in the most profound ignorance of others equally accessible, and of far greater importance to them and their Church. Here is a Roman Catholic publisher circulating "harsh," "false," "absurd," and "uncharitable" notes, professedly in the name and under the sanction of the chief shepherds of the flock, and yet they have no means of finding out the facts. The scandalous matter comes into their palaces and is circulated largely in their own immediate

neighbourhood—in connexion with "The Catholic Bible," and that, too, being "the most superb and elegant edition of the Catholic Bible ever published in the English language"—and yet they have no eyes to see the mischief, nor have they a friend to give them the information, during the lapse of *twenty-three years!* In relation to the publication of the Rhemish notes, a strange ignorance pervades the mind of the learned archbishop, but how soon he becomes acquainted with the proceedings of the Protestant Association in Glasgow! The meeting of that association took place on the 26th of January, 1836, and Dr. Murray had knowledge of the matter of its proceedings sufficiently early to write his explanations to Dr. Murdock on the 6th of February following. Men who keep up a perfect system of espionage over the press, can stand in a false and an injurious position for a score of years, in their own Bible, and that Bible lying upon their shelves—and circulated among their people—and yet they know nothing of the matter. Those who can persuade themselves to believe all this may well believe that St. George sailed across the British Channel on his cloak, and took along with him a dozen lusty monks for ballast.

This whole affair was shown up in Exeter Hall, in London, in July, 1836, and Mr. O'Connell was invited to attend the meeting, but declined. He, however, published a long letter to the Rev. Mr. Page, Secretary to the Protestant Association, in which he employs all the arts of sophistry which he could command to mystify the subject, and deals out unmeasured abuse to Mr. M'Ghee. The reverend gentleman answers the charges and meets the evasions of the great Irish agitator seriatim, and most effectually uses him up. To all this Mr. O'Connell makes no reply.

The last chapter in this curious piece of history is a discussion of the Rhemish notes in the Dublin Review, and the Dublin and London Orthodox Journal—both Roman Catholic organs. In an article in the Review, supposed to have been written by O'Connell, these notes are treated in much the same style as that in which they had been treated on a former occasion by Drs. Troy and Murray. Here is the story, as told for effect, and, of course, it is the most favourable version that can be given of these Rhemish notes, in a controversy with Protestants. The reviewer proceeds:

"An English version of the New Testament, containing some of the notes in question, was published at Rheims, in the year 1582, through the agency chiefly of Drs. Allen, Bristow, Sanders, and Reynolds, *all distinguished for animosity* to Elizabeth. The residents of the Rhemish college were recalled by the magistrates to Douay in the year 1593, and in 1609-10 appeared there, in two volumes 4to, an English translation of the Old Testament, in which also several notes were inserted, *breathing the same spirit of hatred* to the religion and government then established in England.

"The notes of the New Testament were *undoubtedly intended to prepare the public mind* for the invasion meditated by Philip II., when he projected the scheme of the Armada. They were in *unison* with the celebrated sentence and declaration of Pope Sixtus Quintus, which designated Elizabeth as an illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII.; as a usurper and unjust ruler, who ought to be deposed; and as a heretic and schismatic, whom it was not only lawful, but commendable, to destroy. This document was circulated in England, *accompanied by an admonition from Cardinal Allen to the same effect*, addressed to the nobility and gentry. It is *perfectly clear*, therefore, that the notes had their origin in the political hatreds of those unhappy times, of which religion was made the degraded instrument of both sides. If we are to blush for the FRENZY OF PRIESTS, who contaminated the word of God by their ATROCIOUS *interpretations*, must not the Protestants of our day blush also for the infamous laws which punished with torture and with death men whose only guilt, *originally*, was, that, they pursued the ancient religion of their country? Terrible *crimes* were perpetrated, *unchristian doctrines were promulgated*, by both the contending parties. This is A FACT WHICH ADMITS OF NO DISPUTE."

This is precisely, and in terms, the explanation given of the origin of the Rhemish notes by Bishop—now Archbishop—Hughes before the Common Council of the city of New-York, when the school question was before that body in 1841. The history of that debate is in perfect accordance with that which we have been reviewing. When Bishop Hughes made his earliest efforts to procure an appropriation of the public money for his sectarian schools, the New-York Preachers' Meeting appointed Dr. Bond, Dr. Bangs, and the writer, to confront his grace before the Common Council—the body to whom he made his application. Dr. Bond drew up a respectful but pointed address to that body, which the other members of the committee joined him in signing, remonstrating against the measure, and asking for a hearing. The hearing was granted, and the parties were fairly pitted for the combat. The address made allusion to the exclusive and persecuting character of the Roman Catholic Church; the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the murders of St. Bartholomew's; and urged that Roman Catholics were the last to be allowed an appropriation from the state funds for the support of their schools; which was but another form of supporting their religion. On the second evening Dr. Bond produced a copy of the Rhemish Testament, and commenced reading some of its persecuting notes. The bishop was not to be caught napping. He lifted up his cloak, which was folded on his seat, and took from under it a copy of the same edition of the work, and requested Dr. Bond to give the page. The request was complied with, and the bishop followed Dr. Bond to see if he read correctly.

When Bishop Hughes proceeded to reply, he called the attention of the board and the spectators to the fact, that the book out of which Dr. Bond had read to them was printed by Lord and

Leavitt, of New-York, a Protestant house, and, of course, was not an authorized publication. After thus affecting to bring into question the authority of the publication, he proceeded to an explanation of the manner in which the Rhemish notes came into being. His explanation was copied from the Dublin Review, pretty much verbatim. We particularly recollect the impressions made upon our mind by the statement, that "the notes of the New Testament were undoubtedly intended to prepare the public mind for the invasion [of England] meditated by Philip II., when he projected the scheme of the Armada." The whole secret was here let out. These notes on the New Testament were designed to prepare the Catholics in England to cut the throats of their Protestant fellow-subjects, so soon as the opportunity should occur by the landing of the Spanish troops! According to the Dublin Review and Bishop Hughes, the plan was to make the New Testament contribute to the destruction and extermination of the Protestants of the British Isles by such a construction of its doctrines as would make rebellion and murder a religious duty! Is this the best account which can be given of the labours of a class of pious confessors, who had been banished from their homes for conscience' sake, and were almost suffering daily martyrdom for the love of Christ and the sake of his Gospel!

The construction given of these celebrated notes by the Dublin reviewer, and also by Drs. Troy and Murray, is most severely arraigned by the London and Dublin Orthodox Journal. The Journal copies the paragraphs above quoted from the Review, and proceeds to controvert the positions there taken, so far as they reflect upon the authors of the notes, or call in question their orthodoxy. The sturdy Romanist of the Journal faces the music without fear or favour, and justifies the authors of the "atrocious notes," and the notes themselves. There is honesty in this, and that quality in a Roman Catholic is always worthy of note. We should like to give our readers the whole article, but our limits will only admit of a few lines which present the point of the argument:

"But who are the '*frenzied priests*,' and what are the '*atrocious* interpretations' by which the word of God has been thus contaminated? As to the latter, they were designated by the modern publisher, and truly so, too, 'the *eloquent*, *copious*, and *instructive* notes or annotations;' they have been the text-book of Catholics for two centuries and a half; and is it to be for one moment supposed that this learned and elaborate work would have been allowed to circulate, without condemnation by the proper authorities, if the expositions of the sacred and mysterious word had been other than SOUND and ORTHODOX, and neither '*atrocious*' nor '*damnable*,' as they are termed in another place in this Review."

Here is a bold, unvarnished defence of the 'atrocious' notes—just such a defence as we should be likely to have from Brownson and M'Master, should they speak upon the subject. The miserable boggling of O'Connell and Bishop Hughes would not suit them. They would meet the question boldly. Their language to the timid trucklers of these times would be: "Gentlemen, stand up to the mark! no dodging now! It is no time to repudiate a work which 'has been the text-book of Catholics for two centuries and a half.' It is cowardly now to condemn those glorious old refugees who endured so much for the truth, and fought the great battles of the sixteenth century. Let justice be done, though the heavens fall."

What now are the conclusions to which we are brought from the history which we have here sketched? It is evident beyond a doubt, that the Douay Bible was published in Ireland, with the original notes, under the sanction and patronage of the primates, archbishops, bishops, and priests of the Roman Catholic Church. When it is considered that this fact was paraded upon the cover of every number of the work, and that the names of these gentlemen stand upon the list of subscribers, with their appropriate titles, in one edition of three thousand copies in 1813, and another of about the same number in 1818, and that the latter edition was being delivered to subscribers at the time of the excitement upon the subject occasioned by the publications of the Courier and the British Critic, and Dr. Troy's disclaimer; that so many copies of these advertisements could be afloat among the Irish Catholics, both clergy and laity, for so many years, and they be false in the most important part of their showing, and the scandalous and injurious falsehood concerning the high functionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and yet the falsehood remain undiscovered by those interested, *until it was made known by Protestants*, is something that the utmost stretch of human credulity can scarcely credit.

If, then, it was a fact, that the said Bible, with its notes, was published under the sanction of the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the solemn public denial of the fact on the part of Drs. Troy and Murray, and the total silence of all the other ecclesiastics of the Church, both high and low, knowing, as they all did, that these distinguished archbishops had designed to deceive that portion of the public not attached to the Roman Catholic Church, makes them all guilty parties to the wicked transaction, and shows an awful state of depravity among Irish Roman Catholics.

Again: it is but too evident that the whole business of repudiating the notes of the Douay Bible, on the part of Drs. Troy and Murray,

Daniel O'Connell, and the Dublin Review, was a mere matter of *policy*, to turn away the odium of those flagitious notes from the Roman Catholic Church, and to secure the act of Roman Catholic emancipation. If this were not the case, why were these "atrocious" notes not suppressed when the first Irish edition of the Bible was issued, under authority, and revised by an appointee of the Archbishop of Dublin? and when they made their appearance, why were they not promptly criticised and condemned? Why was O'Connell so late in manifesting his horror of these notes? Why did no pious Roman Catholic in Ireland or England see the wickedness of these notes until Protestant editors dragged them out into the light, and it was obvious that they were about to prejudice the cause of Catholic emancipation? We could wish there was some evidence of the sincerity of the apparently frank and explicit disapproval of the language and sentiments of the said notes made by the archbishops and by the great self-styled Irish patriot—or "Ireland's paid friend."

Finally, after all, it is obvious that the said notes in the Douay Bible are regarded as "orthodox," and are supported by the leading influences of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and probably elsewhere.

The worst of the original notes of the Rhemish New Testament, and the Douay Old Testament, have been published in numerous editions, and it is doubtful whether they ever have been omitted except in editions which were flung into the market, and were liable to fall into the hands of Protestants. The character of the notes in question was vindicated in the London and Dublin Orthodox Journal, and it is there asserted that "they have been the textbook of Catholics for two centuries and a half," and that they "have been allowed to circulate without condemnation by the proper authorities." This being the case, Roman Catholics in all countries are responsible for them. The Douay Bible, with its original notes, is an authorized publication of the Roman Catholic Church. And why should it not be? It breathes the spirit and speaks the language of that Church. The policy supported in the notes has been the policy of Romanism from its beginning. It has always invested the priesthood with the civil power to enforce conformity and submission to their ghostly rule, when it could do so. It has always *persecuted, cursed,* and *murdered* heretics when it has had the power. It has always *borne with heretics*, as a mere matter of necessity, when it could not *destroy* them "without disturbance and hazard of the good," and under no other circumstances. And why should the notes in this Bible, which teach these things, be repudiated by Romanists in any country or under any circumstances?

Such is Roman Catholicism here, in free America. It tolerates Protestantism simply because it *must*, anxiously waiting for the time when, by fire and sword, it can convert the weak republican Protestants of this land, and save them from perdition, and put obstinate heretics along with "other malefactors," where they will do no further harm to "the faithful."

ART. III.—COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE AND FRENCH ULTRAMONTANISM.

Œuvres complètes du Comte Joseph de Maistre, 1 vol. 8vo. Paris: Migne.

UNDER the piquant title, "Prophets of the Past," a young French writer published, a few years ago, several sketches which form, taken together, a gallery of portraits of no slight interest. These sketches, however, all belonged to the same school; and there was about them a family likeness, only slightly modified at intervals by a few peculiar idiosyncracies. M. Jules Barbier d'Aurevilly, introducing us to the "Prophets of the Past," reminded us of Don Ruy Gomez, in Victor Hugo's play, describing to the King of Spain, with true ancestral pride, all the worthies of the Silva family. The sole difference is this: the Spanish hidalgo, stopping merely at the most illustrious of his race, could say with a feeling of satisfaction, "*J'en passe, et des meilleurs*;" our friend, D'Aurevilly, on the contrary, has given us all the "*meilleurs*," the best; and somewhat thin as is his gallery of ultramontanist lions, he would certainly have deteriorated from its worth had he attempted to put in, by way of making it complete, the small fry of *littérateurs* and publicists, such as the Deuillots, the Nicoles, and the Crétineau-Jolys of modern times, who have attempted to make us believe, that were it not for the Pope, the whole social edifice must fall to the ground.

Our purpose, on the present occasion, is to select from among the "Prophets of the Past" one portrait for close inspection, and we shall endeavour, while devoting a few pages to an account of the life and writings of Count Joseph de Maistre, to explain as accurately as we can, the nature of the reactionary movement against the principles of the French Revolution which began fifty years ago, and which, after the lapse of half a century, has been bursting forth once more with fresh energy, though under the sanction of far inferior talent.

The career of Joseph de Maistre is already familiar to most En-

glish readers. He was born at Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, in 1753, and belonged to that aristocracy which, by its excesses, its frivolities, its gross profligacy, had been, even previous to the death of Louis XIV., preparing the elements of that fearful storm which ultimately swept away at one stroke all the landmarks of society: for it is a singular thing, that in speaking of De Maistre we cannot help identifying him with France. Exemplary in the performance of all his duties, distinguished for his uprightness, his sense of honour, his disinterestedness under the most trying circumstances, he had, no doubt, few features in common with the degraded *noblesse*, who had learned morality in the pastimes of the *œil de bœuf*, and high principle at the feet of Madame Du Barry; and yet, M. de Maistre was essentially French; French by that mixture of *humeur Gauloise*, so happily blended together with accurate learning, and an elegance which always springs from the heart; French, by the very garb under which he clothed his thoughts; French, by the extreme versatility of his talent, and a certain "*quantum suff.*" of what our Gallican friends call *fatuité*, but which, when carried to extremes, we properly call impertinence; we may almost say that he was French in spite of himself. As a critic very aptly remarks, despite of his affected contempt for the Parisian *qu'en-dira-t-on*, he always felt anxious for the opinion they entertained about him; he would put in a work some passage carefully polished up, with a view to the Aristarchi of the *Journal de l'Empire;* or on another occasion, hesitating as to the propriety of allowing some startling assertion or seeming paradox, he would chuckle and say, "Never mind! let us leave them that bone to pick!"

Count de Maistre received a very good education at the University of Turin; he entered the magistracy, as it seems, a little against his own inclination, and was occupying a post of distinction when the Revolution broke out. In the "age of print," where was the young man who, even under the ermine of the law, amid red tape, precedents, and sittings in banco, had not found time to fire off his pamphlet, nay, his battery of pamphlets, against shams of every sort? In setting up as a reformer of abuses and an avenger of wrongs, the young barrister would only have been imitating what was everywhere going on around him; but we must confess that the extraordinary scenes he was called upon to witness, the unceremonious manner in which French republicans understood and applied their favourite doctrine, "the rights of man," were quite sufficient to startle any person possessing a tolerable perception of the grand principles of justice. An army had invaded Savoy, the republic of the Allobroges was constituted, and

all the inhabitants were obliged to present themselves at the municipality of their various residences to take an oath to the new order of things. This M. de Maistre never would do, and when the commissaries of the new government demanded of him a voluntary contribution toward the defraying of the war expenses, he unhesitatingly said, "I will not give money for slaying my brothers who serve the King of Sardinia." This scene took place at Chambéry. Madame de Maistre (the count was married, since 1786, to Mademoiselle de Morand) had travelled from Aoste, in order to share the dangers of her husband, and she was in such a condition that the slightest excitement might bring about the most dangerous results. Under these circumstances, let our readers imagine what must have been a domiciliary visit, that is to say, the presence of a band of soldiers invading the house, making the walls ring again with curses, threats, and choice sentences from the vocabulary of sans-culottism. Terror, before which Madame de Maistre had never yielded, at last overcame her when she saw her husband at the mercy of fifteen ruffians, whom his uncompromising firmness only stirred up to the paroxysm of rage; alarm brought on the pains of travail, and her youngest daughter, Constance, was thus ushered into the world amid the din of civil war and the strains of La Marseillaise. Count de Maistre saw that resistance would be in vain; he provided accordingly, as best he could, for the safety of his family, abandoned his estates, and repaired to Lausanne, where a mission from the King of Sardinia soon gave him an official position and a responsible situation. He had to solicit the protection of the Swiss Cantons on behalf of the unfortunate emigrants who, driven from Savoy by the violence of the revolutionary movement, wished either to stay in Switzerland, or merely to pass on for the purpose of enlisting in the royal army in Piedmont.

The youngest child of the Countess de Maistre not being strong enough to bear the fatigue of a tedious journey, was left behind under the care of her grandmother; the other members of the family joined the count at Lausanne, and they were all once more safe, but reduced to absolute want. Amid all the energy and enthusiasm of the French republicans, there was a sad deficiency of cash in those days; the road to glory was trodden by shoeless vagabonds; and few in number were the "regulation-jackets" which could muster together on a review or an inspection. But the "sovereign people" were by no means contented enough to thrust patient hands into empty pockets, while broad acres of pasture-land, ripe corn-fields, woods, and meadows were bringing in to monsieur le comte or madame la marquise comfortable incomes out of which they could

"eat, drink, and be merry." The denomination "*biens nationaux*," "national property," was coined, accordingly, for all such estates, and they were summarily confiscated, to be sold on behalf of the aforesaid shoeless vagabonds. Thus it fared with the De Maistres; but it is a pleasant fact to be able to say, that, let corn-fields, woods, meadows, and acres of pasture-land go as and when God wills it, peace of mind is not necessarily included in the bargain. You may be obliged to do without a rent-roll; but you need never have to engrave a "hic jacet" on the monument of your defunct conscience. Count de Maistre bore up with great courage under the pressure of adversity. "My property is all sold," says he in one of his letters; "I have nothing more." In another: "All my estates are confiscated; but I do not sleep the less for that." The Lausanne residence is connected in the biography of our author with some of his best works: "Letters of a Savoyard Royalist;" "Address of the Emigrants to the National Convention;" "*Jean Claude Ttêu;*" and last, though not least, the "*Considérations sur la France.*" De Maistre, as a pamphlet writer, may be compared in some respects to Paul Louis Courier; he has the same point, the same *finesse*, the same elegance of style, and an apparent simplicity, which only sets off with greater effect the home-truths he addressed to his readers; but finished as these minor works decidedly were, true both as to sentiment and language, they were merely suggested by the events of the times, and, as such, were likely to lose most of their point as the course of things moved in a new direction. The "*Considérations*," on the contrary, will ever retain their interest, for they discuss principles; they belong to the philosophy of history. Whatever view we may take of the conclusions adopted by De Maistre, we cannot but admire both the extent of his learning and the depth of his thoughts; the work we are now noticing fully deserves to be placed by the student on the same shelf as Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History.

When alluding to the "*Considérations*," we are naturally reminded of two other works which appeared about the same time, and which were likewise written under the impression of the providential catastrophe which marked the exit of the last century. We allude to M. de Châteaubriand's "*Essai sur les Révolutions*," and to Madame de Staël's "*De l'Influence des Passions sur le Bonheur;*" but neither of these productions is written with that earnestness of purpose, that reference to religious principles, that logic, that dogmatism which so essentially and invariably stamps all M. de Maistre's works. When Madame de Staël sat down to describe how far passions are conducive to human happiness, she was still a

staunch admirer of Jean Jacques Rousseau, nor is it difficult to see in every page of her brilliant essay, that she had derived her notions of happiness and peace from the deists of the Encyclopedia. M. de Maistre, at least, discards these sophisms; he does not direct individuals and communities to seek a guarantee for repose and prosperity in their intercourse with a god whose *impersonality* is a sure proof that he cannot sympathize with us; *his* god is a reality, and the error into which he falls arises—a common feature in all reactionary movements—from the fear of allowing anything like vagueness to exist in the minds of men respecting their connexion with the Almighty. He is not satisfied by anything short of what is really tangible, visible, perceptible to the senses, thus forgetting the character of the true Mediator. Failing to understand that both divinity and humanity have met together only in the man Christ Jesus, he would fain make us believe that the Pope is "God made manifest in the flesh."

If we turn now to Châteaubriand's essay, we shall meet it with objections of another kind, though equally strong. It is a work that carries us far from Madame de Staël's noble enthusiasm and generous feelings. Written with great power, and displaying an amount of learning, a justness of views truly remarkable in so young a man, the "*Essai sur les Révolutions*" may be considered as a manifesto of religious and political scepticism. "It matters little," says the author, "who governs us."* And a little further on he exclaims, "The world is like a large forest where men lie in wait to rob one another . . . . The greatest misfortune for men is, to have laws and a government." Principles such as these were not calculated to form a very solid substratum to any plan of administration carried on in opposition to the French Revolution. The fact is that M. de Châteaubriand, in spite of what has been said to the contrary, was not a man of faith; as a writer he is brilliant, fascinating, instructive; and he describes the pomps of Catholicism with a fervour of imagination which gives almost a reality to the objects and the scenes he brings before us; but when we hear Romanists speaking of Châteaubriand as of a man raised by Providence to defend the cause of persecuted religion and outraged order, we are impressed first with a feeling of surprise, which, however, soon vanishes when we reflect that for Roman Catholics, a poet who can paint in glowing colours the "touching and august ceremonies" of Vatican polytheism almost deserves to be canonized, however loose his morals and unsound his doctrines. From M. de Châteaubriand's ill-defined system we turn with a feeling of comfort and relief to

* Part II, chap. ix.

authors such as M. de Bonald, Mallet du Pan, and Count de Maistre. With comfort, we say, and yet no one will accuse us of adopting, either in politics or in religion, the views entertained by these eminent men. But they are plain-spoken, at all events; instead of endeavouring to excite your imagination and your feelings, they appeal to your reason; and in matters connected with government, either political or religious, this is, after all, the safest course. We want to know what we are driving at, and the programme of the administration of this sublunary world is better developed in a pamphlet than in a didactic poem. As to whether the principles adduced are right or wrong, that is quite another sort of thing.

M. de Maistre represents men as connected with God by a chain which binds them to his throne, and holds them without enslaving them. To the full extent of this chain we are at liberty to move; we are slaves indeed, but we are freely slaves, (*librement esclaves;*) we must necessarily work out the purposes of the Supreme Being, and yet the actions by which we do work out these purposes are always free. So far, so good; but here come the peculiarities of our author's system. He does not consider men as individually responsible before God; he takes them as nations, and the nation, for M. de Maistre, is made up of the king and the aristocracy. Even considering each order separately—he asserts that all the members of the same order are indissolubly bound together, each bearing a share of the mutual and joint responsibility which weighs on the whole order. Now, let us suppose the case of a revolution. In those terrible events which follow the disregard of all the laws of right and wrong, although the persons who fall victims to the fury of the multitude may sometimes be those whose very crimes have called down the divine vengeance, yet very often, nay, in most cases, the individually innocent suffer most. But, then, although individually innocent, they must come in for the share of the solidarity which belongs to the whole order. This results from the fact that the doctrine of atonement is the principle on which rests the constitution of society; the sins of the guilty are visited on the innocent, and the blood of the innocent, in its turn, atones for the guilty. Here is to be found the key-stone of Count de Maistre's theory; the Savoyard publicist develops it with all the resources of logic and erudition, and it is rather amusing to see how he presses even etymology into his service. The following passage must be left untranslated, not to lose its point; it is taken from one of his later works, the *Soirées de Saint Petersbourg*, but it refers immediately to the subject we are now considering: "On peut ajouter que tout *supplice*

est *supplice* dans les deux sens du mot Latin *supplicium* d'où vient le nôtre: car *tout supplice supplie.* Malheur donc à la nation qui abolirait les supplices; car la dette de chaque coupable ne cessant de retomber sur la nation, celle-ci serait forcé de payer sans miséricorde, et pourrait même à la fin se voir traiter comme insolvable sélon toute la rigueur des lois."

It has been well remarked that a system such as this is fatalism of the very worst description. Not only does it take away the free agency of men considered as individuals, but it effectually proclaims the validity of the maxim which many critics blame M. Thiers for enforcing, namely, that *might is right.* How can it be asserted that the Almighty, at the last day, will call to account for their "deeds done in the flesh," beings of whom it is quietly said that they acted thus and thus, "for the same reason that Vaucanson's mechanical flute-player made no false notes!" Even Bossuet did not resort to extravagances so wild as this when, in his discourse on Universal History, he described God as overruling all things, the progress of events, and the rise and downfall of nations, on behalf of his own elect. The fact is, that the historians and publicists of the Encyclopedist school, those who supported with the greatest energy the principles of the French Revolution, had aimed at dethroning the Almighty, and M. de Maistre, hurried along by the praiseworthy desire of exposing their absurdities, transformed the whole of the human race into a set of puppets.

There is much of Mr. Carlyle's trenchant manner in Count de Maistre, and the sometimes rabid denunciations to be met with in "The French Revolution, a History," find a parallel in the "Considérations sur la France." The following remarkable letter, from M. de Maistre's lately published correspondence, will help to illustrate the political tendencies of the book we are now reviewing:

"TO THE BARON DE VIGNET.

"LAUSANNE, *October 28th*, 1794.

"Nothing proceeds at random, my dear friend; all has its rule, and all is determined by a Power which seldom tells us its secret. The political world is as much regulated as the physical; but as the freedom of man there plays a certain part, we end by believing that the latter is all-powerful. The idea of destroying, or of partitioning a great empire, is often as absurd as that of taking away a planet from the planetary system, though we know not why. I have said it to you before; in a society of nations, as of individuals, there must be high and low. France has always held, and, to all appearances, will long hold a foremost rank in the society of nations. Other nations, or, to speak more properly, their sovereigns, have, contrary to all the rules of morality, wished to avail themselves of a burning fever, under which the French laboured, in order to fall upon their country and divide it among themselves. Providence hath said, No. Always it does right, but never, in my opinion,

more evidently so than at the present moment; our feelings, for or against the French, ought not to be listened to. Policy listens to reason only. Your memorial by no means shakes my opinion, which is solely this: 'that the empire of the coalition over France, and the partition of that kingdom, would be one of the greatest evils that could befall humanity.' I have drawn out so perfect a demonstration of that proposition, that I should not despair of converting you; but not by writing, for that would be a formal treatise.

"I thank you, however, for your memorial, which is a very good historical piece. Observe, in the meanwhile, that you draw all your examples from a single reign, which is not fair. What nation, besides, has not abused its power when it could do so? If you listened to the native Mexicans and Peruvians, they would prove to you that the Spaniards are the most execrable of men. What had not Europe to suffer from Charles V., who, but for the French, would have entirely conquered it? All you bring up against Louis XIV. cannot be set in comparison with the three hundred vessels captured by the English in 1756 without any declaration of war; still less with the execrable partition of Poland. Lastly, my dear friend, I repeat to you, we are agreed without knowing it. It is necessary that you should desire the success of the coalition against France, because you think it conducive to the public welfare. But it is natural that I, for my part, should desire such success against Jacobinism only, because I see in the destruction of France the germ of two centuries of massacres, a sanction given to the maxims of the most odious Machiavelism, the irrevocable degradation of the human species, and, what will most surprise you, an incurable wound inflicted on religion. But all this would require a book.

"There is another point on which, to my regret, I find we are not perfectly agreed. I mean that a revolution of some kind or other appears inevitable in all governments. You tell me on this subject, that nations will have need of strong governments; and I beg to ask you, what do you understand by that expression? If monarchy appears to you *strong* in proportion as it is most *absolute*, then in that case Naples, Madrid, Lisbon, etc., must appear to you vigorous governments. Yet you know, and everybody knows, that those prodigies of weakness exist but by their *vis inertiæ*. Be assured, that to strengthen monarchy we must base it upon laws, avoid arbitrary measures, frequent commissions, continual changes of functionaries, and ministerial combinations. See, I beg you, to what a condition we had come, and how your ideas of good government, though very moderate, and by no means affecting the prerogatives of the crown, had yet been rejected."

This letter may be taken as a familiar statement of M. de Maistre's doctrines; it is the book of the "Considerations" made easy; it develops, in a popular way, the great publicist's views on despotic governments, and we discover in it the true explanation of the leading principles of Ultramontanist policy. Our Roman Catholic friends, chuckling over the letter to Baron de Vignet, exclaim against the error of those who accuse M. de Maistre of being an advocate of absolute power. His keen, penetrating eye, they say, did not confound the *vis inertiæ* which in the last century characterized the declining monarchies of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, with that repose and stability which are the concomitants of strength. The Catholic Church, in former times, had infused into the inhabitants of those countries the spirit of discipline and of proper sub-

ordination; but this happy state of things subsequently gave way to political feebleness and inaction, when an absolute monarch, after having so sadly abridged the liberties of the nobles and commons, made violent encroachments on the rights of the Church.

This is the great objection constantly made to us Protestants by Roman Catholics, when the charge of absolutism happens to be brought forward against the tenets of Ultramontane policy. It is easily answered. M. de Maistre, no doubt, saw the folly of allowing supreme power to remain unchecked and unrestrained in the hands of temporal princes; he knew too deeply the corruption of the human heart not to feel assured, that in seasons of temptation the most kindly disposed *tyrant* (we take the word in its original meaning) might very easily be led astray by evil suggestions to commit actions fraught with the direst consequences to after generations; he had studied the exclamation of the poet,

Hélas! ils ont des rois égaré le plus sage.

So far, Comte de Maistre was a decided opponent of absolutism. His error was, that in wishing to transform all *earthly* governments into one homogeneous *theocracy*, he proposed as a control over absolutism, an absolutism of a much more dangerous character. M. de Maistre's leading idea is a good one; he wishes to appeal from the passions and depraved will of man to the Deity itself as to the eternal source of right and good; but not being, of course, able to receive immediately from God the counsel and the laws he wishes to reduce into practice for the good of society, he traces them to the Pope, as the vicegerent of Heaven! It is not our purpose here to expose the fallacy of the Papal system, nor to discuss once more a question which has already been so often and so satisfactorily disposed of. We wish only to show that, by planning a vast theocratic system as the real form of government fit for this world, M. de Maistre introduces the worst features of absolutism. We now maintain, moreover, that it is this very spirit, and not the undue development of the governing power, which has degraded the Latin nations to the lowest stage of political weakness and moral decay. If we review impartially the state of the world at the present day, and inquire into the actual condition of Protestant and Catholic nations comparatively, we shall find that the former are in an increasing state of prosperity, while the latter bear the unmistakable signs of a sure and rapid dissolution. Will it be credited that some writers—although they are met on every side by facts beyond all denial—are found maintaining that Catholic states are possessed of a principle of vitality and an element of fecundation superior

to all other civil communities; and that, as long as it retains the Catholic faith, a people possesses in its own bosom the most potent source of regeneration? How, then, will such writers account for the prostration of Italy, the upheavings of a whole peninsula in Spain, the contrast between Austria and Prussia, between the political development of North America and the lawless brutality which prevails southward in the same continent? It cannot be too frequently repeated, that in proportion as a nation has retained the blighting tenets and corrupt practices of Romanism, in the same proportion it loses its independence, its civil liberty, its political greatness, and even its commercial prosperity.

Before dismissing this part of our subject, we would notice one or two peculiarities in the method of Count de Maistre, and which mark out his originality amid all the writers of his age. The first is, that continual reference to God and to the providential superintendence of man's life here below, of which we have before spoken. From this point of view he is admirably placed to discuss the most serious questions, and he does so with a power and an eloquence to which everything must yield. Persons who know Count de Maistre's writings only from hearsay, generally regard him in the light of some stern minister of God's vengeance, threatening with fire and sword, speaking to men through the trumpet of the last day, and moving along, clad in the terrors of judicial power. One passage from the "Considérations" will prove, however, that the dread philosopher could occasionally unbend and use soothing language instead of his habitual, unflinching dogmatism:

> "There is no chastisement which does not purify; there is no disorder which the principle of eternal love does not turn against the spirit of evil. Amid the general disorganization, it is delightful to foresee the plans of the Almighty. We shall never be able to understand everything during the course of our pilgrimage; often we shall fall into mistakes; but are we not reduced to surmises in every possible branch of knowledge, with the exception of the exact sciences? And if our surmises are plausible; if they are in accordance with the laws of analogy; if they are supported by universal ideas; if, above all, they are soothing and calculated to render us better, what is there wanting to them? Even if they should not be true, they are good; or, rather, if they are good, is not this a proof that they are true?"—*Considérations, etc., chap.* iii.

Another remarkable point which should not be forgotten in an appreciation of M. de Maistre's works, is the soundness of his judgment and the sagacity with which he assigns, both to events and to men, their proper influence over the whole course of contemporary history. Many views, many principles now generally admitted, may be traced back to the "Considérations," and have been borrowed from that extraordinary book, often without any acknowledgment.

M. de Maistre saw, for instance, that the reign of terror was a necessary transition to the re-establishment of monarchical principles, and that a nation could not long remain governed by the theories of the Girondists, and by the vague speculations and abstract ideas embodied in the "declaration of the rights of man." M. de Maistre, we have already said, was very frequently right in his conclusions. This led him, on the other hand, to fancy that the future was open before his eyes, and he would every now and then, with the confidence of a seer, utter prophecies and sketch out events to come, just as if he had been initiated into the counsels of the Almighty. From the consideration of the laws which preside over the development and progress of society, it is sometimes easy to conclude that a certain series of facts being given, such and such consequences are sure to follow; but it is equally rash and unsafe to apply universally this way of arguing; it shows, at all events, a *furore* of dogmatism which often, when examined by the sober eye of the dispassionate observer, seems to border upon downright madness.

We resume, however, the thread of our biographical narrative. M. de Maistre, whom we left in Switzerland, went on in 1797 to Turin with his family. Like a torrent, the French Revolution was still following its course, and the tri-coloured flag soon waved in the territories of the King of Sardinia. This monarch, aided by his allies, might have resisted, but the whole of continental Europe was yielding before the impetuous career of the republican armies. The king was obliged to seek refuge in the island which gives the name to his dominion; included among the emigrants, Count de Maistre had to take up once more the pilgrim's staff and to wander further still. Furnished with a Prussian passport as a citizen of Neufchatel, he embarked on the 28th of December, 1798, and, sailing down the Po, he reached Venice, amid dangers and anxieties of every description. On one occasion, a detachment of French soldiers at a particular station of the river entered the vessel, and summoned the passengers to exhibit their passports. One of them addressed the Count de Maistre: "Citizen," exclaimed he, "you say you are a subject of the King of Prussia, yet you have an accursed accent. I am sorry I did not send a ball through that carriage of aristocrats." "You would have done a fine feat," replied the count; "you would have wounded or killed two young children, and I am sure that would have given you pain." "You are right," returned the soldier; "I should have been more sorry for it than the mother."

The biographies of M. de Maistre are full of interesting particulars respecting his sojourn in Venice. Reduced to poverty by the

events of the French Revolution, and the laws against the *émigrés*, he had been compelled to accept the hospitality of the Austrian ambassador, who could not prevail upon him to occupy, in his private hotel, more than one single room on the ground floor. There he lived with his wife and two children, studying, writing, and giving to the world a noble example of courage, perseverance, and faith, under the most trying circumstances. To the friends who delighted to crowd around him, and who were wont to express their kind sympathy for his distress, he made this really Christian answer: "All this is but the movement of the wave; the current may lift us up much higher to-morrow, and then it will be difficult for us to steer our course."

From Venice we find M. de Maistre going to Cagliari, where for two years he filled a high political post, which took up almost all his time, and interrupted his literary occupations; at last, in 1802, he was named minister plenipotentiary to the court of Russia, and started for that country, where he was destined to spend fourteen years, the most laborious, the most distinguished, the most important of his whole life. May 13, 1803, was the date of his first *entrée* at St. Petersburg; he remained there until 1817. Count de Maistre, despite his high-sounding title of ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, had the greatest difficulty to make, as it is vulgarly said, both ends meet. For the sake of maintaining, as Caleb Balderstone did, "the honour of the house," he was compelled to certain outward displays of grandeur and pomp on state occasions, and to fall in with the "clothes-philosophy" of the day; but he dined off dry bread six days out of seven, and when admiring friends gave him a lift with gratuities and indemnifications of a hundred thousand crowns, he sent off the whole to his sovereign, Charles Emmanuel, who, he said, stood more in need of gratuities than himself. As a diplomatist, M. de Maistre had nothing in common with the Talleyrand school of politicians. He did not think that "language is a cloak given to man to conceal his thoughts;" he would not have asserted, with M. Leon Gozlan, that "when a diplomatist cannot tell a lie, he is obliged to remain silent." "M. de Maistre," said one of his colleagues, "is the only man who speaks out what he thinks, without, for all that, being guilty of the slightest imprudence." His character, in this respect, is one which commands our most unqualified admiration.

After having devoted his morning hours to the duties of his post, and to the correspondence they entailed, Count de Maistre would shut himself up amid his books, and spend the evening in reading and composition. There, seeking everywhere fresh arguments for that Ultramontanism which he thought destined to be the safeguard of

society, he kept up a sharp fire against Gallicanism, Protestantism, sensationalism, and sans-culottism. His index expurgatorius included Locke, Bacon, Bossuet, Pascal, and the whole of the Protestant communities *in globo;* he fancied he had a special call to annihilate all those who refused to kiss the Pope's toe. The list of the books written by M. de Maistre during his sojourn at St. Petersburg will sufficiently prove the activity of his mind, and the inexhaustible fertility of his pen. It comprises the *Du Pape*, the *Eglise Gallicane*, the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, and the *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon*. We find, also, a translation, enriched with notes, of Plutarch's essay on the "Delays of Divine Justice," and another political brochure entitled, *Esprit Générateur des Constitutions modernes*. The last two were the only works which M. de Maistre *published* during his sojourn in Russia; the others remained concealed in the author's portfolio, to be printed only after his return to Piedmont, and they were given to the world at various intervals. *Du Pape* was published at Lyons in 1819; *L'Eglise Gallicane* in 1820, and the *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon* as late as 1836, fifteen years after the author's decease. Count de Maistre was revising the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg* at the time of his death; they were first published in 1821.

We have already, in reviewing the *Considérations sur la France*, sketched the political views of M. de Maistre; they form, also, a large part of the book on the Pope, because the author endeavours to define what he conceives to be the proper place of the Bishop of Rome as the head of the social body. The motto of the work is Homer's line, ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΩ, and in expounding this text he turns old Nestor into a prophet of Ultramontanism.

The Savoyard publicist's *beau ideal* of government is the constitution of the middle ages. He describes it in exulting language, and crowds his margins with quotations from Bellarmine, Baronius, and the Tridentine fathers, never suspecting that, after all, he has only been painting a *tableau de fantaisie*, a piece of historical inaccuracy which will match the dreamy theories of Boulainvilliers and Dubos. We are invited, seriously, to return to those happy times when royalty, while it retained its full volition, and was endowed with an independent patrimony, was restrained in the exercise of legislative power by the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, each resting on its own foundation, and acting within its allotted sphere, while above was the Papacy, which, by its sublime umpirage, maintained, in cases of collision, the harmonious coöperation of the members of all the body politic. We are told to admire the noble, temperate monarchy which had grown up under the shelter of the Christian Church, and which,

though never brought to perfection, (this is, at least, a candid acknowledgment,) had yet secured to the mediæval nations so long a career of happiness and freedom, prosperity and glory. It would be a task both useless and unprofitable to point out all the misstatements which occur in the description just given.

In spite of anything which M. de Maistre's panegyrists may say about constitutions and well-balanced monarchies, he was really a downright absolutist. His book on the Gallican Church supplies a further proof to this effect, and we must confess that, as far as this particular subject is concerned, we go along with the noble count. We cannot conceive a genuine Roman Catholic standing or settling down half-way between light and darkness at either Jansenism or Gallicanism. If the pope is God's vicegerent on earth, the veritable delegate of the Almighty, he is above all control, and we cannot see how his power can justly be limited by councils, synods, or concordats. With their *obsequium rationabile*, the Gallicans have run into inconsistencies of the most extraordinary description, and their creed must be a very vague one indeed, since it enables them to place together, in the same category, L'Hôpital, Bossuet, and Fénélon. An admirable critic has remarked, that Ultramontanism is the only logical form of Roman Catholicism: "For," says he, "if the extreme Ultramontane theory be not true, if the popes have not that universal sovereignty, direct or indirect, which many of them have claimed, and for ages exercised, and of which such vast numbers of their adherents have been the advocates, then the errors into which the Church of Rome has fallen are so enormous, and her usurpations so comprehensive, that her indefectibility *de fide* will hardly be a counterpoise for her errors in practice. On the supposition, therefore, of its so happening, that our Roman Catholic friends should be able to effect our conversion to their religion, we shall, for our own part, hardly stop short of the theory of De Maistre." *

Between the Gallican theory, such as it is still maintained, and the Anglican scheme, which we have seen brought forward about twenty years ago, we see much in common. There is a tradition among the Mohammedans, that in some corner of the globe, where, we suppose, the laws of gravitation are not known, the tomb of their favourite prophet may be seen hanging between two load-stones perfectly identical in every respect. This fact is undoubtedly a startling one for the philosopher, but not more so than is to the Christian the problem which Gallicanism and Anglicanism have attempted to solve. These schools likewise acknowledge two load-

* Henry Rogers's Essays, from the Edinburgh Review, on Ultramontane doubts.

stones; they place man's reason and God's law on an equal footing, and they endeavour to shape their course so as to counteract the influence of the one by the power of the other. *Obsequium rationabile*, say the Gallicans; that is, I shall obey the pope and render due homage to the Holy See; *but* I claim the right of examining what is proposed to my acceptance, and of rejecting what I think contrary to the standard of truth. *Obsequium rationabile*, repeat the Anglicans; that is to say, I shall obey God's word, and reverence the oracles of revelation; *but* I claim the right of explaining these oracles by the voice of the Church, and of using them as countenancing the emptiest vagaries of man's fancy. The two cases, we see, are parallel. The celebrated *middle way* so often chalked out, hedged in, and smoothed over, both by Gallicans and Anglicans, is a mere creation of the brain. The Jansenists were inclining toward the magnet of evangelical Christianity. The Tractarians are hurrying fast within the influence of Tridentine popery—the devil's loadstone.

As members of the Roman Catholic Church, the Gallicans owe unqualified obedience to a law which they have accepted, and which they know is absolutely binding. Now with what grace can they come and explain away their oath of allegiance, and interpret their submission as *obsequium rationabile?* And what do they put instead of the Tridentine canons and the Bullarium magnum? Nothing. We do not admit the infallibility of the Pope, says one; we do not believe in transubstantiation, declares a second; we do not think that the laity ought to be prohibited from reading the Scriptures, adds a third. It is a series of denials. Some reject more, some less. What, then, constituted the life-giving principle of Gallicanism? Gallicanism was not a system, it was an amalgamation of heterogeneous elements which soon dispersed. One idea only remained, namely, the abstract idea of opposition to the pope. A mighty king, Louis XIV., seized upon that, worked it out, framed it into a code of laws, and made the Gallican clergy a political machine, a body of court prelates, whose business was to counteract the intrigues of the papal see. At his death Gallicanism sunk into insignificance, and it is now among the things that were.

If Count de Maistre was justified in the attacks he directed against Gallicanism, we cannot say the same for his onslaught on Locke (*Soirées de St Petersbourg*) and Bacon (*Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon.*) It is not difficult, however, to see on what grounds he endeavoured to justify his hatred. When he wrote, the prevailing school of moral philosophy in France was the sensational; Garat, Destutt de Tracy, and the other metaphysicians

who were then considered as the great authorities in such matters, traced their pedigree back through Condillac, Helvetius, and Volney to Locke and Bacon. M. de Maistre did not stop to cavil and carp at the disciples; he professed to go back to the fountain head; he made the two greatest of English philosophers responsible for the follies of that materialism which was contemporaneous with the events of the French Revolution, and the sort of Quixotic heroism which led him constantly on, made him imagine that he saw the germs of infidelity in the Novum Organum and the Essay on the Human Understanding. We do not intend to enter here upon an examination of the respective merits of induction and deduction as methods of philosophy, but we shall say, that if we were to act according to Count de Maistre's system of criticism, we might, with equal reason, ascribe to Descartes the transcendentalism of Schelling, nay, even the recent vagaries of Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer. Will any of M. de Maistre's ardent admirers point out to us the passage in which Bacon denies the existence of final causes? Far from doing so, he acknowledges them most distinctly, but he maintains that they should not be substituted, in a philosophical discussion, for efficient causes and for physical facts. Bacon was certainly an empiricist in metaphysics; but within the limits to which he confined himself, he was quite right, and there was nothing exclusive about his views. The fact is, that M. de Maistre was a strong Platonist, like his contemporary St. Martin, and deeply plunged, as he always was, in the contemplation of first principles, constantly seeking a direct communication, a direct intercourse with the Almighty, he could not bear to hear that knowledge is in anywise accessible to us except as immediately coming from God.

The *Soirées de St. Petersbourg* will ever hold a conspicuous rank in literature. This is the best known, and certainly the most readable work of the author. It contains a lucid exposition of his doctrines, and we have his own authority to say that it was his favourite production. In a letter to M. Depla, dated December 11, 1820, he says, "The *Soirées* is my favourite work; I have poured into it my whole head; thus, sir, you will find there very little, perhaps, but certainly everything that I know." The book was never finished; it breaks off in the middle of the last conversation, and was to have been completed, according to M. de Maistre's plan, by a chapter exclusively devoted to the subject of Russia, in acknowledgment of the hospitality which the author had enjoyed in that country. For the generality of readers—those who like the graces of the chaste and elegant style, even when the pages of the volume bristle with erudite quotations, the Soirées de St. Petersbourg is a fascinating book.

The origin of evil, the beginning of languages, war, why the innocent suffer for the guilty, the question of sacrifices, the power of prayer, such are the various points examined, with a power of reasoning, a vigour of argumentation which excludes neither the flights of imagination nor the ornaments of language. The author has adopted in his work the form of dialogues or conversations; thus he dramatises (so to say) the subject, throws variety into it, and is enabled to introduce irony and sarcasm more freely than he could have done if he had clothed his ideas in a didactic shape, and published merely a metaphysical treatise. The interlocutors are three, a chevalier, a senator, and a count. The *chevalier* is a Frenchman, and a man of the world; he has given very little time, as yet, to religious or philosophic subjects, and the little he knows on those questions has been supplied by education and common sense. Science, philosophy, learning, purified by religion, are personified in the *senator*, a Russian nobleman, belonging, of course, to the Greek faith, and who sustains with the count the part of chief argumentator. The *count* is intended to be the hero, the sage, the authority in the book; he is a sort of Christian Plato, ready to solve the most arduous problems and to explain the greatest difficulties. Between these three persons the conversation is pleasantly carried on from one subject to the other, and the reader finds his way, not without profit, amid discussions bearing upon the topics most important to man. We should not forget to add that the first *soirée*—a species of preliminary and purely descriptive chapter—is from the pen of Count Xavier de Maistre, whose exquisite works (*Voyage autour de ma Chambre, le Lépreux de la Cité d'Aoste, etc.*) have secured for him the very first rank in the walks of a lighter sort of literature.

We have now noticed the principal works of Count de Maistre, and we have taken the opportunity of stating the leading points in his scheme. It embraces, as the reader will perceive, two distinct sets of ideas. We have, first, a system of theodicy grounded upon the doctrines of the Church, and in connexion with this system, we have, secondly, a plan of theocracy or hierodicy, which is nothing else but logical Ultramontanism, and the objections to which are those old charges forming the bone of contention between the spiritual and the civil power. In a world disfigured and corrupted by the fall, man has no right to happiness taken in a general sense; for the same reason, he is not justified in claiming social happiness as his due, and human rulers, by applying punishment where a fault has been committed, only imitate the HEAVENLY KING, their model and their type. While exercising their authority

earthly governors may fall into mistake, consequently the people may have just reason to complain; but of the two only ways of redress open to them, neither is justifiable. The intervention of the multitude in the discussion of the laws, ends in naught but confusion; the attempt to obtain redress by main force, the introduction of the revolutionary principle, is still worse. In such an extremity, what is to be done? "Why," replies De Maistre, "appeal to the pope as the representative of God, and clothed with the absolute power of the Almighty." This is, certainly, a compendious way of settling difficulties, and would, no doubt, have a happy issue, if *only* the nations of the earth could be prevailed upon to accept the pontiff's arbitrage; and if, besides, some means were devised of settling the difficulties of the Bishop of Rome himself, when, as is *sometimes* the case, he happens to fall out with his own temporal subjects.

But we must now bring our biographical narrative to a conclusion. It will be easily imagined that Count de Maistre, by his character, his genius, and the nature of his political views, became an oracle of political wisdom both at St. Petersburg and among the *débris* of the French nobility scattered throughout Europe. Questions on internal policy, on public education, on finances, were sent to him from all parts, and there exists still, in manuscript, an important memorial connected with the administration of Russia, which the count drew up at the request of government. Louis XVIII. returned him formal thanks in a letter dated 1804, for his work on the French Revolution; Napoleon struck off his name from the list of French emigrants, and allowed him full liberty to return to France, and remain in the service of the King of Sardinia, retaining all the employments and decorations he might have received from his sovereign. These marks of favour, however, were respectfully declined.

The events of 1814, by destroying the colossal power of Bonaparte, brought about the realization of Count de Maistre's wishes: they also added much to his domestic happiness. He had now the comfort of meeting his wife and children, from whom he had been so long separated; one of his daughters, Constance, he had left, as we have seen, at Chambèry, an infant in her cradle, twenty years before, under the care of her grandmother. He found her now grown up to womanhood, and this reunion repaid him amply for all the privations and hardships he had, in company with so many others, been compelled to endure.

M. de Maistre was strongly attached to Russia; he prolonged his residence there even after political circumstances had occurred which facilitated his return to his native country; but when the

Emperor Alexander determined upon outlawing the Jesuits, the great champion of Ultramontanism protested, by his departure, against what he believed to be an act of unwarrantable authority; he solicited from his own sovereign, and obtained his recall. As an acknowledgment for his valuable services, the King of Sardinia named him, at the same time, minister of state, and first president in the Supreme Court of Chancery.

On the 27th of May, 1817, Count de Maistre bade a final adieu to Russia, and after a few weeks' stay in Paris he arrived at Turin, August 22. His strong constitution was already breaking down, and he was beginning to pay the penalty of the unremitting work, both of mind and of body, which had marked the greater part of his life. It is very probable, besides, that his death was hastened by the intense disappointment he felt at seeing the destinies of the counter-revolution entrusted to those who, according to the strong but just expression of an acute observer, *n'ont rien oublié ni rien appris*. This disappointment is evident in his correspondence; the following quotations will make it quite clear; to M. de Marcellus he writes: "Other thorns are rending my heart; my mind feels the effects of them; from being small it has become null; *hic jacet;* but I die with Europe; I am going to the grave in good company." A letter written in 1818, and which has not been published, gives us this curious sentence:

"Several persons have done me the honour to make the same question that I read in your letter. 'Why do you not write on the present state of things?' I always return the same answer. In the days of the *canaillocracy*, I could, at my own risk and peril, tell those inconceivable sovereigns the truth, but now those who are in error are too highly born for it to be possible to speak the truth to them. The Revolution is far more terrible now than in Robespierre's time: as it has risen, it has become more refined. The difference is the same as between mercury and corrosive sublimate."

We shall borrow our account of M. de Maistre's last days upon earth from the biographical sketch which his son Rodolph has prefixed to the posthumous works of our Ultramontane publicist:

"His intellectual labours, his mental fatigues and afflictions of heart had, by degrees, worn out a most robust constitution. The death of his brother Andrew, Bishop of Aoste, a prelate as much distinguished by his virtues as by his talents, and which took place in 1818, was a most severe blow to the count. From that period his health, which had resisted the climate of St. Petersburg as well as that of Sardinia, became precarious; his gait, too, was unsteady; his head alone retained all its vigour and freshness; and he continued to despatch business with his wonted diligence. At the beginning of 1821, when secret rumours prognosticated the revolutionary ferment of that year in Piedmont, Count de Maistre assisted at a council of ministers, when important changes in the legislation were discussed. His opinion was, that the alterations mooted

were useful, perhaps even necessary; but that the moment was unseasonable for their introduction. He warmed by degrees, and pronounced a lengthened speech. His last words were: 'Gentlemen, the ground is trembling under our feet, and you would fain build.'

"On February 26th, 1821, Count de Maistre expired, and the 9th of March following the revolution broke out in Piedmont. He was carried off by a slow paralysis, after a life of sixty-seven years of labour, suffering, and self-devotion. . . . His body rests in the church of the Jesuits at Turin. His wife and his grandson have already rejoined him in the cold tomb, or rather in the abode of the blessed."

We do not pretend, of course, to have given in the above sketch a complete analysis of M. de Maistre's works; but enough has been said to enable our readers to form some estimate of his influence and character. Widely as we differ from the view he took both of the Church and of its connexion with politics of a temporal nature, we admire him as an intellectual giant in his generation. Among the Ultramontanist writers of our own days, there is not one that has caught the smallest spark of the fire which glows throughout the pages of the *Eglise Gallicane* and the *Soirées de Saint Petersbourg*. Count de Maistre, as we have seen, compared the revolutionists of 1818 to "corrosive sublimate;" this expression is perfectly applicable to our Veuillots, our Cullens, our Nicolardots—those frantic journalists who, although claiming a parentage with the Savoyard writer, have naught in common with him; for "gall and wormwood" are only poor resources to make up for want of faith; and a cause must be very desperate indeed when it can be propped up only by calumny and falsehood.

Art IV.—THE MONUMENTS OF ATHENS.

L'Acropole d'Athènes. Par E. Beulé, ancien Membre de l'Ecole d'Athènes. 2 volumes. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. New York: Hector Bossange et Fils. 1854.

The occasion of these volumes—the late recovery of the ancient entrance to the memorable citadel of Athens—has fixed the eyes of Europe anew upon this focus of antique glories. The contents of the publication embrace, however, a good deal more. Besides the narrative of his discovery and a succinct sketch of the Acropolis, historical as well as topographical, the author enters into an artistic interpretation of the chief monuments that were deposited in this grand sanctuary of Grecian statuary and architecture.

We propose to present the public of the New World with a select survey of these revelations, both antiquarian and æsthetical; commencing, however, with what may possibly be no less useful than it seems relevant, a slight account of the foundation of the "French School of Art at Athens."

This undertaking had its origin in the year 1846, and should be, consequently, credited to Louis Philippe or his government. To the same government is also due, we think, a like foundation in the eternal city, existing earlier, and entitled the "French School of Art at Rome." The common object of both establishments was the exploration, archæological and æsthetical, of the antiquities of those two capitals of ancient civilisation. But although this was the true import of the measure in itself, it may be doubted whether it was the motive of the dynasty of professors that composed Louis Philippe's cabinet: a reminiscence of their former trade, a means of purchasing rebellious students, a mode of flattering the national vanity, may have been elements in the design. Be that, however, as it may, it seems quite certain that the noble project did not receive its philosophic form until 1850, when the President of the Republic organized the two schools, enjoining each to present annually to the Academy at Paris, a careful report of their local studies, explorations, or discoveries. As crowning complement to the whole scheme, a publication to receive those documents, and all such others, has been instituted, called *The Archives of Scientific Missions.* Few things more creditable have been done, thus far, by the government of Louis Napoleon.

The discovery of M. Beulé, who was a member of the School of Athens, was presented as the startling subject of one of the aforesaid reports. The author instantly received the rewards which every Frenchman may now be sure of, who contributes somewhat to the mental glory of France. Not to speak of "decorations," his book was issued at the expense, or, as expressed with proper delicacy, "under the auspices," of the government, and he himself was placed in the professional chair of Archæology, left vacant by the recent death of the celebrated Raoul Rochette. He has, moreover, received signal honours from King Otho of Greece, who had the recovered monument inscribed in gold, with a memorial contributed by the discoverer, with French *àpropos*, as follows. We translate the archaic Greek into common English.

FRANCE
Has discovered the gate of the Acropolis,
The walls, the towers, and the staircase.
1853. BEULÉ.

The Acropolis, which was the nucleus of the ancient city of Minerva, arose upon a rock of apparently volcanic origin, protruding in isolation from the plain. The summit of this elevation presents a table land of oval figure, extending in its longest axis to nine hundred feet, while the greatest breadth is not over four hundred. The sides are of inaccessible steepness all round, with the exception of the west, which presents a gentler acclivity, preparing a natural entrance, which was improved by art in after ages.

The first inhabitants were Cecrops and his Egyptian colony, who chose quite naturally, in a foreign and a savage country, this place of refuge. The infant city bore, in fact, the proper name of the alleged founder. It took, moreover, from an Egyptian denomination, the name of *Astu*, which, while applied to Athens only in an individual sense, became a common appellation for cities generally in the Greek language; a curious proof of the priority of the former city in Grecian annals, as the procession in all naming is from the proper to the common. This foreign origin is also seen, in fine, in its more familiar and actual name; for the word Athens is an inversion of the Egyptian *Neith* or *Neïha*, who was the goddess adored at Saïs, the native district of the founder, Cecrops.

Athens, then, derived its religion, as well as Greece its civilisation —its rudimental civilisation—from the Delta of the Nile. The Greeks, however, with the habitual pretension of colonial countries, denied all this, and even turned the indebtedness the other way. It is insisted by some of their writers, such as Callisthenes and Apollonius, that it is Saïs that was a Greek colony, and its goddess Neith the Athenian Pallas. Even Plato relates that Solon, in his voyage along the Nile, constrained the priests themselves of Saïs to own that this was the procession, and that Athens was the older of the two cities by a thousand years. But other authors (who, though Greek by origin, had the advantage of being brought up, or of long sojourn, outside the pale of the thicker national delusion, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pausanias, long an exile) proclaim the course of the migration to be to Athens from the Nile. These attestations are more than sufficient to dissipate the misty doubt which has been cast upon this point of history by the puerilities alluded to, and which would offer, if well founded, an objection of perplexing gravity to certain principles of the philosophy of history.

Minerva, who was a symbol of this imported civilisation, was, however, not enthroned on the Acropolis without resistance. Neptune was a rival candidate for popular adoration. The contest was decided by the suffrage of the people, including even the women, as was usual in those primitive times. So wisely has De Staël observed,

that "it is liberty that is ancient," and so justly do American women assert their claim to this primeval charter! The ladies, then, too, being more numerous, as is the rule in modern countries, decided the election by a majority of one. But how they voted in a body for a candidate of their own sex is less conformable to their reputed disposition. Could it have been because Minerva represented *innovation?* or because she was the special patron of the first of female arts, the loom? Interpreters of mythic story do not inform us on these grave questions. Respecting Neptune, they say, however, that he was the type of a Phœnician colony, which had preceded, and was expelled by the Egyptian. But he might better have been the type of the aboriginal fishermen, as being the god of the sea simply, not of the art of navigation. Thus the contest between the two divinities would be symbolical of a transition from the ichthyophagous to the agricultural condition of the primitive Atticans—from the catching of fish to the culture of the olive. Be that, however, as it may, the strange conception of the great Minerva, combining the attributes of man with the sex and form of woman—as her prototype Isis also, that ripest offspring of Egyptian theogony, was represented partly woman and partly lion, in the famous sphynx—this confusion, which has confounded all the authorities of our author, contains an import of deep consistency, but not essential to the present purpose. Suffice it that Minerva, having planted on the Acropolis an olive-tree in full bearing, (committed to Cecrops and his followers,) the savage nations of the coast of Attica soon settled on and around the hill.

The situation at this epoch is described by Plato (*Critias*) as follows:

> "The artisans and labourers composed the outer range, on the declivity which faces the Ilyssus. The warrior caste alone were in possession of the summit, within the wall which enclosed the temples of Minerva and of Neptune, [for the latter of these deities was admitted into part protectorship, with the accession of the native population to the new society: a fact that justifies the foregoing comment as to the import of the myth of Neptune.] They [the warriors] resided on the north side of the hill-top, in houses which they occupied in common, exposed to the violence of the winds and watching over their fellow-citizens. . . . . About the centre of the table-land of the Acropolis there was a spring, which was afterward, in consequence of earthquakes, almost destroyed, but which at that time afforded plenty of wholesome water both summer and winter."

We note these details as presenting, on a succinct scale, a faithful picture of the primitive formation of the communities of mankind, in both their social and topographical characteristics. A fountain, a fortified stronghold upon an insulated elevation, the artisans on the hill-sides, the serfs or labourers in the plain below, the warriors

on the summit looking out for the enemy, at whose appearance all took refuge, flocks and men, within the fortress. Such, in brief, was the economy of the first *societies* of the early world, an economy which has been, in part, repeated by the barbarism of the middle ages.

With some advances in civilisation, however, the citizens of the city ventured down into the circumjacent plain. In the history of the Acropolis, this epoch is represented as the foundation of Athens by Theseus. And a foundation it strictly was, in the ancient sense of the term city, as denoting the initial form of *political organization;* for Theseus, besides leading down from the sides and summit of the Acropolis the merely military and colonial conglomeration of the inhabitants, collected, also, from the entire territory of Attica, the leading families of all the tribes, till then hostile and independent, round the sacred hill. Around it, literally in a circle, were grouped the edifices of this new city. This gave occasion to a rhetorician to say, that "Attica was the centre of Greece, Athens the centre of Attica, and the Acropolis the centre of Athens." The Acropolis, though thus abandoned, was, however, always called the *city*, the Astu of Cecrops, by the Athenians; just as the Londoners so distinguish the central nucleus of their boundless Babylon, and so the Parisians style the sand-bank, a little island of the Seine, which was the cradle of their metropolis and the asylum of their ancestors, the feeble Gallic tribe of the Parisii; for river islands were sought, like hills, as a sort of natural fortification.

Another observation, no less pregnant of analogies, will bring us to the special subject of the book. The Acropolis of Athens, when forsaken by its human citizens, became the sanctuary of religion, a sort of city of the gods. This quite spontaneous substitution presents the correct explanation of a tradition which seems universally misunderstood in ancient religions. Why the divinities of all countries should have been supposed to reside on hills, or should be worshipped on what even the Bible so often mentions as the "high places," has been accounted for by the design of getting nearer the celestial throne. But this solution, in the first place, involves a manifest anachronism with regard to all religions except the worship of the sun; for in all the other primitive and heathen superstitions, there existed no connexion between the firmament and heaven. On the contrary, their heaven itself, the abode of their divinities, was placed upon the very hill-tops, a fact that shows the explanation, in the second place, to be absurd. In truth, the worship, or the supposed residence of the divinities upon "high places," was but a simple reminiscence of their former occupancy by the worshippers, a dim tradition of the religion which then and there was

exercised by their progenitors, of whom all traces save the superstition have been forgotten.

The Acropolis, the primitive fortification of which was a wooden fence, received, soon after the great epoch of the Thesean centralization, its first defences of any architectural solidity. These were due to the Pelasgi, the famous builders of those antique walls which, from the bulk of the materials, were afterward, by a description of induction still in vogue in other matters, deemed the work of giants. An exiled colony of these mystic people having been received by the Athenians, would reciprocate the hospitality by the protection of their skill. Their art was applied principally to the western side, the only accessible one. They further levelled the declivity so as to grade it into an entrance, which was protected by a succession of nine fortified gates, and gave occasion to the well-known term of *Enneapylos*. Such, then, was the entrance which has been recently recovered from the mist of doubt wherein the devastations of after ages had left its position.

The first of these disasters was the burning of entire Athens, both the old and the new city, by Xerxes and Mardonius. The latter, not content with what his master had done by fire, afterward razed walls, temples, and private edifices, to the earth. M. Beulé has found repeatedly, in his excavations of the Acropolis, the smoke-stained fragments of marble ornaments and shattered pottery that attest this ruin. This devastation was soon repaired, however, and, as usual, much improvement was made upon the primitive structure by a succession of those men of genius who always rise in great emergencies, or rather who, on these occasions, can achieve, by works, that public influence which the mediocrities, by mere effrontery, obtain habitually from public ignorance. The first in order, nor the last in merit, was the noble tyranny of the Pisistratidæ, who were succeeded by Themistocles, by Cimon, and by Pericles. Themistocles was the rebuilder of the walls of the Acropolis, which is what we are here concerned with especially. A portion had remained, however, on the south side, for the hand of Cimon, who was also the generous builder of the Long Walls, of the Pœcile, of the temple of Theseus, of the Gymnasium, of the Gardens of the Academy, &c., &c. Thus the aristocratic son of the tyrant Miltiades had been the founder, at his own expense, of that great age of Grecian art which the democrat Pericles did but continue with the plunder of the allies.

The Acropolis, thus refortified, and filled with temples and with statues, was next invaded by the impious taste of Nero, who sent to rifle it for works of art with which to beautify his golden palace. All the previous Roman masters had treated Athens

with veneration, as the mother of their native arts and civilisation. Even the impetuous Sylla, in the heat of victory and exasperation, directed that "the living should be pardoned for the sake of the dead:" but Nero was not Roman in even his vices. After Nero came the Christians, who, in their iconoclastic zeal, were even more destructive; they not only destroyed the statues, but demolished all the temples except the Erectheion and Parthenon, converted subsequently into churches, the latter dedicated, by an easy transition, to the Virgin Mary. To the Christians succeeded Alaric and his less barbarous barbarians; for the latter did, according to the best authorities, but little damage, and had the grace to get affrighted by a vision of Minerva. The fortifications, also, of the Acropolis, like the temples, underwent a transformation in the twelfth century, by the direction of its feudal masters, the Frank and Florentine "Dukes of Athens." Finally came the Turks under Mohammed II., who converted the famous entrance of the Propylæa into a fortress, as they did the Parthenon, that shrine successively of both the heathen and the Christian virgins, into a mosque, and the Erectheion into a harem!

It is beneath these devastations upon devastations of thirty centuries, that M. Beulé has discovered the principal entrance to the Acropolis. His excavations had laid open, in May, 1852, at the distance of sixty feet in direct front of the Propylæa, the remnant of some Pelasgic constructions. This piece of wall seemed to be a parapet intended to support a staircase. The stones were cut polygonally, and flattened on the sides, so as to fit on to each other, uncemented, with much exactness. On this account the work was doubted to be Pelasgic, and was thought even Roman. But the author, who held the opposite opinion, soon found the proof. Pursuing the winding which was indicated by a turn in the supposed parapet, the excavations were pushed below the soil of Cimon and of Pericles, where appeared, in fact, the track-indented pathway of three thousand years ago, along the living rock of the Acropolis. The indentations had been cut, originally, in the simple shape of footholds, but were afterward worn into round holes by the hoofs of animals ascending for security or for sacrifice. The way itself, about a yard wide, meandered round the interfering obstacles, which is another characteristic of its antiquity. Thus, even in cities, the oldest streets present this serpentine irregularity; it may be witnessed in our own upstart New-York, in Pearl-street for instance, of which the only engineer was probably a cow-path through the thicket. M. Beulé proves, by multiplied and much more dignified considerations, the strict identity of his discovery with the old ave-

nue of the Acropolis. But the discussion is too long, as well as too intricate and erudite, to be delineated in a summary appreciable by our readers. We can but recommend the studious to the pages of the work, and to the set of fine engravings that elucidate them topographically.

Coming now to what will probably be more agreeable, our third division, which regards the explanation and æsthetics of the monuments, we are encountered on the threshold by the problem of the Propylæa. The destination of this famous structure is known to be a modern mystery. M. Beulé, in enumerating the conjectures, puts these queries: "Is it simply a monument of ornamentation? Does it involve a religious idea? Is it but a work of fortification and defence? Does it, in a word, belong to the civil, to the religious, or to the military architecture of the Greeks?" (Vol. i, p. 184.)

"To the religious," says Spon, a French writer of the seventeenth century, who cried, on seeing the Propylæa, "There, undoubtedly, is a Greek temple." Col. Leake, the English traveller, a high authority, at least in London, is, on the contrary, of the opinion that it was a work of fortification. The learned Burnouf maintained, it seems, the same construction, but for reasons of philosophy, which, says our author, do not hold of art. We must remark, that if they do not, the fault is not in their philosophy, but, on the contrary, in the want of it, as will be indicated in this instance. M. Beulé, in fact, refutes them, as he does also those of Leake, which, by a natural illusion, are drawn from military strategy. A gallant colonel could have scarce done otherwise than, like the mirror of knight-errantry, behold in every dubious edifice a giant enemy or a fortress. But M. Beulé pronounces equally against the second of the suppositions, assigning to the Propylæa a religious object, at least in idea; and here he will, we think, be found in error. His own hypothesis is, that the structure was one of simple "decoration," and he quite properly proceeds to justify it first by reference to history.

Egypt, he reminds us, built *propylæa* long before Greece, and was in this, as in so many other things, most probably the Greek model. The most remarkable had been erected, as Herodotus informs us, to Minerva (*alias* Isis) at Saïs: Ἐν Σάϊ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Προπύλαια, &c. Now this expression must import the structure to front the *temple* of the goddess; for, on the one hand, this famous edifice was too notorious to need special mention; and, on the other, it was implied sufficiently in the term "propylæa;" for to dedicate a *door-front* or an entrance to Minerva or Isis, could surely refer only to the *temple* of the divinity. But the importance of this remark, which M. Beulé overlooks, perhaps, as hostile to his hypothesis, will be apparent by-

and-by. There were also, he tell us, propylæa at Persepolis; and here, he owns, they were *attached to palaces*, immediately, or at a small distance. In fine, there was in Greece, besides the specimen in question, a propylæum before the *temple* of Ceres at Eleusis, and built, it is to be observed, by the same author, namely, Pericles; from which might be inferred a certain kinship of destination; and there was another before the temple of Minerva at Sunium, &c. It is also true, that there were propylæa in Greece and elsewhere, attached to secular localities or edifices, as at Athens to the Agoras, and at Pompeii to the Forum. But, aside from the consideration that these were primitively *sacred* places, the latter class of propylæa were all posterior and merely imitative. This is owned, indeed, expressly by M. Beulé himself, who even touches on the reason in the following maladroit remarks:

"The character of a monument is decided in the popular fancy by tradition, and especially by habit. So true is this, that it is often an affair of mere convention, that the Greek temple, which used to speak to the devotion of the ancients, is sometimes destined by the moderns, when they construct the like, for profane uses. How is it possible to throw a religious respect around a monument, seen to precede indifferently a temple, a fortification, a place of public assemblage, and even a market?"—P. 190.

And yet, despite this recognition of anachronistic interpretations, and the facts he cites, which own the earlier propylæa all to be attached to temples, M. Beulé has the courage to proclaim that that of the Acropolis "has nothing of a religious intention, although serving as an entrance to the grand sanctuary of Athenian religion." We need no more to prove the contrary than his own facts and his own reflexions, placed in order by the true philosophy of architecture; for we are also engaged to show, in opposition to his judgment and to the example of Burnouf, that the fine arts do not escape philosophy.

This supreme arbiter, in fact, informs us, that the first structures of a religious character must have been tombs, as is implied in the generic import of the term *monument;* their earliest form, as being the easiest, was the pyramidal. Being, of course, consecrated only to patriarchs, to princes, or to heroes, they would become, in course of time, a place of concourse and of worship, by the same process of superstition which raised the inmate into a god. The ceremonial of this public worship would suggest the requisite of a new structure for the oblation of the sacrifices and reception of the idol! Hence the *temple*, which was first a chamber superadded to the tomb, a combination which returned duly with the barbarism of the middle ages, in the steeple-fronted churches of the Gothic order. But as the primitive barbarians had not the art or the example whereby to make the temple large enough for the admission of the

worshippers, they were obliged to push it back, and leave between it and the monument an enclosed court, for the reception of the faithful.

The same necessity, produced by inability to make a doorway *through* the monument which would be wide enough for the convenience of such a crowd, suggested also the expedient of a second pyramid at such a distance as to shape a gateway of the requisite dimensions. How, then, to fill up the void above would be a problem for after ages. The first condition, it was obvious, must be to truncate the two pyramids, which thus assumed, according to diameter, the guise of towers or of rude columns, the latter being, in fact, the origin of the most primitive (the Doric) shaft; the former, that, perhaps, of the two towers which flank the old Pelasgic entrance or propylæa, and which are the witnesses of M. Beulé's own discovery. The difficulty still remaining would be twofold: first, to place a stone lintel of length and strength enough on these abutments; and, secondly, to ease the pressure which would thus be aggravated ruinously in falling at an acute angle upon their conical inclinations. A remedy that might present itself to the most simple observation would serve to obviate the two obstacles at once: it was but to fancy the mere inversion of the obliquity of the abutments; or, in other words, to conceive an intermediate pyramid *in vacuo*. This disposition of the jambs would at the same time abridge the lintel, and bring its pressure, on the contrary, within the perpendicular. But how to execute the fancy would, in those times, be the rub.

For this, however, there was also quite at hand an obvious model. The inclination of the pyramids, which was to be reversed, was wrought itself by the retreat of each successive layer of stones, as may be witnessed even in the acme of this mode of structure on the Nile. In order, therefore, to slope *inward*, instead of sloping outward, it was only necessary to convert the retrocessions into *projections*. But this again, when carried too far, shows its weakness and its inconveniences in throwing the pressure on the mere projection, and narrowing too much the door above; inconveniences exactly equal, though exactly opposite to the preceding. And we may add, that it was only through a long succession of such oscillations that men attained the *perpendicular* in masonry. In the meantime, however, and subsidiarily, the lintel too was changing. The contrivance which at last allowed it to extend to jambs completely vertical, was the surmounting it with two long stones, that, resting endwise on its two extremities, were laid together at the top, so as to form with it a triangle, which, like a wedge, would split the pressure, and slide it off on the abutments.

But this triangle was again, we see, a repetition of the pyramid, a bare accumulation of the same inevitable type. And even to the present day, what thus was born of a rude necessity, is made the ornament and ensign of the Doric order of architecture, and sometimes copied by the later styles, in the *triangulation of the frontispiece!*

We might go on to show how nature aided human imbecility in passing also from this stage to the conception of the arch; how the two sides of the triangle were broken gradually into higher polygons, until they finally evanished into a curve. But we are afraid of being already half suspected by our shrewder readers of merely weaving them an idle phantasy in stone. They can, however, rest assured that *facts* on record in the same material, attest each step of this deduction to the letter. Existing relics of the ancient Doric in Egypt, Europe, and Asia Minor, which M. Beulé computes at thirty, and conceives to represent its whole progression, exhibit still the various forms above assigned, *beyond* the pyramids, which, in their junction with the temple, survive in India alone. We have, however, sketched their genesis only for the purpose of submitting to the test of history, the principles wherewith to solve this last relation, whereby to show the Propylæa to be essentially, although detached, not only part, but even the progenitor of the temple.

The separation of the Athenian specimen is, then, an argument of no avail, although it was the chief among the "philosophical" considerations of Burnouf. "What constitutes the Greek temple," says this eminent philologist, "is, above all, the *ναός*, that is to say, the enclosed hall, often inaccessible to the vulgar, and containing the statue of the god. In the Propylæa there is nothing that resembles a *ναός*," &c. Now, the answer is, that there is nothing which resembles a *ναός* in the towers or pyramids that formed the entrance to certain ancient Indian temples, since the temple proper, the shrine, or *ναός*, was placed aloof across a long court-yard; but yet we know, from other specimens of the same country still more ancient, that the two structures had been originally one. To recognise, in fact, the full analogy of the Propylæa with the former instance, we need but fancy the intermediate part of the Acropolis to be a court-yard to the Parthenon and Erectheion, placed at the opposite extremity. Nor will this effort strain the fancy beyond the limits of frequent fact, the entire summit being, as we have seen, but nine hundred by four hundred feet. The utmost distance that thus could separate the temples from the entrance would not be greater than is observed, if we mistake not, in some Indian cases. It would, at all events, be but pro-

portionate to the plurality of the divinities, the multitude of the worshippers, and thus the number of the doorways, of which, in fact, no fewer than five have been laid open in the Propylæa. In fine, if, going a little further, we conceive this intermediate space as very naturally covered in, for the mere shelter of the votaries, the propylæum would be then admitted to be not merely a religious edifice, but part and parcel of the corresponding temple. Now this precisely is what is done in the following epoch of architecture, as represented by the churches of Christianity. Here the elements progressively developed are synthetized by simply filling up the middle term of the series. For the porch or vestibule is but the *propylæum;* the nave or body but the *covered court-yard;* the sanctuary, inaccessible to the vulgar, at the other end, and where the host, or (with the Hebrews) the ark of the covenant was deposited, but the shrine or *ναός* that contained the idol of heathenism. Accordingly, the Protestants, in their rejection of all idolatry, have disused also this third section of the edifice.

We now submit, then, with all reasonable deference to M. Beulé, that *true* philosophy *is* strictly applicable to the arts and to their archæology, and that it alone can explain consistently the facts which he himself adduces. One, however, of these facts has, we perceive, escaped our survey, and from its character might be suspected to be overlooked through sly design. It is the instance of the propylæa fronting *palaces* in Persepolis. Here, assuredly, (it will be urged against our explanation,) there was no temple connected with them, either mediately or immediately. The answer is, that there *was* a temple, not, indeed, in name, but in effect and nature. The palace of the Persian monarchs, those divine "children of the sun," and living idols of their slavish subjects, was a structure awfully religious. Accordingly, in Egypt, where the Pharaohs were regarded similarly, it is shown that the royal palaces were often blended with the temple; that is to say, were an expansion of the sanctuary or *ναός*. Antiquarians have aptly termed these mongrel edifices "temple palaces." Thus the porch, or propylæa, both derivatively and directly, would be still in character before the palaces of Persepolis, and what appeared a real objection becomes a curious confirmation.

Nor would this character be less established with regard to the Athenian structure, though it were certain that the purposes of the builder had been something else. A monument derives its character, not from the motives of the founder, but from the nature and the history of its kind. Men build, besides, by imitation, without any distinct destination. But, moreover, as far as Pericles had any such

in the work in question, all probabilities combine to show it to have been religious. In the first place, the Propylæa was expressly dedicated to Minerva, which would be decisive, if that virile goddess did not offer also a phase of war. But the same statesman built an almost equally magnificent one to Ceres, with regard to whom there is no place for ambiguity. Then, again, we need not mention as being due to him the Parthenon, that metropolitan fane of Athens and of art. In short, the better portion (if our memory does not deceive us) of the monuments that glorify his splendid government, were religious. Not that Pericles, in probability, had much more faith in the Virgin Pallas than Louis Napoleon in the Virgin Mary when he sent her portraits to his Black Sea fleet; but in his quality of adroit demagogue, he would combine in his expenditures the two-fold object of providing for the support and gratifying the superstition of the *Demos*.

Thus the personal intentions of the founder, though not essential, contribute also their attestation to the religious nature of the Propylæa. Having now, we trust, established what the meaning of the structure *was*, we need not prove that it was *not* what M. Beulé has imagined. A learned error is, however, always worth the trouble of refuting. M. Beulé's mistake consists in holding that the monument in question was a work of "*decoration*, and nothing more." Now this (we say it with no incivility) is a plain absurdity, and nothing less. There never yet has been erected an integral edifice for such a purpose. The very notion of "decoration" is purely accessory and adventitious, and implies essentially a groundwork of utility. So true is this, that the very ornaments themselves have sprung from coarse utilities. To keep within the art before us, and even within the instances above suggested, have we not seen the main ornament, that decks especially the Doric frontispiece, to have proceeded from the rude triangular apposition of three long stones, which formed the old Pelasgic lintel, and was the germ of the arch? Also, that the Doric column had its ideal origin in the tumular pyramid, of which the *angles*, duly multiplied with its progression to rotundity, as were the *sides* of the triangle in advancing toward the arch, are still repeated in the *fluting*, which is a further decoration? It might be added, that the grooves of the triglyph, another ornament of the same style, began with being but simple channels to let off the rain-water from the eaves, &c., &c.

Nay, not alone the "decorations" of this and all the arts called fine, but, we insist, those arts themselves, repose upon extraneous grounds, are but the blossoms of some useful art, which gives them origin and import. For instance, poetry was originally, in reality, a mnemo-

techny; music, an integral portion of the art of war, and perhaps of medicine; painting had its single prototype in hieroglyphic writing, and sculpture was an offshoot of the same commemorative artifice. In architecture, we have seen that the requisite of sheltering the worshippers, whose introduction in the early temple would have been regarded as a profanation, produced the intermediate structure that joined the portal and the sanctuary, and brought the religious department of the art to its highest magnificence. But we must stop; for examples would be endless as they are needless. The conclusion is, that "decoration" cannot be the object of any edifice, nor even the intrinsic end of the decorations themselves. That M. Beulé should have come to think so, must be the result of his avowed system of interpreting the arts by "imagination" instead of philosophy. But with his youth and his sagacity, he may work off this vulgar error. Even already, his mistake, we are inclined to think, is partly verbal; he half confounds imagination with the *philosophy* of imagination. It is true, the multitude, both rude and learned, take these terms to be incompatible. Philosophy to such is but a starch and stately pedantry, that must not stoop from cloudy questions and traditional procedures; the foregoing use of it they would consider but a mere effort of imagination. In reality, however, that philosophy is the profoundest which explains alike the first puerilities and the highest perfections of the human mind; and in the former task, philosophy attains the truth, only by a power of reassuming the mental childhood of the species. But M. Beule will be found less faulty in his æsthetical exercitations, which compose our last division of remark.

The well-known preference of the Athenians for the Propylæa he explains as follows:

"In fact, the structure had been singularly fitted to affect the Greeks by the novelty, the *originality* of the style. The Parthenon was at least equal to it in beauty, in perfection. But, constructed in accordance with the ordinary rules, it did not differ from the Doric temples which were so common throughout Greece, save in the choice of the materials, in the finish of the details, in certain ideal proportions, in those shadings which are prized by artists, but do not equally impress the public. The Greeks, though *so devoted to tradition in the matter of art*, were of necessity, like all men, sensible to novelty. Whereas, in the Propylæa, this novelty was of a nature to satisfy, moreover, all the exigences of right reason, all the delicacies of the love of the beautiful. The fine disposition of the edifice, full of movement and as if theatrical; a simplicity which did not even *ask the ornaments of sculpture*, and left the whole effect to the mere lines and the proportions; the blending and the happy harmony of a diversity of orders; the difficulties not only vanquished, but converted into brilliant merits, here are what commanded admiration; and when to these was added the mysterious charm of originality, the admiration attained the highest degree of intensity."—Vol. i, p. 168.

This explanation of the Greek preference may be accepted as just in general, though certain incidents of the exposition recall the errors

above refuted. The "Greek attachment to tradition in the matter of the arts" was, in reality, but Greek impotency of invention; or, to speak more justly, the common impotency of the primitive intelligence, from which the faculty of real invention was but just emerging in even the Greeks. And this, accordingly, is what explains their admiration of originality. For innovations against people's prejudices or attachments are not apt to ravish them; they, on the contrary, provoke displeasure and persecution. But it is otherwise with innovations on their passive ignorance and conscious impotency, innovations which they would desire, but feel incompetent to make themselves; and hence the rapture of the savage at all artificial novelty. Hence, also, the admiration of the still primitive, though polished Greeks, for this initial intermixture of the Ionic with the Doric order, the latter, purely, being the sacramental style of sacerdotal building.

Does not this circumstance, again, evince, in opposition to M. Beulé, the destination which we have assigned to the Propylæa? For in this edifice the sacerdotal or Doric order is the ruling element; whereas, if ornament had been the object, the Ionic graces must at least predominate. Nay, even to the small extent in which the latter have been blended, M. Beulé owns their presence to be due to a masonic exigence: the central door, which was supported by the only Ionic columns employed in the building, was too lofty for the squat proportions of the Doric shaft that served the side-doors. The "happy harmony of orders" was not, then, invention, but the want of it; the deviation from the sacred style was not innovation, but resistance to it, and thus affords another argument for the religious destination of the Propylæa; in fine, the mixture was not *for* "decoration," but *from* necessity! Might not, however, this latter circumstance receive a plausible extenuation from the theory above propounded of the Propylæa? Viewing this structure as a general entrance to the entire sanctuary of the Acropolis, an ideal portion of the two great temples of the guardian deities of Athens, was it not natural that the two orders, adopted severally in shrines—to wit, the Doric in the Parthenon and the Ionic in the Erectheion—should be proportionally represented in the common vestibule or porch? For, accidentally or otherwise, the relative magnitude of the two temples was about the measure of the mixture of the two orders in the Propylæa. This explanation would tell equally, of course, with that advanced by M. Beulé, against the merits of his own hypothesis of simple decoration. And, in conclusion, the passage cited presents another self-conviction, where the monument is recognised as "without ornaments or sculpture." What! a struc-

ture erected "solely for decoration," left without ornaments! But we have dealt at undue length upon this problem of the Propylæa.

The Parthenon presents another problem, which is no less interesting and disputed. "It is a curious fact," says M. Beulé, "that for numerous generations, and more especially during the past half century, the Parthenon should have been visited by so many travellers, should have been sketched, measured, and analysed by so many artists, without any of them perceiving the most surprising of its beauties." We think, for our part, it is not curious, but very common, at least with travellers, who look at such things, not with their own eyes, but through those of canting connoisseurship. As to the undetected beauty, it is "the *curve* or *inclination* given to all the great lines considered usually to be quite straight, from the steps on which the temple rests to the entablature that crowns it, from the columns of the peristyle to the walls of the shell." This, which is a truly curious fact, was first discovered in 1837, by Mr. Penthorne, an English architect.

But the discoverer ascribed it, not to principle, but to accident; he thought it caused by the explosion of the Turkish powder magazine, that ruined the body of the temple in the seventeenth century. The following year two German architects took up the study of the question with the speculative confidence of their country, and insisted that the thing was far too systematic for a violent accident. A short time after came a Frenchman, with his precise and pictorial powers, and sketched, in all its antique curvatures, a *Restoration of the Parthenon.* About this time another Frenchman, the late Burnouf, already cited, essayed a philosophic explanation in the *Deux Mondes.** "To the eye," says he, "as to science, the stability of bodies is augmented with the extension of the base . . . Phidias [he should have said Ictinus, the true architect] gave, therefore, to his temple the form of a *truncated pyramid.* He inclined toward one another the walls of the shell; the columns of the peristyle were swerved toward the interior, and especially the corner columns, on which the edifice seemed to repose." The object of the singularity was, then, according to this theorist, to simply insure strength or its appearance.

Subsequently, Mr. Penrose, another British architect, was sent officially, to make a thorough exploration of the subject. The result was published in 1851, in a book which, we remember, made no small sensation in London, and is called "*Principles* of Athenian Architecture." A juster title would be, however, "*Statistics* of the Parthenon," if we may judge from the indulgent indications of

* For December, 1847.

M. Beulé. The entire building, says the latter, with perhaps a touch of sneer, is measured, analyzed, and cyphered to the ten-thousandth of a fraction. Thus we know what is the exact quantity of the convexity of the plinth, of the steps, of the friezes, and the frontispieces; also of the diminution in the diameter of the column from the clumsier archetype of the previous ages of the Doric; further, of the inclination of the entire colonnade toward the imaginary centre of the monument; finally, we know how, on the contrary, the upper portions, the abaci, the capitals, the cornices, lean *outward*. All this, says our roguish Frenchman, will be found totalled up and noted "like a musical composition," in the book of Mr. Penrose.

But Mr. Penrose throws no light, it seems, upon the *principles* of all these details, although such was the promise of his title, and the purpose of his mission: a circumstance quite as characteristic of his English nationality as the accuracy of his measurements. He even renounces the attempt in express terms. "I shall content myself," says he, "with *suggesting* an explanation in each particular case, without attempting anything so difficult, and probably so vain, as to search for a theory embracing all the cases." A general theory he does, however, (M. Beulé says,) sometimes attempt, and one which is, it must be owned, commodiously comprehensive. The whole thing is, he supposes, an affair of *sentiment or taste*, diversifiable with the different architects and advances of the art, and drawn in no wise from methodical theory or from tradition. Here is certainly, we see, a summary and sovereign expedient for the solution of "each particular case;" that is, if particular cases *could* be explained except by general principles. But if Mr. Penrose can give us nothing but real negation of all principle, in explanation of the origin of the disposition, he goes more learnedly to work in theorizing upon its object.

The speculation of Burnouf above recited had been published some three or four years before the work of Mr. Penrose, and so the latter could not overlook or well evade a trial in turn. He seems, however, too ripe an architect, and too indifferent an archæologist, not to reject both the conception and the explanation of the French writer. The mere notion of comparing the Parthenon to a "truncated pyramid" must shock the plumb-line pragmatism of the artist and the Englishman; and it must do so the more violently, seeing that Burnouf assigned no better reason than the untenable consideration of strength. Strength was manifestly not the object in an edifice of that description, and the more especially since its appearance involves a sacrifice of grace and elegance. Mr. Penrose was therefore justified in looking elsewhere for the motive; though not exactly, we think, in finding it in the discoveries of modern phys-

ics. After going into a disquisition on the mechanism of the eye, on its distortion, (a point still doubtful,) of the real relations of the objects seen, and the correction thereto administered by the judgment, he concludes that the employment of the sloping lines in the Greek monuments must have been meant to spare this trouble to the judgment of the gazers! "It is difficult to imagine any other reason for those deviations than that they were intended as *optical corrections*, or as corrections of certain influences about to be considered, which tend to make the apparent differ from the real," p. 77. Talk of Manchester machinery and its labour-saving exploits, and of the optical discoveries of Newton and his successors, which leave the judgment at its old task-work of correcting our perverse eyes; while mere artists, and even mechanics of sense, two and a half thousand years ago, knew how to give it quite a holiday in the contemplation of the public monuments. And this is, seriously, the emissary sent from London to the Acropolis, to solve a difficulty of philosophical archæology!

Mr. Penrose has, however, made a species of discovery no less characteristic of his countrymen than the statistics; for Englishmen, if not philosophers, are well-crammed "classical scholars." He was the first, it seems, to cite from Cicero a really curious passage, which attests the curvature in question to have been general among the ancients. The great advocate, in one of his orations against Verres, recites an anecdote to bring contempt as well as criminality upon the plundering prætor. "He (Verres) arrives in the temple of Castor. He casts his eyes around it; he sees the ceiling richly decorated, and the whole complete and new. He turns round, and asks what *he* is to do? Whereupon one of the gang of vagabonds whom he has boasted of keeping round him, says to him: 'You, Verres, have nothing to get done here, unless, perhaps, you wish to *make the columns perpendicular*.' This man, entirely destitute of every sort of knowledge, asks what it is 'to make a perpendicular?' He is told that in *a temple there is usually not one column which does not deviate from the vertical line*. 'A capital idea,' he cries; 'let the columns be made perpendicular.'" Is it not singular that the extension of the practice of *inclination*, attested so authentically, because incidentally, in this witty story, should not have hinted to Mr. Penrose some more uniform cause than taste?

We now proceed to M. Beulé himself, and his solution, which the reader is requested to peruse attentively, in the following passage: "The vertical curves in question," says he, "are of a foreign origin, and traceable historically to the *temples of high antiquity*. The swelling of the columns, and the affectation of the *pyramidal*

form, are the secret of all the deviations from the perpendicular. These traditions were brought from *Egypt* into Greece with the *Doric order*, as the Ionic, with its elegant richness, was brought from Asia. The most ancient of the temples of Greece, of Sicily, and of Italy, are those whose columns have the broadest conicality. Even the *base of the doors is widened in obedience to the Doric rule*, at Mycenæ, a Homeric city. As the shells of the temples of these remote ages are all fallen, we are unable to judge directly of their inclination. But had it not existed—which I do not believe—it would be natural that a more delicate degree of art should create it, in order that the lines should all have a common tendency toward the pyramid. It is to be remarked that, in *the progress of its refinement*, the Doric architecture diminished gradually its clumsy columns; which is a proof that the age of Pericles, so far from being the first inventor, *reduced the measure of this pyramidal protuberance to just proportions*. It was a tradition that was respected, because it gave the edifice a character of *strength and stability*, but only by modifying the proportions so as to substitute a virile grace for heaviness. As to the contrary inclination of the cornices, the pediments, &c., which, instead of leaning inward upon the centre, incline outward, it would be difficult to bring it under the theory of 'optical corrections.' I see a reason for it quite simple, too simple, perhaps, to be admitted: it is, that those upper portions bore the ornaments and painting. Instead, then, of receding from the eye by following the pyramidal slope, it would be natural that they should counteract it, and, by advancing toward the spectator, present him all the details of their decoration."

This is certainly a great advance on the refinements of Mr. Penrose, and even some enlargement of the conception of Burnouf. It recognises, like the latter, the resemblance of the Parthenon, in the particulars in question, to a truncated pyramid. It does much better, in observing the resemblance to be general in all the archaic temples of Greece proper, and of Magna Græcia; and, above all, in pointing out the derivation of the usage, as well as of the Doric order itself, from Egypt. These are all progressive steps in the right road to explanation, in the road of an *historical* analysis. But it must be owned the author does not reach the explanation; he even offers, we see, nothing but a bare statement of facts, that merely shifts the position of the question. The inquiry still returns: What was the reason of the thing in Egypt? in whose case the explanation is no whit more easy than in that of Athens. It might be even asked, additionally, whence the constancy of connexion between

the forms of the pyramid and this Egyptian or Doric order? And further, why this special form of architecture should arise in Egypt, or the Ionic be of Asiatic origin? So that, instead of affording a solution, the additions of M. Beulé would appear to have only multiplied the difficulties of the problem; for, in recognising the existence of a uniformity of tradition, he has excluded the sophistical expedient of capricious "taste."

Yet who would think that, after all, he still resorts to it himself at last? The Greek architects must have been actuated more by "sentiment," he thinks, than by science. "They curved their edifices even as nature curves the hills and the horizon. These curvilinear imitations of the works of nature give to the Parthenon something life-like and harmonious that impresses us unconsciously. The architect has been so far from aiming to correct our perceptions, that, on the contrary, he must have reckoned on their unsophisticated faithfulness." Here the question is referred, in fact, to the arbitrament of taste, both in relation to the architects and to the spectators. Nor is it rescued from this mysticism by the observation, even were it true, that "the straight line is a geometrical abstraction, never found in nature;" for true art does not consist in reproducing what *is* found in nature, but in producing what *might* be found there, but never is; in fact, it is another species of *abstraction*. But, moreover, it is not true that the straight line is as described. For bodies fall, light moves, crystals form in straight lines: in short, the forces of entire nature, perhaps, tend to realize this line; and if it does not prevail practically, the failure is due but to disturbance. In fact, the first and fundamental law of motion describes this line. We make this response to the standing argument for Hogarth's waving "line of beauty," to which M. Beulé gives no new validity by repetition. As to himself, it is sufficient to refer him to the passage cited, where he says, and very justly, that "the Doric order of architecture, in strict *proportion as it grew more perfect*, passed from the curve toward the straight line." To extenuate this contradiction it is, however, to be noted, that he appears to allude, in this virtual refuge to the test of taste, less to the vertical than to the horizontal class of curvatures. But he has also declared the latter to be a consequence of the former; a connexion which we invite him to unfold the links of in his next edition. Moreover, while recognising, as we have seen in the foregoing extract, that the pyramidal deflections had been transmitted by tradition, he asserts, instead of canvassing the cause and origin of the tradition, that the motive of its application to the Parthenon was strength and stability: a notion of which even Penrose saw the

incompatibility. In fine, then, M. Beulé has left the difficulty where he found it.

What says the theory above presented, in elucidation of the propylæa, upon this other curious question of philosophical archæology?

It has been submitted that the pyramid which marked the tomb of the departed demi-god, was the first monumental *structure* and the earliest *edifice* assigned to religion; that it gave formal and material origin, no less than moral, to the temple proper, which, in fact, proceeds from it originally in the character of adjunct; that afterwards a second pyramid was placed at proper distance from the primitive, to constitute an ampler gateway to the enclosure, destined to receive the votaries and the victims; that the obvious exigences of this purpose, as the suspension of the gate and the support of the roofings, would force a change in the receding jambs, such as detruncating both the pyramids, and first inverting the divergence into convergence, to afterwards oscillate, as above indicated, toward the vertical; that then the gate-posts, thus metamorphosed, from their points and angles, to a sort of cylinders, became the column of the Doric order of architecture; that, in fine, the propylæum is but a cumulative repetition, on the one hand, of the square pyramids, to constitute its five door-ways, and, on the other, of the cylindrical, to add its double colonnades. Though every step of this procession be authenticated by surviving samples, which the demurrer would be held in argument to explain otherwise, before being listened to, yet pertinacity against a theory so paradoxical might still find refuge in the ruined condition of those serial documents, and their obscurity in time and place. But when the Parthenon, that last perfection of the architecture of all antiquity, is demonstrated mathematically to describe a "truncated pyramid," and is thus shown not to have been able, though the refined result of all previous progresses, to quite eliminate this all-pervading and universal type of structure, we have an undeniable *fact*, more paradoxical than the theory, and which evinces as well as involves it, and that by the most crucial of attestations.

There remains, then, only to give in turn the explanation of this general fact, or, in other terms, the *philosophy* of the theory, a point left utterly untouched by both the authors mentioned, and, we think, by all others.

It is found jointly in the natures of the type in question and of the human mind. The pyramid is known to school-boys to be the simplest of all figures, and so the easiest for construction as for conception. It must, by consequence, have been spontaneously the earliest mode of architecture to be developed by the mental infancy of *heathen* primitive humanity. Both these factors of the result are

too self-evident to be insisted on. As to the subsequent progression, it is demonstrable likewise, that it could have been effected only by repetition of the type form, *under the mechanical modifications which the complication rendered necessary;* just as in geometry, the abstract figures are all complications of, and thus resolvable into, the sole element of the triangle. M. Beulé admires the abstinence, as he regards it, of the Greek architects in keeping, in their grandest structures, to the combination of a few elements; he even attributes the supposed supremacy of Greek art to this reserve. The real elements, we now perceive, were still more few than he imagines, and the reserve, not taste or choice, but narrow necessary impotence. As to the raptures about ancient art, we will content ourselves with asking if such a criticism—still the exclusive one—as that enforced throughout the foregoing pages, can be of authority upon the arts or the ideas of antiquity?

In fine, the principles unfolded will explain also, quite spontaneously, the secondary questions raised by M. Beulé's indications; such as the union of the pyramidal inclination with the Doric order, the emigration of this order into Hellas from the Nile, and the derivation, on the other hand, of the Ionic from Asia Minor. The Doric order was the first *æsthetical* transformation of the pyramid. Both originated on the Nile, because Egyptian architecture is the most indigenous, if not the earliest on the globe. The Ionic, which is simply a refinement of the Doric order, was the product of Assyrian and of Ionian civilisation, just as, afterward, the Corinthian was the contribution of Greece herself, because the circuit describes the sequence of social influence and mental progress. With the Corinthian order closed the simple, angular, and inclined epoch, to which succeeded the Roman composite, and *circularity* of the dome and arch. And if the Gothic followed this, it was only when the mind of Europe had fallen back into its primitive condition, and thus expressed itself again in the pyramidal architecture. This phenomenon is, then, an admirable testimony to our theory. And the theory also affords an explanation somewhat more rational than the habitual and profound one, that the Gothic spires are meant to point to heaven.

M. Beulé discusses at length, and no doubt learnedly, the famous sculptures both of the Parthenon and other monumental relics of the Acropolis. But for this interesting survey we refer the curious to the work itself. Our special purpose was to offer them what they would probably not have encountered in the books of travels, or of technicalities upon the subject.

ART V.—THE PRINCETON REVIEW ON ARMINIANISM AND GRACE.

THE PRINCETON REVIEW has for many years held a high place among theological journals. It has numbered among its writers several men of liberal culture and of varied knowledge. Its tone has generally been scholarly, and its discussions of controverted points have, in the main, been marked by decorum, as well as by ability. It is, certainly, one of the last journals in which we should have expected an article such as the second in the January number of the Repertory, (for 1856,) entitled "Arminianism and Grace." It is not too much to say of this article, that no man, with even a tolerable knowledge of the history of theology, could have honestly written it. It is such an article as no educated Calvinist, endowed with the sympathies of a Christian, nay, even with the instincts of a gentleman, can read without shame. We say these things more in sorrow than in anger. A few extracts from the article will suffice to show that we have good ground for saying them.

The writer in the Princeton Review professes to "have no desire to wound the feelings of his Arminian brethren." But it is his "settled conviction, that the principles on which Arminians object to Calvinism are utterly subversive of the true doctrines of grace;" and so, he reluctantly undertakes the task of "defending the truth and guarding the people from deception." In this gentle and friendly spirit, he declares that "the publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the palladium of Arminianism in this country, abound with bold and unscriptural assertions on this subject; and that Arminianism, in its essential and avowed principles, is subversive of grace." He says of the Methodist preachers* that they come—"with their pulpit performances as well as their publications"—"stealthily into quiet and peaceful neighbourhoods, or enter heartily into divided congregations, and glory in the work of making proselytes." He is forced to the "painful conviction that Arminianism is a delusion;" and finds it "mournful to think of so many persons deceived, and deceiving others." He asks, (again with "painful interest,") "Can those who hold the Arminian principles, presented above, preach the Gospel fully? Can they fully present to their

* The writer puts this accusation upon the "Doctrinal Tracts," but it is plain that "Doctrinal Tracts" can exhibit no "pulpit performances." The grammar of the Princeton writer is equal to his logic and his Christian charity.

hearers the God of the Bible, or the Saviour there revealed? . . . Is it the Father, Son, and Spirit, revealed in the Scriptures, whom they set forth? Or is it not their own mistaken idea of what that God ought to be, and to do, which is proclaimed?" Finally, at the end of his article and of his charity, he states the "great practical evil of Methodism to be," as he believes, "the false conversions and the false form of religion which it fosters."

But perhaps the most significant and the most shameful feature of the whole article is the fact that it refers its readers, for information as to the practical working of Methodism, to "Cooke's Centuries," a book so vile and so vulgar, so destitute at once of the spirit of religion and of the dignity of scholarship, that we cannot imagine the possibility of its finding shelter and protection among the theologians of the Princeton Seminary, who have, heretofore, maintained before the world the bearing of scholars and of gentlemen.

That our readers may see the character of the book which the writer in the Princeton Review endorses, we give a few specimens from "Cooke's Centuries;" not, indeed, the worst that might be selected, but quite bad enough to show the evil *animus* of the unhappy author. We have not space for his *ipsissima verba*, (except where we use quotation marks,) but our readers may be sure that we cannot state his slanders of Methodism more strongly than he states them himself. According, then, to this veracious "centurion," about "nine-tenths" of Methodist conversions "are found to be spurious after a longer or shorter trial." (Vol. i, p. 266.) The Methodist "system brings the matter of conversion to God into contempt," and offers "to every one invited to conversion a chance of ten to one that he will be cheated into a disastrous delusion." (Vol. i, p. 269.) It is "a contest to spread over the greatest number of people the pestilence of a spurious conversion, which conducts its victims to irreligion and infidelity." (Vol. ii, p. 132.) It "glories in proselytism as its main accomplishment." (Vol. i, p. 283.) Though "the largest religious denomination in the United States," the "Methodist Church is working more evil than good." (Vol. i, p. 314.) Its "so-called revival operations" are "comic actings;" (vol. i, p. 319;) and its camp-meetings exhibit "hocus-pocus comedies." (Vol. i, p. 330.) It is a "common enemy of Christianity, a great corrupting cause." (Vol. ii, p. 57.) It is "a *corrupt and corrupting corporation, and the best interests of religion require that it should cease.*" (Vol. ii, p. 61.) Its "bishops claim to rule by the grace of God, as really as do the despotic monarchs of Europe;" (vol. ii, p. 63;) "every mother's son of the conference is ecclesiastically their bond slave;" each bishop is "an absolute despot in the affairs of the Church;" (vol. ii, p. 75;) and

if "he have any special ends to carry in the conference, his will is irresistible." (Vol. ii, p. 79.) Promotions are reached in the Methodist Church, "by all the arts best known to those who are mere wrigglers into place;" (vol. ii, p. 84;) indeed, "the desirable places are made the stake of a game, in which the most expert players are sure to win, and some of the players improve such opportunities as offer, to play for money." (Vol. ii, p. 91.) "Finesse and deceit are prominent characteristics of Methodist ministers;" (vol. ii, p. 100;) the body is "schooled in all the arts of deception, and made fertile in tricks and inventions; it is so inured to these as to lose all sense of wrong in them;" (vol. ii, p. 113;) nay, Methodism itself "is only another name for duplicity and deceit." (Vol. ii, p. 120.) It "lives and thrives by a falsehood." (Vol. ii, p. 144.) It turns out "infidels by millions." (Vol. ii, p. 146.) Or, to sum up all in one sentence, as this "accuser of the brethren" does upon his title page, "*Methodism is not a branch of the Church of Christ.*"

Our Christian charity leads us to hope that the author of these horrible inventions is insane. If not, he is a man of filthy mind and corrupt heart. On him we have no words to spend. But with the Princeton Review the case is different. That journal bears upon its title-page the name of the "Rev. CHARLES HODGE, D. D.," as editor; but he did not write—he could not have written—the article in which the readers of his Review are recommended to read Parsons Cooke. In the name of our common Christianity we ask—and believe that all good men will justify us in asking—at the hands of Dr. Hodge, a disclaimer of the mass of slander and falsehood which the Review has, by implication at least, taken upon it to endorse.

Let us now examine briefly, and in order, what the Princeton writer calls "proofs" that Arminianism subverts grace. 1. His first proof is taken from the volume of "Doctrinal Tracts, issued in their present form by order of the General Conference:"

"On page 25 of this volume, a Calvinist is represented as saying, 'God might justly have passed by all men;' *i. e.*, might justly have left the whole race to perish, without providing salvation for any. To this the writer, John Wesley himself, we believe, replies: 'Are you sure he might? Where is it written? I cannot find it in the word of God. Therefore I reject it as a bold precarious assertion, utterly unsupported by holy Scripture.' But, says the Calvinist, 'You know in your own conscience, that God might justly have passed by you.' 'I deny it,' says Wesley. 'That God might justly, for my unfaithfulness to his grace, have given me up long ago, I grant; but this concession supposes me to have had grace.' This is plain and unmistakable language. 'I deny that God might justly have passed by me and all men. I reject it as a bold precarious assertion, utterly unsupported by holy Scripture.' The opposite affirmation necessarily follows. There is no middle ground between them. God could not justly have left me and all men to perish in our fallen state. He was bound in justice to provide salvation; and,

of course, to make it known and give grace to accept it, inasmuch as the provision, without these, would avail nothing! It would have been unjust to have left [*sic*] us without them! But where, then, is the grace in doing what he could not justly have omitted to do? Is it an act of grace for the Most High to do justice? Certainly not. There is no grace in such a transaction. The Gospel provision is only what he was bound to make; and to call that a dispensation of grace which justice required at his hand, is but to stultify ourselves and deceive mankind. This is our first proof that Arminianism subverts grace. It is sufficient and unanswerable were there no other. We have never seen a more bold or dangerous error couched in so few words by any writer who pretended to be evangelical. 'It is another Gospel, which indeed is not another'—it overthrows all. And yet we shall see that this error, here so boldly set forth, runs through Arminianism."

Had the writer *meant* to be decidedly fair, he would have quoted a little more from p. 25. Let us supply his omissions. Mr. Wesley had cited (p. 8.) the Confession of Faith in these words: "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death;" and had also quoted Calvin's language as follows: "All men are not created for the same end; but some are foreordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation. So, according as every man was created for the one end or the other, we say he was elected, that is, predestinated to life, or reprobated, that is, predestinated to damnation." The discussion that follows is on *reprobation.* On p. 24, he asks the question, "How can you possibly reconcile reprobation with those Scriptures that declare the *justice* of God?" and cites (one passage for all) Ezek. xviii, 2, &c., remarking that "through this whole passage, God is pleased to *appeal to man himself, touching the justice of his proceedings.* And well might he appeal to our own conscience, according to the account of them [i. e., of God's proceedings] which is here given. But it is an account which all the art of man will never reconcile with unconditional reprobation." It is in immediate connexion with this appeal to the Divine justice, that the passage occurs which our reviewer mutilates. It reads as follows: "Do you think it will cut the knot to say, 'Why, if God might justly have passed by all men, (speak out, if God might *justly* have *reprobated* all men, for it comes to the same point,) then he may justly pass by some. But God might *justly* have passed by all men.' Are you sure he might? Where is it written? I cannot find it in the word of God. Therefore I reject it as a bold precarious assertion, utterly unsupported by holy Scripture. If you say, 'But you know in your own conscience God might justly have passed by you:' I deny it. That God might *justly,* for my unfaithfulness to his grace, have *given me up* long ago, I grant: but this concession supposes me to have had that grace which you say a reprobate never had.

But besides, in making this supposition of what God might have justly done, you suppose his justice might have been separated from his other attributes, from his mercy in particular. But this never was, nor ever will be: nor, indeed, is it possible it should. All his attributes are inseparably joined: they cannot be divided, not for a moment. Therefore this whole argument stands not only on an unscriptural, but on an absurd, impossible supposition."

Mr. Wesley here asserts, (1) that a universal *reprobation* of the human race would have been unjust in GOD according to God's own account of his justice as given in the Scriptures; (2) that such a reprobation is unsupported by Scripture; and (3) that it would imply that the Divine attributes operate singly and separately, which is impossible.

And this, according to the Review, "subverts grace!" How? Because "it is not an act of grace for the Most High to do justice!" Does the reviewer mean to assert that GOD cannot be at once gracious and just? Or is he yet so ignorant of theological distinctions as not to know that "grace," in this discussion, is not opposed to God's justice, but to man's desert? If, indeed, human merit alone had entered into the question, the race would have ended with Adam; and it was only in virtue of the covenant of grace that descendants were born to him. Under that covenant God *is* bound, not, indeed, by any desert of man, (for that would preclude grace,) but by his own faithfulness, to offer salvation in Christ to all who fell in Adam. This is the doctrine of Arminians; this, too, is the doctrine of Scripture. The Gospel system is called by St. Paul the "grace of God, given to us in Christ Jesus." And he tells us that "the grace of God, which bringeth salvation to all men, (ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις,) hath appeared;" (Tit. ii, 11;) that "the living God is the Saviour of all men, especially those that believe;" (1 Tim. iv, 10;) that he "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." (1 Tim. ii, 4.) According to the Gospel scheme, "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." This θέλημα Θεοῦ is his determinate counsel—a decree "of his good pleasure." "Not, however, that it would have been consistent for God to desert the human race and leave it to perish; the divine goodness forbids such a supposition. The simple meaning is, that no external necessity compelled him to it, and that it was his free grace, without desert or worthiness on the part of man."*

Had our reviewer read in the "Doctrinal Tracts," for the first time, the assertion, that "if we confess our sins, he is faithful and

* Knapp, Theol., § 88.

just to forgive us our sins," he would doubtless have turned upon the writer with, "How? Do you involve God's *justice* in the forgiveness of sins? Your doctrine subverts grace." And his logic bears against St. John quite as forcibly as against Mr. Wesley.

So much for the first so-called "proof;" let us glance now at the next.

"The next proof is from the same volume of Tracts, p. 154. 'We believe that in the moment Adam fell, he had no freedom of will left.' If this be true, Adam was no longer a free agent. A free agent without freedom of will is of course an absurdity which no one will maintain. Into the same state also was his posterity brought. We have, by nature, no more freedom of will than he had after the fall. Then either we are unaccountable beings, or, in order that we might be held responsible, God was bound to restore our freedom through the dispensation of Christ. He certainly could not have held us accountable without freedom of will. He must then, on Arminian principles, either treat us as irrational beings, or restore our liberty; *i. e.*, he must provide a Saviour, through whom this freedom of will comes, or he could not hold any man responsible for his conduct. The Methodist Church holds that he has done the latter; *i. e.*, restored this liberty. But where, we ask again, is the grace—the unmerited favor of God in this transaction—in doing what he was bound to do before we could be held accountable? This principle of Methodism, published 'by order of the General Conference,' aside from some monstrous absurdities connected with it, which will be noticed hereafter, either subverts all true notions of grace, or leaves man an unaccountable being. If God was bound to give us a Saviour, and through him our liberty of will, there was no room for grace in his fulfilling that obligation."

The same fallacy pervades this statement that we have pointed out in the former. Were God bound, *by any merit in man*, to restore freedom of will and moral power to man, there would be no grace in the act. But God may be bound by the perfections of his own character, and in accordance with the scheme of human salvation which he, in his infinite goodness, has devised and announced, to do many things for man, which, so far as the recipient is concerned, are pure acts of grace. For the sense in which Mr. Wesley declares that Adam lost his free will by the fall, let us look at the context, which our reviewer again, with his usual adroitness, fails to cite. On page 153 Mr. Wesley says, "I do *not* hold that any *man has any will or power of himself to do anything that is good.*" This passage indicates the true sense of the one cited (in part) by the reviewer, and which we now give at length: "We believe that in the moment Adam fell, he had no freedom of will left; but that God, when of his own free grace he gave the promise of a Saviour to him and his posterity, graciously restored to mankind a liberty and power to accept of proffered salvation. And in all this, man's boasting is excluded; the whole of that which is good in him, even from the first moment of his fall, being of grace and not of nature."

Here Mr. Wesley's meaning is plain. The free will which is

restored to man by grace, includes "a liberty and power to accept of proffered salvation"—"a will and power to good." If the Princeton writer means anything, in opposition to Mr. Wesley, he means that man "*has this power by nature;*" and that man has the will and power of himself, *and apart from the grace of God*, to do good. This new Princeton writer may consider this Calvinism; the old books would call it Pelagianism. But with what a wretched grace does all this talk about free will come from a man who professes to be a Calvinist, and who, therefore, *really* holds to no free will at all, with or without Divine assistance! We subjoin, in the note, a number of citations, showing that divines of every school, and of every age, teach precisely the doctrine as to the power of Adam's will to do good after the fall, which the reviewer calls, when taught by Mr. Wesley, a doctrine "subversive of grace."*

Had the reviewer really desired to show his readers Mr. Wesley's doctrine of divine grace, he might have gone just ten pages further in the "Doctrinal Tracts," and found the following: "It [grace] is free in all to whom it is given. It does not depend on any power or merit in man: no, not in any degree: neither in whole nor in part. It does not in any wise depend either on the good works or righteousness of the receiver: not on anything he has done, nor anything he is. It does not depend on his endeavours. It does not depend on his good tempers, or good desires, or good purposes and intentions. For all these flow from the free grace of God: they are the streams only, not the fountain. They are the fruits of the free grace, and not the root. They are not the cause, but the effects of it. Whatsoever good is in man, or done by man, God is the author

* *Augustine:* Peccato Adæ liberum arbitrium de hominum natura periisse non dicimus, sed ad peccandum valere, in hominibus diabolo subditis, ad bene autem pieque vivendum non valere . . . Arbitrium lib. ad malum sufficit, ad bonum autem nihil est, nisi adjuvatur. *Peter Lombard:* Ipsa gratia voluntatem prævenit præparando, ut velit bonum, et præparatam adjuvat, ut perficiat . . . . Corrupta est libertas arbitrii per peccatum, et ex parte perdita . . Gratia sanat et liberat voluntatem. *Aquinas:* Liberum arbitrium ad Deum converti non potest, nisi Deo ipsum ad se convertente. *Conf. Augs.:* De lib. arbit. docent quod humana voluntas . . . non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendæ justitiæ Dei seu spiritualis. *Form. Concord.:* In rebus spiritualibus homo est instar statuæ salis, &c. *Conf. Helvet.:* Intellectus obscuratus est; voluntas, ex libera, facta est serva. *Calvin:* "Surrounded on every side with the most miserable necessity, he [man] should nevertheless be instructed to aspire to the good of which he is destitute, and to the liberty of which he is deprived . . . Man has not an equally free election of good and evil, and can only be said to have free will, because he does evil voluntarily and not by constraint." We are not concerned to show that these writers and creeds are consistent with themselves throughout.

and doer of it. Thus is his grace free in all, that is, no way depending on any power or merit in man; but on God alone, who freely gave us his own Son, and *with him freely giveth us all things.*"

Or had he chosen to go to Arminius himself to find out the Arminian doctrine of grace, he might have cited the following: "Concerning grace and free will, this is what I teach, according to the Scriptures and orthodox consent: Free will is unable to begin or to perfect any true and spiritual good without grace. That I may not be said, like Pelagius, to practise delusion with regard to the word 'grace,' I mean by it that which is the grace of Christ and which belongs to regeneration. I affirm, therefore, that this grace is simply and absolutely necessary for the illumination of the mind, the due ordering of the affections, and the inclination of the will to that which is good. It is this grace which operates on the mind, the affections, and the will; which infuses good thoughts into the mind, inspires good desires into the affections, and bends the will to carry into execution good thoughts and good desires. This grace [*prævenit*] goes before, accompanies, and follows; it excites, assists, operates that we will, and coöperates lest we will in vain. It averts temptations, assists and grants succour in the midst of temptations, sustains man against the flesh, the world, and Satan, and in this great contest grants to man the enjoyment of the victory. It raises up again those who are conquered and have fallen, establishes and supplies them with new strength, and renders them more cautious. This grace commences salvation, promotes it, and perfects and consummates it. I confess that the mind of [*animalis*] a natural and carnal man is obscure and dark, that his affections are corrupt and inordinate, that his will is stubborn and disobedient, and that the man himself is dead in sins. And I add to this—that teacher obtains my highest approbation who ascribes as much as possible to Divine grace, provided he so pleads the cause of grace as not to inflict an injury on the justice of God, and not to take away *the free will to that which is evil.*"—*Writings of Arminius* (Bagnall,) vol. ii, p. 472.

The "third proof that Arminianism subverts grace, is taken from Watson's Theological Institutes."

"He teaches very distinctly (and correctly, we may add) that in the fall of Adam, all men became liable to bodily, spiritual, and eternal death. But mark the ground on which he defends this transaction against the charge of injustice. 'In all this it is impossible to impeach the equity of the Divine procedure, since no man suffers any loss or injury ultimately by the sin of Adam, but by his own wilful obstinacy; the abounding of grace having placed before all men, upon their believing, not merely compensation for the loss and injury sustained by Adam, but infinitely higher blessings both in kind and degree, than were forfeited in him. . . . As to adults, then, the objection from Divine justice is unsupported.' But why is it unsupported? Because there is a

chance to escape these dreadful consequences. It would have been unjust if there were not this chance, but since they have it, therefore it was just in God to visit them with death temporal and spiritual, and with exposure to death eternal for the sin of Adam!

"But if this be the ground on which the justice of that transaction is to be defended, where, we ask, is the grace of salvation? Is it an act of grace in God to do what justice demanded? Can there be any favor in providing salvation, if the provision of it was necessary to vindicate (and, according to this writer, is the only thing which does vindicate) divine justice? Surely it is not grace for God to vindicate his own honour. Here, again, is evidence that Arminianism subverts grace. God was bound to make the provision, or he would have been liable to the charge of injustice in permitting us to be ruined by the fall."

It will be sufficient reply to this to cite the entire passage from Mr. Watson, (*Institutes*, vol. ii, pp. 56, 57:) "The objections which have been raised against the imputation of Adam's offence, in the extent we have stated it, on the ground of the justice of the proceeding, are of two kinds. The former are levelled, not against that Scriptural view of the case which has just been exhibited, but against that repulsive and shocking perversion of it which is found in the high Calvinistic creed, which consigns infants, not elect, to a conscious and endless punishment, and that not of loss only, but of pain, for this first offence of another. The latter springs from regarding the legal part of the whole transaction which affected our first parents and their posterity separately from the evangelical provision of mercy which was concurrent with it, and which included, in like manner, both them and their whole race. With the high Calvinistic view we have nothing to do. It will stand or fall with the doctrines of election and reprobation, as held by that school, and these will be examined in their place. The latter class of objections now claim our attention; and as to them we observe, that, as the question relates to the moral government of God, if one part of the transaction before us is intimately and inseparably connected with another and collateral procedure, it cannot certainly be viewed in its true light but in that connexion. The redemption of man by Christ was not certainly an afterthought brought in upon man's apostasy; it was a *provision*, and when man fell, he found justice hand in hand with mercy What are then the facts of the *whole* case? For greater clearness, let us take Adam and the case of his *adult* descendants first. All become liable to bodily death; here was justice, the end of which is to support law, as that supports government. By means of the anticipated sacrifice of the Redeemer's atonement, which, as we shall in its place show, is an effectual means of declaring the justice of God, the sentence is reversed, not by exemption from bodily death, but by a happy and glorious resurrection. For, as this was an act of grace, Almighty God was free to choose, speaking humanly, the

circumstances under which it should be administered, in ordering which the unerring wisdom of God had its natural influence. The evil of sin was still to be kept visible before the universe, for its admonition, by the actual infliction of death upon all men; the grace was to be manifested in reparation of the loss by restoration to immortality. Again, God, the fountain of spiritual life, forsook the soul of Adam, now polluted by sin, and unfit for his residence. He became morally dead and corrupt, and, as 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' this is the natural state of his descendants. Here was justice, a display of the evil of sin, and of the penalty which it ever immediately induces—man forsaken by God, and thus forsaken, a picture to the whole universe of corruption and misery, resulting from that departure from him which is implied in one sinful act. But that spiritual, quickening influence visits him from another quarter and through other means. The second Adam 'is a quickening spirit.' The Holy Spirit is the purchase of his redemption, to be given to man, that he may again infuse into his corrupted nature the heavenly life, and sanctify and regenerate it. Here is the mercy. As to a future state, eternal life is promised to all men believing in Christ, which reverses the sentence of eternal death. Here, again, is the manifestation of mercy. Should this be rejected, he stands liable to the whole penalty: to the punishment of loss as the natural consequence of his corrupted nature which renders him unfit for heaven; to the punishment of even pain for the original offence, we may also, without injustice, say, as to an adult, whose actual transgression, when the means of deliverance has been afforded him by Christ, is a consenting to all rebellion against God, and to that of Adam himself; and to the penalty of his own actual transgressions, aggravated by his having made light of the Gospel. Here is the collateral display of justice. In all this it is impossible to impeach the equity of the Divine procedure, since no man suffers any loss or injury ultimately by the sin of Adam, but by his own wilful obstinacy; the 'abounding of grace,' by Christ, having placed before all men, upon their believing, not merely compensation for the loss and injury sustained by Adam, but infinitely higher blessings, both in kind and degree, than were forfeited in him. As to adults, then, the objection taken from Divine justice is unsupported."

The "fourth proof" is found by collating the eighth Article of Religion of the M. E. Church with a passage from Watson's Institutes (vol. ii. p. 341:)

"Now put these declarations together, and what do they teach? The first affirms, 'he cannot turn and prepare himself to faith and calling upon God . . . we have no power to do good works.' It would be utterly impossible for

us then to perform them, 'under any circumstances that we could possibly avail ourselves of,' without the Gospel. But the second says, 'it would be most contrary to justice and right' to punish men for deeds committed in such circumstances. Then it follows, that without the provision and help of the Gospel we would have been unaccountable beings—it would have been most contrary to justice and right for the Almighty to have punished us for our improper conduct—in order to hold us accountable justly, he must provide and offer salvation, and give strength to accept it. This is the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of Arminians generally. Where then, we ask again, is the grace of the Gospel? According to these statements, it would have been unjust in God to have held men responsible without it. It is, therefore, simply an arrangement of justice and necessity without which the Lord could have exercised no moral government over men. Thus, again, is grace overthrown just as certainly as by Wesley's bold assertion, that God could not justly have passed by all men."

Let our readers remember that Mr. Watson is treating of the "absolute and unconditional reprobation" of all but a select portion of mankind, and showing its incompatibility with the divine justice. We enlarge the reviewer's citation somewhat: "Here, indeed, we would not assume to measure this attribute of God by unauthorized human conceptions; but when God himself has appealed to those established notions of justice and equity which have been received among all enlightened persons, in all ages, as the measure and rule of his own, we cannot be charged with this presumption. 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do *right?*' 'Are not my ways *equal?* saith the Lord.' We may then be bold to affirm, that justice and equity in God are what they are taken to be among reasonable men; and if all men everywhere would condemn it, as most contrary to justice and right, that a sovereign should condemn to death one or more of his subjects, for not obeying laws which it is absolutely impossible for them, under any circumstances which they can possibly avail themselves of, to obey, and much more the greater part of his subjects; and to require them, on pain of aggravated punishment, to do something in order to the pardon and remission of their offences, which he knows they cannot do, say to stop the tide or to remove a mountain; it implies a charge as awfully and obviously unjust against God, who is so 'holy and just in all his doings,' so exactly 'just in the judgments which he executeth,' as to silence all his creatures, to suppose him to act precisely in the same manner as to those whom he has passed by and rejected, without any avoidable fault of their own; to destroy them by the simple rule of his own sovereignty, or, in other words, to show that he has power to do it. In whatever light the subject be viewed, no fault, in any right construction, can be chargeable upon the persons so punished, or, as we may rather say, *destroyed*, since punishment supposes a judicial proceeding, which this act shuts out. For either the reprobates are

destroyed for a pure reason of sovereignty, without any reference to their sinfulness, and thus all criminality is left out of the consideration; or they are destroyed for the sin of Adam, to which they were not consenting; or for personal faults resulting from a corruption of nature which they brought into the world with them, and which God wills not to correct, and they have no power to correct themselves. Every received notion of justice is thus violated."—(*Watson*, vol. ii, pp. 341, 342.)

Put the Princeton writer's doctrine beside Mr. Watson's, and see which more magnifies the grace of God. The former holds, in effect, that God displays his mercy in saving a portion of mankind by irresistible grace, and in "destroying the rest by the simple rule of his own sovereignty." The doctrine of the latter is that God, of his boundless philanthropy, (φιλανθρωπία, Tit. iii, 4,) provides means for the salvation of the whole human race, gives grace to enable each man to appropriate that salvation to himself, and destroys none but those who wilfully refuse that grace. The former, in its fatalistic elements, is as much the doctrine of Mohammed as of Christ; the latter is the very "grace of the Gospel."

Our space will not allow us to quote the remaining so-called "proofs" at length; nor, indeed, is it necessary, as the same fallacy (viz., that of opposing grace to God's justice, not to man's desert,) runs through them all. The fifth "proof" is, in substance, that Arminians "subvert grace" by asserting that "election" makes God unjust. No Arminian has ever asserted that election makes God unjust; but both Arminianism and Scripture assert that for God to bring the human race into the world incapable of doing his will, and then to save some unconditionally, and to damn the rest for failing to do what they never can do, would have been utterly inconsistent with his character as revealed by himself. And, in the economy of the Gospel, Arminians contend, the justice of God and his grace go hand in hand.

The last "proof" is, in brief, that "Arminianism subverts grace by making man able either to dispense with it altogether, or superior to its most potent influences." The amount of this is, that the reviewer can conceive of no divine grace, or "favour," that is not *irresistible*. What lamentable confusions of ideas is here! It is no "grace" to bestow upon man the power to obey God, simply because it is "just" in God to bestow it; it is no "grace" to "work in man to will and to do," simply because man can, if he chooses, refuse to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling."*

* "To jump into fatalism lest we should be proud of our free will, is not less absurd than to prostrate ourselves before a traitor lest we should not honour the

Had the apostle any meaning when he besought the Corinthians not to "receive the grace of God in vain?" Was there ever (to quote the language of the Princeton Review) a more "remarkable instance of persons self-deceived and full of self-complacency in their delusion?"

But "the mind tires and grows sick" in dwelling upon the wonderful theology and baseless metaphysics of the writer, who, by some strange accident, has been permitted to display his want of knowledge and of charity in the pages of the Princeton Review. With our friends of the Calvinistic Churches we wish to have no quarrel. We gladly and joyfully recognize them as fellow Christians. In the language of Mr. Watson, "the fact of conversions from sin to holiness being wrought, by God's blessing upon the labours of divines and preachers of each class, (Calvinistic and Arminian,) shows that he employs that truth in which they agree, rather than the points in which they differ, as the instrument of conveying salvation to man."* At the same time, we believe that Calvinism, in its *distinguishing* features, is a very mischievous corruption of Christianity, and that it is quite easy to prove it such. We believe that it originated, not in the Apostolic age, not in the Church of the first three centuries, but in "the sophistries of that corrupt pagan philosophy which imbued the early thoughts of Augustine, and which he brought into the Christian Church." It teaches that "God imposed upon Adam a necessity of falling; and made it the very end of the creation of the human race, that God might show his mercy, or rather his mere will, in electing some of them, without respect to their faith and obedience, unto eternal life; and his justice, in rejecting all the rest, and punishing them" for transgressions, not only unavoidable, but committed under the pressure of a moral and invincible necessity. And in teaching this, it destroys at once the moral attributes of God and the free agency of man. The writer in the Princeton Review says that he has hardly in his whole life heard from Presbyterians "more than half a dozen formal discourses on any distinguishing doctrine of Calvinism," and we can well believe him. It is not by such preaching that men are converted, and our contemporary knows it.

king, and to run into a house of ill fame lest we should be proud of our chastity."—*Fletcher*, Works, i, 501.

* Watson's Works, (London,) vii, 478.

Art. VI.—ENGLISH UNIVERSITY LIFE AND UNIVERSITY REFORM.

In less than an hour and a half the express train whirled us over a distance of sixty-three miles from London to Oxford. As we walked through the streets, and looked at the withered college walls and silent cloisters, the black gowns and square caps of the passing students, the strange mixture of scholastic, clerical, and monastic life, it appeared to us that we had made a still greater backward journey over the road of time from the nineteenth century to the middle ages. The change is almost as great as that between Naples and Pompeii. And yet, though some hundred years older, we felt renewed and refreshed by the green meadows and the literary atmosphere. On our first visit to the celebrated university, some ten years before, we had to make a part of the journey by coach. The completion of the railroad, although it passes some distance from the town, seems to be almost a desecration of the Muses. But it makes the contrast between the noise of the monster city of commerce and the quiet of the peaceful retreat of learning, between the prose of business and the poetry of study, between the stir of the present and the charm of the past, only more striking. In the teeming life of the metropolis you feel lost like a drop in the ocean; in the University town you regain your self-possession, the consciousness of your individuality and freedom.

Oxford is emphatically one of the old things of England; a venerable relic of the past, and a strong conservative power of the present age; the green-house of High Churchism in religion and High Toryism in politics; the nursery of the episcopacy and aristocracy of Great Britain. The very lions at its gates bristle at the approach of a liberal and a dissenter. And yet we doubt whether even a Puritan from New-England can visit its ancient halls and chapels, the treasures of the Bodleian and Radcliff libraries, the noble monuments of the martyr reformers, the verdant fields and stately trees on the banks of the youthful Thames, and mingle with the literary society, which rules there supreme, without the deepest interest and the most agreeable impressions. We have enjoyed the full benefit of English hospitality from heads of houses, professors, fellows, and students, and are free to confess, that memory shall ever number the few weeks spent in this ancient seat of learning, among the most pleasant as well as the most profitable recollections of good old England.

Oxford is the birthplace of Puseyism, which since 1833 has exerted such a powerful influence upon the whole Church of England. So

closely is the place identified with this movement, that Puseyism and Oxfordism, or the Oxford school, have almost become synonymous terms. Dr. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church College, although destitute of popular talents, a retired student, of austere, almost monkish habits, is generally respected and even popular there, as the principal originator of a theological and ecclesiastical movement which gave new importance and celebrity to the University, and seems to have grown out naturally of its mediæval and Anglican traditions, and to be well adapted to support the ancient institutions and established order of the country. But it is far more the Anglican than the Romanizing feature of that system which has taken root in Oxford. The majority sympathize with, or acquiesce in, High Church views on episcopacy, apostolical succession, liturgical worship, the sacraments, etc., but, with all this, they hate Romanism as heartily as dissent, and have not the most distant idea of ever leaving the Church of England. There is little doubt that Pusey himself will die a son of the Establishment. He is satisfied with the system of Anglicanism, and has very little interest in anything that goes beyond it. We made some inquiry as to the effect which the apostasy of so many distinguished Oxford men had upon their former associates and co-labourers. Some, no doubt, must feel very uneasy at results which they neither foresaw nor desired. Others regard them as a transitory crisis, which is nearly over, and attribute the conversions, or "perversions," as they call them, more to the restless spirit and peculiar temperament of the individuals in question, than to the consequences of their principles. They are willing to admit the defects of Anglicanism and the force of some of the arguments urged against them by their former friends; but they console themselves by the fact, that there is no perfection in the Church militant, and that Romanism is burdened with still greater difficulties and grievances. They regard especially the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the sad moral condition of Roman Catholic countries, as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, as insuperable objections to Popery.

Besides the Puseyites, and the numerous old-fashioned High Churchmen, (the high and dry,) there are in Oxford a few disciples and admirers of Dr. Thomas Arnold, who share more or less the liberal opinions of the Broad Church school. They make up for their numerical weakness by talent and learning. At first they stood in strong opposition to Puseyism, but the heat of the controversy has long passed its climax. Had Dr. Arnold laboured longer in Oxford, as Professor of History, he would perhaps have exerted an influence not so strictly theological, but as strong and far-reaching

upon the rising clergy, nobility, and gentry, as Dr. Pusey. His spirit still lives there, and is not likely to die so soon. The reforms already accomplished in the administration of the University, and others still in contemplation, will, in all probability, affect in the end also the theology which gives the leading tone to that great institution.

The University of Cambridge represents generally the other wing of the State and Church of England, and is thus a necessary complement to its older and more powerful sister. There Low Church tendencies have had the ascendency from Cranmer and Bucer down to Goode, although the classics and mathematics are far more studied than theology. There the poet Milton, and many of the leading statesmen and orators of the Whig party, as Babington Macaulay, have received their training.

But we must hasten to give our readers an idea of an English university as distinct from a continental university and from our American colleges, and of the reforms which have for years been agitated, and which were partly carried by the Parliament of 1854. We shall speak with special reference to Oxford, with which we are more familiar than with Cambridge.

The English Universities present a singular combination of the monastic life of the Catholic middle ages, in which they originated, and the Protestant habits and studies of modern times; and in point of literary organization, they exhibit a curious mixture of the tutorial or college system, with the professorial or university plan. They occupy thus a medium position between a continental university in the proper sense of the term, on the one hand, and a German gymnasium or American college, on the other. They attempt to be both college and university, but without doing justice to the lecture system and the professorial studies.

As Rome was not built in a day, so the English Universities are the growth of ages. They go back to the thirteenth century; a few colleges date their first existence even from the times of Alfred the Great. The number of colleges, professorships, fellowships, scholarships, libraries, prizes, and various endowments, gradually increased, and is still increasing by the liberality of kings, bishops, noblemen, scholars, and other friends of literature and the Church. Most of the older endowments were more prompted by religious than by literary zeal, and were intended to secure the benefit of prayers for the departed founders. The State, at the Reformation, took them away, abolished masses for the dead, and gave them to Protestants, on the principle that man is only the life-tenant of his property, and has no right to legislate for future generations, except for their benefit.

Oxford numbers now not less than twenty-four complete literary institutions, nineteen colleges and five halls, each possessing its separate buildings, library, corps of teachers, and students. The only difference between them is, that the halls are not incorporated; consequently, whatever estates or other property they possess, are held in trust by the University. In early times, when there were but few colleges, the number of the halls was very large, amounting even to over two hundred in the reign of Edward I. We will here enumerate these institutions of Oxford according to their age, as given by the "University Calendar." From this it will be seen that the colleges of the middle ages were mostly founded and endowed by bishops, those after the Reformation by laymen, a fact which is not very creditable to the liberality of Protestant bishops as compared with their Catholic predecessors.

1. University College, founded by William, Archdeacon of Durham, A. D. 1249.*
2. Balliol College, founded by John Balliol, of Bernard Castle, A. D. 1263.
3. Merton College, founded by Walter Merton, Bishop of Rochester, A. D. 1274.
4. Exeter College, founded by Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1314.
5. Oriel College, founded by Edward II., A. D. 1326.
6. Queen's College, founded by Robert Egglesfield, confessor to the queen of Edward III., A. D. 1340.
7. New College, founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, A. D. 1386.
8. Lincoln College, founded by Richard Flemming, Bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1427.
9. All Souls' College, founded by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1437.
10. Magdalen College, founded by William of Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, A. D. 1456.
11. Brasenose College, founded by William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, A. D. 1509.
12. Corpus Christi College, founded by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, A. D. 1516.
13. Christ Church, founded by Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII., A. D. 1526.
14. Trinity College, founded by Sir Thomas Pope, A. D. 1554.
15. St. John's College, founded by Sir Thomas White, A. D. 1555.
16. Jesus College, founded by Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1571.
17. Wadham College, founded by Nicholas Wadham, of Merifield, and his wife, A. D. 1613.
18. Pembroke College, founded by Thomas Tesdale, of Glympton, and Richard Wightwick, Rector of Ilsley, A. D. 1624.
19. Worcester College, founded by Sir Thomas Cookes, of Bentley, A. D. 1714.
20. St. Mary's Hall. 21. Magdalen Hall. 22. New Inn Hall. 23. St. Alban Hall. 24. St. Edmund Hall, (the oldest of the halls, dating its existence from the year 1269.)

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* It is said to have been founded by Alfred the Great, in the year 872. But the Danish invasion destroyed nearly all such institutions.

Cambridge University numbers now thirteen colleges and four halls. The oldest is St. Peter's College, 1256; the youngest, Downing College, 1821.

The edifices for the accommodation of the masters, fellows, and students, who constitute these various colleges, are of different size and architectural design; but they mostly consist of several large square courts, surrounded with uniform ranges of building. A large gate leads to the outer court, and is watched by a porter, who closes it at ten. Each student has two small rooms and a pantry, with his name affixed on the door. They take breakfast in their apartment, but dine in a common hall. The hall of Christ Church, Oxford, is especially interesting for its size, its pictures of Cardinal Wolsey and of various benefactors and distinguished graduates of the college, and for many historical recollections; for instance, the feast given there by George IV., as Prince Regent, to Prince Metternich and Marshal Blucher in 1814. The fellows have, besides, a "common room," to which they retire with their guests after dinner to partake of the desert. This we found to be by far the most pleasant part of the entertainment, as the conversation then becomes more animated, rising occasionally to a "feast of reason and flow of soul." Most of the college buildings now look gray, old, and venerable. They are scattered through the town, several of them contiguous to each other. They have generally a large library, a Gothic chapel, and gardens and walks attached to them. These walks, or picturesque avenues of lofty trees amid verdant fields, are admirably calculated to promote the health and invite the meditation of the students, especially the meadows of Christ Church and the gardens of Magdalen College. "There is something bewitching in the idea of dwelling in one of those massive piles of building, and gliding in classic costume through the silent courts or cloisters, strolling along the magnificent paths, frequenting the splendid library, and being surrounded with all possible helps and stimulants to ransack the arcana of science, and become acquainted with man's and nature's deepest mysteries."

The members of the college are the masters, fellows, and students.

The *masters*, also called heads of houses, wardens, rectors, provosts, principals, presidents, deans, attend to the government and discipline, and reside in the building with their families.

The *fellows* are graduates who have distinguished themselves more or less, or who owe their preferment to favouritism. From these are chosen the tutors, who do most of the active teaching. But a great many fellows are literary idlers, who enjoy the benefits, amounting in some cases to one or two thousand dollars per annum,

without returning any service whatever to the college or the community at large. They must be unmarried; some retain this post for life, others vacate it by taking a wife, and succeeding to some clerical benefice or mastership. The fellowships were originally founded for the promotion of literary and scientific researches, and it is one of the greatest evils complained of, that so many have become mere sinecures.

The students are from sixteen to thirty years old. They receive most of the instruction from the fellows of their college, and some from the public lectures of the University professors. Many employ the help of a private tutor, or "coach." They are required to attend recitations, the daily service in the chapel, (on Sunday twice,) and to be at dinner. At ten o'clock they must be in their rooms. For every hour after ten they are fined; and if they are out till after midnight, they are called up to give an account; and in cases of repeated offence, they subject themselves to a severe reprimand by the dean. Besides attendance at lecture, prayer, and dinner, they are masters of their time. The earnest students, of course, employ it well, and strive after literary honours and distinctions. He who stands the best examination is called the "Senior Wrangler," the first man of his year, and has easy access to all academical places and emoluments. Next to wranglers come the "Senior Optimés," and then the "Junior Optimés." A competitor for honours who falls short of these is "gulfed," or declared unfit for honours: but he may try for the common degree of B. A., along with the multitude, called "poll," (from the Greek *polloi*.) If they fail to come up to these requirements, they are "plucked;" but if they "read hard," with the aid of their "coach," they may come up for a *post mortem* examination, held a few weeks afterward There are not a few who care nothing about an education, but waste their time in day sports and night revelries, and ruin their health and fortune before they manage to get the first degree, if they get it at all. The "fellow-commoners" are students of wealth and rank, able to pay more for their education than the rest, furnished with superior accommodations, and entitled to wear gold or silver trimmings on their gowns and caps. The expenses generally, however, are much higher than in America. Several Oxford students told us, that board and tuition alone cost £100, and the additional expenses vary from £50 to £100, which would make nearly $1,000 per annum!

These different colleges and halls together constitute the University, a literary commonwealth, governed by its own laws. The highest officers are the chancellor, (now the Earl of Derby for Oxford, and

Prince Albert for Cambridge,) the high steward, the vice-chancellor, the pro-vice-chancellors, the burgesses, the deputy steward, the proctors, the pro-proctors, and the heads of colleges and halls. The whole business of the University, in its corporate capacity, is transacted in two distinct assemblies, the *House of Congregation*, which consists wholly of regents, that is, all doctors of every faculty resident in the University, rectors, professors, public lecturers, and examiners; and the *House of Convocation*, or the *Great Congregation*, which includes regents and non-regents, and masters of arts. For the better government of the University there is also a *hebdomadal meeting of the heads of houses*, (colleges and halls,) who meet every Monday, with the vice-chancellor and the proctors, and are empowered to deliberate upon all matters relating to the observance of the statutes and the preservation of the privileges and liberties of the University. The professorial lectures can be, and in part must be attended by the students of all colleges. The University professorships have been gradually founded, without any order or system. The incumbents are, at the same time, attached to a particular college. There are now, in Oxford, only twenty-three professorships for the following branches of study: Divinity, Hebrew, Exegesis, Ecclesiastical History, Moral Philosophy, Poetry, Political Economy, Logic, Arabic, Sanscrit, Anglo-Saxon, Geometry, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, Physiology, Medicine, Chemistry, Practical Chemistry, Experimental Philosophy, Mineralogy, and Geology.

The academical year is divided into four terms, Michaelmas Term, Hilary Term, Easter Term, and Trinity Term. The vacations cover nearly six months. Sixteen terms are required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and twelve terms more must elapse before the admission to the degree of Master of Arts. The higher degrees, especially that of Bachelor and of Doctor of Divinity, require, of course, a longer preparation.

The most interesting time in the English Universities is the annual "*Commemoration*," (viz., of the founder and benefactor of the University,) a literary festival corresponding to our "commencements," though far surpassing them in splendour and the crowd of visitors. It is held at Oxford, in the month of June, in the Sheldonian theatre, a plain, round building, called after its founder, Archbishop Sheldon, of Canterbury, and erected by Sir Christopher Wren, in 1660, at an expense of £15,000. It will hold at least three thousand people. The upper gallery is occupied by the under-graduates, the lower by ladies, and the area or pit by masters, and friends introduced by them. The officers and students appear in their picturesque mediæval costumes. The exercises consist in the conferring of the liter-

ary degrees by the chancellor, or, in his absence, by the vice-chancellor, with the consent of the convocation; a Latin address by the public orator in commemoration of the founders and benefactors of the University; and several prize essays or poems by the successful competitors, in Latin and English. Before and after the exercises, and even during them, as the names of the different candidates for the academic honours are called out, the under-graduates in the gallery make full use of the license granted them on that day, of expressing by cheers and groans, at the top of their voices, their approval or disapproval of public men and measures. It is a most animated and uproarious occasion, full of interest and instruction as to the real sentiments of the rising generation. Loud and hearty cheers for the Queen and Prince Albert, lustily responded to, make the beginning. Then the senior wrangler, the different masters and professors, her majesty's ministers, bishops, and other public men, are greeted with one, two, or three cheers, or as many groans, according to the measure of their popularity or disfavour. The proctors are nearly always groaned. At Cambridge, when the men of Catharine's Hall (abbreviated Cat's Hall) are presented, they are greeted with the mewing of a cat. The ladies, of course, receive always their full share of attention. There are shouts for "the ladies in white," the "ladies in black," "in blue," "in green," "in buff," and every other colour; for "the ladies in bonnets," and "the ladies in hats;" for "the ladies coming in," "the ladies who have got in," "the ladies who can't get in;" for "the ladies with blue eyes," "the ladies with black eyes;" for those "who wear glasses;" for "the ladies engaged," for "the ladies disengaged," and for "the old maids." These demonstrations are good-natured throughout, full of genuine English humour, and when the boisterousness exceeds the limits, a little waving of the chancellor's hand is always sufficient to check it. At the last commemoration in Oxford (1855) the heroes of the Crimea, the Emperor and Empress of the French, and the Allies in general, were received with deafening vociferations of applause, interspersed with intense groans for Russia. The name of Miss Nightingale, the heroine of charity, was called out with a perfect tempest of praise. Gladstone, who so long and ably represented the University in Parliament, but has made himself unpopular lately by his opposition to the continuance of the war with Russia, and Lord Palmerston, the present prime minister, were received with mingled cheers and hisses. A similar mixture of praise and censure, but a greater portion of the latter, was bestowed upon the name of Layard, the member of Parliament for Nineveh and Assyria, and the reformers Bright and Cobden were groaned. When the name of James

Buchanan, our minister at the Court of St. James, was presented for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, some wag in the gallery struck up Yankee Doodle. Sir T. Burgoyne, Sir De Lacy Evans, and Sir Charles Lyell received the same degree under great applause. But when Alfred Tennyson walked calmly and modestly up the aisle to receive his well-merited honours, he was still more overwhelmed with thundering cheers than the heroes of the Crimea, in proof that the sons and daughters of England, after all, prize the arts of peace above the glories of war, and the laurels of poetry above the blood-stained triumphs of the battle-field.

The University of Oxford has recently undergone some changes, in consequence of the *Reform Bill* passed in 1854. In such large and complicated institutions there must necessarily grow up, in the course of time, a number of abuses and defects, such as favouritism, monopolies, arbitrary and capricious rules, want of discipline, dead formalities, &c. For two hundred years the English Universities had not been touched, and their short-comings were overlooked in view of the eminent services which they still continued to render to the country. But for about twenty years past the question of reform has been seriously agitated. A better administration of funds, a stricter discipline, an increase of the duties of fellows, a more general distribution of the fellowships among the most worthy, and of the stipends among the poor students, a reduction of the enormous expenses of education, a restriction of the aristocratic privileges, an extension of the proper university studies, on the professorial system in distinction from tutorial instruction, and, finally, the admission of Dissenters to the privileges and honours of these national establishments of liberal education, were loudly called for. There is hardly a sensible man in Oxford or Cambridge who does not admit the necessity or desirableness of some changes, although they differ very widely as to the nature and extent of them. Many of the best friends of these Universities have been the most zealous defenders of reform. For the last few years the excitement has run very high on the subject, and a number of pamphlets and articles were written on both sides of the question. The college authorities have often been asked to reform themselves. But this was, perhaps, asking more humility and self-denial than poor human nature is generally capable of. It is always much easier to see the mote in a brother's eye, than to pull out the beam from our own eye.

So Parliament, at last, took the matter in hand, and passed the Oxford University Reform Bill, in 1854. It is the joint product of Lord John Russell and the Honourable W. Gladstone, both members of the late Aberdeen ministry, but of very different views in

politics and religion; for the former was educated in Scotland, is the leader of the Whig party, and an enemy of Puseyism; the latter is one of the most dutiful sons of Oxford, a conservative Peelite, and a High Churchman of the Anglo-Catholic school. So the Reform Bill resulted in a compromise, and was reduced to an improvement simply of the present system. Here it satisfies neither of the extreme parties; but it was, perhaps, after all, the best measure which could be wisely carried at present. It removes the most glaring abuses; throws the headships, fellowships, and scholarships open to merit; forbids the non-residence of fellows for more than a year; abolishes the legislative and administrative supremacy of the hebdomadal board, and establishes a new hebdomadal council, composed of the vice-chancellor, the proctor, six heads of houses, six professors, and six members of the convocation, (the last eighteen to be all elected by the congregation,) thus combining the energy of young men with the wisdom of experience. This council has the exclusive right of proposing and framing laws for the sanction of the convocation, or the legislative body of the University.

But the tutorial system—that is, the monopoly of public instruction by the fellows of each college separately—is still dominant in Oxford. We do not agree with those who advocate its entire abolition in favour of the professorial system, after the model of German universities. On the contrary, we believe that the catechetical method of instruction, in connexion with a constant supervision of the students, has invaluable advantages, especially in a moral and religious point of view. The unbounded freedom of the German universities involves a fearful risk for inexperienced youth. But I do not see why both systems should not be combined. An extension of professorial teaching, and a more complete organization of the faculty studies, are certainly, as already remarked, important desiderata for Oxford and Cambridge. It cannot be denied, that the independent contributions of these establishments to the cause of literature and science are in no proportion whatever to their immense pecuniary resources. The German universities, although much poorer, accomplish far more in this respect, as is evident from the fact, that nearly all the distinguished philological authorities known and used in Oxford and Cambridge are Germans, or old Dutch; as Ruhnken, Valckenaer, Ernesti, Heyne, Orelli, Hermann, Lachmann, Bekker, Dindorf, Baehr, Passow, Poppo, Buttmann, Kuehner, Zumpt, Rost, Gesenius, Ewald. This literary fertility is, to a very great extent owing to the competition or rivalry connected with the professorial system. We have no doubt that the English Universities would produce far more elaborate works on the various

branches of science, if the professorial studies were better provided for; and if the tutorial career were the regular preparation for the professorship. Dr. Pusey raised the objection against the German universities, that they are the nurseries of Rationalism. But this is not necessarily the result of the professorial system, but of a particular age, which dates only from the end of the last century, and has already in a great measure passed away to make room for evangelical orthodoxy. The Scotch universities, which are similarly constituted, have never reared yet an infidel clergy. With just as much reason we might derive Puseyism and the Anglican secessions to Romanism, which grew out of it, from the half-monastic system of tutorial instruction and supervision.

But in one important respect the Oxford University Reform Bill, as finally passed by Parliament, went beyond the original draft as laid before the house by the Aberdeen ministry on the 17th of March, 1854. The religious test or oath at matriculation and at the taking of the bachelor's degree has been abolished, so that collegee ducation, and the first degree in the liberal arts, are now open to every Englishman without subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. The High Church party is, of course, very much opposed to this concession to the Dissenters, and considers it an infringement on the rights of the Established Church. But this is, in fact, no more the national Church; and if the Universities are to retain a national character, they ought to be liberalized, and to throw their doors open to every subject of the crown. Most of the colleges and their endowments are of mediæval and Roman Catholic origin, and were inherited by the Episcopal Church on the ground that England belongs not to the dead, but to the living. On the same principle the Dissenters, who have since grown to be almost as numerous as the Anglicans, may justly claim some share in the educational advantages of these national institutions. There is no danger that the Dissenters, who may avail themselves of the privileges now opened to them, will bring about a radical change in these institutions. On the contrary, they will be as much, and more influenced by them as Oxford and Cambridge by the Dissenters.

It is to be expected that the English Universities will henceforth follow in the general train of all English institutions. It is only by timely adaptations to the real wants of this age of progress, that they can be saved against stagnation as well as radical revolution. The citadel of Conservatism has at last been stormed by the spirit of the nineteenth century, and no power can set limits to future actions of Parliament, and arrest the law of constitutional progress.

Art. VII.—שְׁאוֹל, SHEOL.

This word occurs sixty-five times in the original Hebrew of the Bible, and is rendered, in the common English translation, thirty-one times "hell," thirty times "the grave," three times "the pit," and once "grave."

As use, and not derivation, is the true standard by which the meaning of a word is most properly ascertained, so, whether שְׁאוֹל Sheol is supposed to be derived from one word or from another, either derivation is founded on only a supposition, and can prove comparatively nothing. For an illustration of this remark, let it be supposed that שְׁאוֹל Sheol etymologically means a cavity; then, as it cannot be proved that the soul of man, though immaterial, is capable of existing in all places at one and the same time, so, on its departure from his body, it may really occupy a general cavity of a particular nature; and hence, שְׁאוֹל Sheol may be in this respect as applicable to the soul as to the body; and if the word is derived, as usually supposed, from a word signifying "to ask," it is, in this case also, as applicable to a receptacle for the soul as to one for the body, since the former receptacle, at least as truly as the latter, may be regarded as claiming what it receives. As derivation, then, affords no means of ascertaining the meaning of the word definitively, its use must be examined and regarded as alone decisive in relation to its signification.

Several grammatical facts connected with שְׁאוֹל Sheol are very striking, and they indicate that it is a *Hebrew proper name of a particular place.* If this be true, it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration.

1. According to the rule of Hebrew grammar which requires the Hebrew article to be "*omitted* in proper names of" "*countries*," שְׁאוֹל *Sheol is never connected with that article.* That the constant absence of the Hebrew definite article from this word indicates that it is a proper, and not simply an indefinite or common noun, is particularly corroborated by two special facts: first, that, if it were not an ordinary proper name, such of its omissions of that article as those in Numbers xvi, 33, and Psalm xlix, 14, would be contrary to the rule of Hebrew grammar, according to which the article is prefixed to a common noun "when" it "is repeated" after it has "just been introduced;" secondly, that, if it were not a

proper name, its omissions of the article in Proverbs i, 12, Canticles viii, 6, and Habakkuk ii, 5, would be contrary to the rule, that "the Hebrews" employed the article in "*comparisons*" after כְּ ke (as) when "the noun compared is" not "*made definite*," either by a "*genitive*," as is the word similarly compared which follows שְׁאוֹל Sheol in Prov. i, 12, "or in any other way," as by the fact that it is a proper name, of which an illustrative example occurs in Isaiah i, 9, independent of these three instances of שְׁאוֹל Sheol. In Canticles and Habakkuk, the original word rendered "death," similarly compared, is in each case preceded by the article, showing that שְׁאוֹל Sheol, not otherwise "*made definite*," is made such by the fact that it is a proper name.

2. As Hebrew collective nouns, or nouns of multitude, are preceded by the article, "when the *entire genus* is designated," and as Hebrew nouns which designate plurality, and which are not collective nouns, have plural endings, or are repeated, "*with* and *without the copula*," so שְׁאוֹל Sheol, *which*, as in Job xxvi, 6, and Proverbs xv, 11, *never has any of these characteristics of plurality*, is not a collective noun, and is always in the singular number, which shows that there is only one thing of its character. It therefore cannot mean deaths or earthly distresses; and though it designates the place to which all men are represented, as in Ecclesiastes ix, 10, to go at death, yet it cannot designate the place to which their bodies then go, unless such *place* include at least land and water and the open air, and the internal parts of animals. Its meaning then would, from even this alone, appear to be *the general receptacle of departed human spirits*.

3. שְׁאוֹל Sheol is never connected with personal possessive pronouns, nor with demonstrative pronouns, and it never occurs in the "construct state," nor in any other way which would show that it belongs or appertains to only one individual, or to only a part of mankind; and hence it must be regarded as a general receptacle, and as not susceptible of an exclusive appropriation to individuals.

4. As what is emphatically termed "*He local*" (ה) implies "*place*," so שְׁאוֹל Sheol, which has that Hebrew appendage to designations of locality annexed to itself ten times, and twice to words connected with it in meaning, is evidently a *place*, and not an abstract *thing*, as death, unconsciousness, or earthly distress, which is confirmed by the fact, that שְׁאוֹל Sheol, *never being feminine in form, and never having the article prefixed to it*, has not the marks which singly or jointly are generally connected with Hebrew abstract nouns.

To the grammatical use of שְׁאוֹל Sheol, Hebrew common nouns in abundance, especially those of *at least as frequent occurrence*, present striking and illustrative contrasts. For an illustration of this remark, it is sufficient to refer to the appropriate Hebrew words for a literal grave and death, with which שְׁאוֹל Sheol is perhaps most frequently assumed to be synonymous. The former of these, קֶבֶר kever, has the Hebrew article in Psalm lxxxviii, 11—"the grave;" plural endings, as in Exodus xiv, 11—"graves;" personal possessive pronouns, as in 1 Kings xiii, 30—"his own grave;" and it is also in the construct state, as in 2 Samuel iii, 32—"the grave of." The latter of those two words, מָוֶת mauveth, has that article also in 1 Samuel xx, 3—"death;" a plural ending in Ezra xxviii, 10—"deaths;" personal possessive pronouns, as in Deuteronomy xxxi, 27—"my death;" a demonstrative pronoun in Exodus x, 17—"this death;" and it is also in the construct state, as in Joshua i, 1—"the death of."

Though it is true that exceptions occur to most rules, yet as it is UTTERLY ABSURD to suppose that this word, *with a comparatively limited frequency of occurrence*, is an exception, not to *one* rule, but to *several different rules, and in so many instances*, so it seems to be philologically proved that it is a proper name. As such, it is not susceptible of a multiplicity of meanings, and therefore cannot legitimately signify a literal grave, a literal pit, death, earthly distress. It is not very strange, however, that when it is represented by the words grave and pit, an absurdity does not always appear; since the arrival of a human soul in the general receptacle of departed spirits is usually succeeded by a consignment of its body to a grave or pit; and therefore in such cases two events are equally true, and a man goes as really to a grave or pit as to the spirit-world. But as such an interpretation tends to produce the impression that שְׁאוֹל Sheol is an indefinite noun, susceptible of so various meanings as to exclude any one fixed and proper signification, truth would unquestionably be promoted by rendering it, in all cases, *the general receptacle of departed human spirits*, or *the spirit-world;* or still more by transferring it without a translation, as a proper name. In Robinson's Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, it is so treated, and therefore expressed by the English Sheol.

That the inhabitants of שְׁאוֹל Sheol have consciousness is obvious from the circumstances under which it is represented. As Sheol designates a place separate and distinct from that to which the body is consigned at death, the conclusion follows almost irresistibly that the part of man which goes to it, and which must be the soul, possesses

consciousness, since no other good reason can be assigned why that distinguished part occupies not at death the same place with the body.

Clear and striking as is the preceding evidence that שְׁאוֹל Sheol represents the general receptacle of departed human spirits, an exposition of every passage in which this unique and important word occurs, will clearly show that it represents a place in which the soul of man dwells after death, and into which all enter with their respective characters of obedience or disobedience, according as they are obedient or disobedient to Heaven's requirements at their departure from this life; from which seems necessarily to follow a distinction there of pleasure and pain.

1. Genesis xxxvii, 35: "And all his sons, and all his daughters, rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down," שְׁאוֹלָה Sheolah, "into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him." This is the first instance of שְׁאוֹל Sheol that occurs in the Bible, employed by the patriarch Jacob after he had exclaimed, "An evil beast hath devoured him. Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces." שְׁאוֹל Sheol is here proved not to be a grave, nor any opening in the earth, by the fact that Jacob believed his "son" Joseph to be in it, while he equally believed him to be, not in the earth, but either in the "evil beast," or scattered upon the earth's surface. As the father thought that his "son" had been "*devoured*," he could not have expected to "go" "unto" his son's body, either in that "evil beast," or anywhere else, at least prior to the general resurrection. Nor could the venerable father have meant that at that resurrection he would "go" "unto" his "son," since he said he would "go" "unto" him "*mourning*," which implies that he expected to *continue* to be *sad, till* he should reach him; but this he could not have expected, had he known that after the death of his own body he would for thousands of years be unconscious, and that, accordingly, instead of going "unto" him while "*mourning*," he would "go" "unto" him in simple unconsciouness, or in that joy with which his body will doubtless meet Joseph's at the resurrection. He must therefore have expected to reach him as soon as he himself should die. Nor could he have meant merely that he would *die*, since his words, "*unto* my son," imply place and nearness of position; and as his body could not experience such a position relative to that of his "son," while he himself was "*mourning*," he must have expected that his conscious soul would in שְׁאוֹל Sheol be associated with the undevoured soul of Joseph. The words "*unto* my son,"

then, condemn the assumption that after death nothing remains of man besides his body. If at death there is not immediately a meeting of departed human spirits in the spirit-world, then to say that one person who is about to die will "go" "unto" another who is already dead, and from whose dead body he will continue to be far separated, would indicate at least as much absurdity as to say that one person who is about to live, will come "unto" another who is already alive, and from whose living body he will continue to be far separated. Besides this, if Jacob did not expect to "go" "unto" Joseph except in the sense that he would soon be dead, as he thought his "son" already was—if he had no reference in his expectation to a meeting with him in the spirit-world, then he might as well have said that he was going to all the animals, and even all the vegetables that were then dead, and from the remains of which he would continue to be far separated! And if the soul of Jacob did not at death "go" "unto" that of Joseph, then it would be as absurd in him to say he would "go" unto his "son," as to say that one person who is about to sleep, will "go" "unto" another who is already asleep, and from whom he will during sleep continue to be far separated. It seems also to be absurd to suppose that Jacob expected to come "unto" Joseph, without knowing it; and therefore he must have expected to continue conscious beyond death. As, according to 2 Cor. xii, 2, 3, "a man" may be "a man," "whether in the body or out of the body," so it is not strange that Jacob did not mention the soul as the part which he expected to "go" "unto" Joseph. Such circumlocution would have been alike inconsistent with the directness of deep emotion, and with the elliptical simplicity of similar statements on the part of those who are positively known to believe that man's soul has a conscious existence after death. As Jacob could not have thought that Joseph, whom he regarded as "*devoured*," was in earthly distress, so שְׁאוֹל Sheol, in which he believed him to be, is proved not to mean earthly distress. This is also obvious from the fact, that in such distress the "*mourning*" Jacob already *was* when he said, "I *will go* down into" שְׁאוֹל Sheol, "unto my son mourning." Should it be said that, because he was "*mourning*," he could not expect to meet Joseph in the spirit-world, then, for the same reason, he could not expect to meet him in heaven at death. From the fact that he is represented as a good man when the words here discussed were uttered, it is reasonably inferred that he expected to enjoy happiness in the spirit-world. The word "down," in connexion with שְׁאוֹל Sheol, no more proves that שְׁאוֹל Sheol is a place for man's unconscious dead body

than the word "up," in connexion with heaven, in 2 Kings ii, 1, 11, and in Luke xxiv, 51, and also in Acts i, 9–11, proves that heaven is not the place where God more immediately dwells. That word "down" indicates, if anything, that שְׁאוֹל Sheol is a *place*, and not a state. And to say that the soul or spirit of a man occupies after death a place, is not inconsistent with its dwelling before death in a place, nor with Solomon's prayer to God, who is emphatically "a Spirit," in 2 Chronicles vi, 30: "Then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling-place." *Place*, then, is not repugnant to the Scriptural idea of a spirit. Whatever may be the nature of a human spirit, it possesses not the attribute of Omnipresence, and must necessarily occupy some particular portion of space. The word "down," then, implying locality, harmonizes with the idea of a spirit-world, as does also "*He local*," which is here annexed to שְׁאוֹל Sheol. The assumption that שְׁאוֹל Sheol means merely death, or a state of death, supposes that the patriarch Jacob expected to meet his "son" Joseph, not in the spirit-world, nor even where he supposed the body of that "son" to be, but in the abstract state of death, which, aside from its subjects, like other abstractions, has no existence! Where שְׁאוֹל Sheol may be located, cannot be positively inferred from the word "down," which may be used relatively, not to the earth, but to heaven, which is represented to be "up." An ignorance of the precise location of שְׁאוֹל Sheol is, however, no more strange or significant than that of the precise location of heaven.

From the preceding remarks relative to שְׁאוֹל Sheol, as first used, it follows that it was regarded, in the times and among the people of the patriarch Jacob, as designating a place in which the soul of man dwells after its departure from the body.

2. Genesis xlii, 38: "And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol. From the use of the words "gray hairs," it might at first seem that שְׁאוֹל Sheol represented a place designed for the reception of man's body. But this meaning of שְׁאוֹל Sheol would be in direct opposition to that given to it by the same patriarch in the passage just discussed. Besides this, he could not have meant that his "gray hairs" would alone be brought to some place or thing, and this proves that these words are figuratively employed. As such, then, the question arises, what do they represent? The answer must be that, in connexion with the word "my," they represent *me*—"then shall ye bring" me "down" "with sorrow to the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol. This is accord-

ing to the rule of Hebrew grammar, that "The place of the personal pronouns, especially in a *reflexive* sense, is often supplied by the most distinguished and essential parts of either the *external* or *internal* man." The sense of Sheol in this passage is thus seen not to differ from that just discussed, since the represented *me* of this is the same as the "*I*" of that—"I will go down into the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol, "unto my son mourning." Besides, he could not here have meant by שְׁאוֹל Sheol any other place than that in which he supposed Joseph's undevoured soul to be, into which his own "gray hairs," or even body, could no more be brought now than before. That שְׁאוֹל Sheol here means the spirit-world, and not a literal grave, is also confirmed by the fact that the instrument by which he said that his sons would "bring" him "down" "to the grave," שְׁאוֹל Sheol, was "*sorrow*." The influence which "sorrow" has upon the body ceases at death, and not at a subsequent burial; and as Jacob did not expect to escape "sorrow" before his arrival in שְׁאוֹל Sheol, nor to be buried at, but after death, שְׁאוֹל Sheol is proved not to mean a literal grave, but the spirit-world. That שְׁאוֹל Sheol does not here mean death, is obvious from the fact that "*He local*" is here connected with it, and from the fact which Matthew x, 28, emphatically teaches, that the soul is so indestructible that neither the sons of Jacob, nor those of any one else, can kill it; and that though the body is killed, the soul remains alive—"fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." And that שְׁאוֹל Sheol does not here mean earthly distress is evident from the fact that, if it did, then Jacob represented that as *going* to such distress or sorrow which was *already* affected "with sorrow!"

Art. VIII.—PRACTICAL HINTS FOR STUDENTS OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Biblical helps may be divided into Geographical, Historical, Archæological, Introductory, Philological, and Hermeneutical.

1. Geographical. Of Geographies of the Holy Land, there are three of nearly equal value: Coleman's Historical Text-Book and Atlas of Biblical Geography; a Biblical Geography and History by Charles A. Goodrich, and a Gazetteer by the Sabbath-School Union. The maps and chronological tables of the first are extensive and correct, and it incorporates into its pages the recent discoveries of Rawlinson, Layard, Lynch, and De Saulcy. For a map of Palestine, Robinson's is one of the best, and can easily be procured.

2. Historical. Smith's three volumes of Sacred Annals, and Kurtz's Sacred History, are the best references on this subject. The latter is valuable as a text-book. The author was a pupil of Tholuck, and Professor of Church History in the University of Dorpat, and though the work is merely a compendium, it exhibits the hand of a scholar.

3. Archæological. In this department, which treats of everything of interest relating to the *outward life* of the Jews, Jahn's Archæology, and Nevin's Biblical Antiquities, are well known.

4. Introductory. Of General Introductions, Horne's is the most extensively known; but, though it exhibits vast industry, it is not, in our opinion, a well compacted, or closely critical and scholarlike performance. For the Old Testament, there are no entirely reliable introductions, since De Wette's and Jahn's are both chargeable with errors, yet, on the whole, are worthy of being consulted. Davidson's and Hug's Introductions to the New Testament are each of them extensive and critical, and the former, though expensive, deserves to be more generally circulated in this country.

The subject of the *correctness of the sacred text*, which is generally treated of in Introductions, is ably handled in some separate works, such as Davidson's Biblical Criticism, Havernick's Introduction to the Old Testament, and Hengstenberg on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch and Daniel. As a general reference book in the four departments above mentioned, Kitto's Cyclopædia

is invaluable. Strickland on Biblical Literature is a good compendium.

5. Philological. The best helps to the understanding of the languages of the Bible are Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, Gesenius's Hebrew Dictionary, and Robinson's Greek Dictionary of the New Testament. The last more than serves the purpose of a commentary; it not only gives translations of the Greek words, but systematizes their meanings as found in different places, and thus gives clearness and accuracy to our knowledge of the New Testament. Conant's Revised Edition of the Hebrew Grammar contains a valuable chrestomathy of several parts of the Old Testament. Winer's Greek Idioms of the New Testament, or Trollope's, should be a constant companion in the study of the Greek Testament. Trench's small work on the Greek Synonyms of the New Testament is suggestive. No student should be without Stier and Theile's Biblia Polyglotta, which contains the Old and New Testament in four languages. It can be had, bound in five volumes, for $16.

6. Hermeneutical. On the general subject of *Interpretation*, a very valuable work has been published by Dr. Davidson, in England. It includes a *History of Interpretation, Principles and Kinds of Interpretation, Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, alleged Contradictions of Scriptures*, &c. McClelland's and Ernesti's small volumes on Interpretation contain some valuable hints. Hermeneutics, or Interpretation, includes two things, translations and notes. A translation or paraphrase, which gives the full meaning of the original, and is well divided into paragraphs and sentences, is even more useful for study than notes. Consult, for example, Alexander's versions of the Psalms and Isaiah, and Stuart's of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Romans and Hebrews, as contained in their commentaries on those books. The short paraphrase of the Epistles of St. Paul in the work of Conybeare and Howson is extremely valuable for private study; and the paraphrase of the Gospels contained in Strong's Harmony may be used for the same purpose. The version of the Baptist Bible Society is likewise worthy of the attention of scholars. In this connection we cannot speak too highly of the advantages of a familiar knowledge of the Scriptures in the original, so as to be able to read them with readiness. Like the study of a translation or paraphrase, they give freshness and continuity, and in addition, command a closer attention to the nicer shades of thought and expression.

The Hermeneutics of the Bible may be divided into several parts:

the interpretation of Bible History, Bible Poetry, Bible Prophecy, and Bible Theology.

I. Bible History. 1. *Old Testament.* Professor Bush has published the best, and almost the only works in English, on the Pentateuch and the book of Judges. These are throughout characterized by a deep reverence for the authority of Scripture, and the most extensive and discriminating scholarship. The reconciliation of the first chapter of Genesis with the facts of geology is ably handled, though most would not agree with him in the exposition of the first verse. Dr. Turner's Companion to Genesis, though not a continuous commentary, gives an excellent analysis of the several chapters, and an exposition of the most difficult passages. Hengstenberg on Egypt and the books of Moses is of an argumentative character, designed to confirm the truth of the Scripture narrative The best view of the other historical books of the Old Testament, besides that contained in Clarke's Commentary, is found in the more extended sacred histories of the Jews.

2. *New Testament.* For the study of the Gospels there are Neander's Life of Christ, Strong's Harmony and Exposition, Robinson's and Strong's Greek Harmonies, Olshausen on the Gospels, Kitto's Life of our Lord, Alford's Greek Testament, Barnes, Clarke, Trench on Miracles, Trench on Parables, Tholuck on the Sermon on the Mount, Tholuck on John, Lucke on John, Tittman on John, Trollope's Analecta Theologica. The number of commentaries is an advantage, as it enables the inquirer to examine several on any difficult passage. The Life of Christ by Neander is of great value, and the translators have done excellent service to the public by introducing it into this country. It is full of learned and thoroughly original investigations, and does not fall into the common error of commentators, of dwelling on the easy, while it evades the difficult points. Strong's Harmony and Exposition supplies a want which has long been felt. In consequence of endeavouring to obtain the fullest possible effect and impressiveness, the paraphrase is sometimes too free, and exhibits want of dignity in its mode of expression; yet in most respects, in beautiful arrangement, in the comprehensiveness of its notes, in seizing accurately the true meaning, and in a thorough investigation of the geography and chronology, it ranks among the best works of its kind. Robinson's Greek Harmony has some valuable notes on the location and arrangement of the events of the Gospels. Alford's Greek Testament, with notes, is one of the best specimens of modern commentary. Trench on Miracles is a sterling work, entitled to rank among the

best works of English literature. It combines great eloquence of style with a clear and admirable exposition of the text and context. Many passages are highly eloquent. We extract one from the chapter on the Miracle of Water made into Wine: "We need not wonder to find the Lord of life at that festival, for he came to sanctify all life, its times of joy as its times of sorrow; and all experience tells us, that it is times of gladness, such as this was now, which especially need such a sanctifying power, such a presence of the Lord. In times of sorrow, the sense of God's presence comes more naturally out; in these, it is in danger of being forgotten. He was there, and by his presence there, struck the key-note to the whole future tenor of his ministry. He should not be as another Baptist, to withdraw himself from the common paths of men, a preacher in the wilderness; but his should be at once a harder and a higher task, to mingle with and purify the common life of men; to witness for and bring out the glory which was hidden in its every relation. And it is not, perhaps, without its significance, that this should have been especially *a marriage* which he 'adorned and beautified with his first presence and miracle that he wrought.' He foresaw that some hereafter should arise in his Church who should despise marriage, or, if not despise, yet fail to give the Christian family all its honour. They should find no countenance from him." Trench's work on Parables is less valuable, having a less difficult subject; that on the Study of Words will be useful to the philologist. Kitto's Life of our Lord is one of the best of his publications.

Lücke and Tittmann are extensive and critical; Olshausen and Tholuck will be noticed hereafter. Buck on the 24th of Matthew, while creditable, as showing zeal in Biblical study, is greatly defective from exhibiting a want of acquaintance with the writings of the most recent Biblical scholars.

On Acts, Hackett is so able and full as to leave scarcely anything to be supplied. There are some historical works, however, which traverse the same ground, and are invaluable, viz.: Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul, Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church, and Neander's Planting and Training of the Church. The first of these should be in the hands of every layman and every minister. As regards the second, notwithstanding the author's lenient views of the Roman Catholic Church, it is a very scholar-like performance; it covers a larger field than the work of Conybeare and Howson, including, for example, an account of the lives and writings of Peter and James, as well as Paul; it is also

more full on the moral and religious life, government, worship, and doctrines of the Apostolic Church. The merits of Neander are generally known; his method is less clear than Schaff's. Baumgarten's Apostolic History is perhaps the best extant commentary on the Acts.

II. Bible Poetry. On Hebrew poetry, Lowth is in error from his too great fondness for the classical models; Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, though not intended to be a learned treatise, exhibits a fine appreciation of the spirit of the Hebrew bards.

On *Job*, the work of Barnes is the only English commentary of any value, and this is imperfect in many respects. In his Introduction, he aims to establish the following points: That Job was a real person; that he lived in a part of Arabia Deserta, and not far from the age of Abraham; and that the book was written by Job himself. His commentaries do not, on the whole, exhibit that compressed and discriminating method which is the characteristic of the true interpreter.

On the *Psalms* there are two standard commentaries, Hengstenberg's and Alexander's. It is incidental to the first critical works on any book that there should be much space devoted to clearing away the errors and misconceptions of former writers; and such discussions are not always interesting to the general reader. This fault is observable in Hengstenberg's volumes on the Psalms, yet they exhibit good scholarship, and great fervour and originality. The plan of Dr. Alexander is to "translate and explain," with but few additional remarks; his plan in this respect is excellent, thus excluding unnecessary discussions. Another task that remains to be accomplished, with reference both to the Psalms and the Old Testament prophecies, is to invest them with the interest derived from the circumstances in which they were composed. This has been done for the letters of St. Paul, by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, and it is to be hoped the same may be accomplished for the writings of the Old Testament. Hengstenberg's well-known work, called the Christology, treats extensively of the Messianic Psalms. The Introduction to the Psalms, by De Wette, in the Biblical Repository, vol. iii, may be consulted with advantage.

Professor Stuart's works on *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* are models of commentary for the critical student, and his carefulness in making an accurate translation makes them useful to all. They were among the last that he wrote, and exhibit greater condensation than his former volumes.

III. Bible Prophecy. The subject of prophecy is constantly be-

coming less involved, as the nature of symbols is receiving a fuller development, and facts of history are being brought to light to illustrate it. A complete work on symbology is much needed. If the nature and application of the symbols in Daniel and Ezekiel, which have already been fulfilled, and concerning which there is but little dispute, were clearly understood, it would scarcely be possible to misinterpret those that are yet unfulfilled. Dr. Turner's Discourses on Scripture Prophecy are inimitable as a manual on the subject. Upon the three subjects that are treated of in Stuart's Hints on Prophecy, viz., the Double Sense, Intelligibility of the Prophecies, and Designations of Time, it seems to us he has thrown but little light.

As inseparable parts of prophecy are the two subjects of Typology and Quotations from the Old Testament in the New. In the former of these, Fairbairn's Typology (new edition) is a rich mine of information for the Biblical student. Though it makes many things to be types, which can hardly be regarded as such, yet the field which it traverses is one of unfailing interest, and is destined to yield abundant fruits. In this work, the intricate subject of the double sense is fully investigated. It is shown, for example, that since David was a type of Christ, there may be a prediction which shall refer to them both, to the former primarily, and to the latter in its full accomplishment. Thus it may be said that there are not two fulfilments, but one, which reaches to two persons; one the type and the other the antitype. The subject of *Quotations* is of great interest; it includes such questions as these: Which of the New Testament writers quote most from the Old? In which instances do they quote for argument, and in which simply for illustration? Do they quote more commonly from the Septuagint or from the Hebrew Bible? Do they more frequently give the words of the original, or merely the sense? Do the writers of the New Testament accommodate the words of the Old Testament to their own circumstances, and term it a fulfilment? These questions are investigated in Davidson's Hermeneutics, Fairbairn's Typology, Turner on Hebrews, chap. i, verse 5, and Wood's Lectures, vol. i.

Old Testament Prophecy. On *Isaiah* the chief work is Alexander's, the plan of which is the same as that of the one on the Psalms, namely, "to translate and explain." It is a defect in the larger edition, that he dwells too much upon the false opinions of others, and in both, that there is a want of freedom in expressing his own views on contested points, so that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain them. He considers that there is ground in Isaiah for

the belief in the future conversion of the Jews, but none for that of their literal restoration to Palestine. With this agrees Fairbairn in his Typology. The parts of Hengstenberg's Christology which comment on Isaiah are worthy of consultation. Some valuable hints may be drawn from Kitto's Daily Illustrations on Isaiah and the other prophets, and also from the previous volumes on Saul and David, and on Solomon and the Kings. Barnes on Isaiah may be used with advantage, though characterized by diffuseness, and sometimes commenting on phrases which were already sufficiently clear. The abridged edition is preferable. *Fairbairn on Ezekiel* is a recent publication of much value; it is both popular and critical in its plan.

The prophecies of *Daniel* are one of the battle-grounds of Biblical exegesis. The varieties of views held upon Daniel and Revelation are almost innumerable, and yet the student of the Bible will not rest satisfied till he has ascertained what the prominent opinions are, and where the difficulties lie. Stuart's is deservedly a standard work on Daniel. On the question of the seventy weeks, and the three periods, seven, sixty-two, and one (which make up the seventy), he confesses himself at a stand; unnecessarily, we think. The seventy weeks (Dan ix. 24), all acknowledge to be four hundred and ninety years, and most hold that the seven weeks (or forty-nine years) commence with the return of Ezra from Babylon, and continue to the full completion of the city of Jerusalem; the sixty-two weeks (or four hundred and thirty-four years) to the commencement of Christ's ministry; and the one week, to three and a half years after his death. A very able and satisfactory article on some of the difficult points in Daniel may be found in the seventh volume of the Christian Review. This, in agreement with Professor Stuart, holds the fourth kingdom to be that of the successors of Alexander, while Barnes, Havernick and Hengstenberg (see their works on Daniel) refer it to Rome; there are many strong arguments in favour of the former. The designations of time contained in Dan. viii, 14, and Dan. xii, 11, 12, viz.: two thousand three hundred morning-evening sacrifices, one thousand two hundred and ninety days, and one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days, are referred best to the last days of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The want of English commentaries is nowhere felt so much as on the Minor Prophets. The recent labours of scholars have been expended upon the larger books of Scripture, and the others have been neglected. Hengstenberg's late revision of his Christology gives the best comments upon these prophecies yet made; still they are

incomplete, as they elucidate chiefly the Messianic passages. Much information upon them may be gathered from the histories of that period, from introductions to the Old Testament, and from articles in Kitto's Cyclopædia, and the Reviews. Maurer's and Rosenmueller's Commentaries on the Old Testament, in easy Latin, though rationalistic, are always valuable, but especially so here. Moore on the Prophets of the Reformation, just issued, is an admirable specimen of commentary.

New Testament Prophecy. On this book (Revelation) the most diverse views are held. Professor Stuart thinks that most of the symbols find their fulfilment in the first three or four centuries. Hengstenberg spiritualizes the whole; Barnes, Lord, and Elliot, hold that almost every great event that has occurred since the time of the apostles, belongs to the fulfilment of the Book of Revelation. Stuart seems to us entirely at fault; his theory stands or falls with the question of the early or late writing of the Book of Revelation; but the best and largest number of modern critics are strongly opposed to the theory of its late composition. Again, it would seem impossible that all the events symbolized in Revelation could be accomplished in so short a period as the first three or four centuries. The arguments in Beecher's Review of Stuart in the Biblical Repository, and in an article by Cheever on the same subject, seem to us conclusive against his view. Hengstenberg's interpretation (in which he is followed by Davidson of England) is equally untenable; it is incredible, and contrary to the analogy of the prophecies of the Old Testament, that so vast a body of symbols should be employed to designate merely spiritual states and general principles. Lord, in his work on the Apocalypse, and in his Theological Journal, is admirable in claiming that the symbols should be explained in a system and according to well-defined rules, though we think his own system is greatly defective. The school to which Barnes, Lord, and Elliot belong, errs in making the Book of Revelation too close an epitome of civil and ecclesiastical history. Barnes has done much to clear up the subject; his views are not as extreme as those of most of his school of interpretation, and there seems to us more originality and discrimination than in any commentary that he has published. It would be difficult for one to read his exposition of the seven trumpets, and not believe that the fifth refers to Mohammed. On the subject of the Millennium, the commentators are divided; Lord and Winthrop holding to a personal reign of Christ and the saints on the earth, and Stuart, Barnes, and Olshausen to a reign of the risen saints with Christ in heaven

during the Millennium, and the universal prevalence of holiness during that time on the earth; the latter view is preferable.

IV. Bible Theology, as contained in the letters of the apostles. The best preparation for the understanding of the Epistles of St. Paul is the study of Conybeare and Howson's work on Paul, Schaff's Apostolic History, and Neander's Planting and Training of the Church. On *Romans*, Dr. Clarke and Wesley may be studied with peculiar advantage, especially on the 7th and 9th chapters. Taken as a whole, for the general reader, the work of Dr. Turner of the Episcopalian Seminary, New-York, is the best on this book. His general treatment of the epistle is scientific and masterly, and in his doctrinal statements he is for the most part Arminian. Professor Hodge advocates the views of the old-school Calvinists, and Albert Barnes those of the new school. The critical discussions of Professor Stuart on Romans are able, but cumbersome and diffuse; his views are liberal and openly avowed; his general summaries are exact and comprehensive. On Tholuck and Olshausen we quote from another. "*Tholuck.* The commentaries of this eminent writer on various books of the New Testament, especially those on the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, exhibit the highest exegetical excellences. While he critically investigates phrases and idioms, he ascends into the pure regions of the ideas, unfolding the sense with much skill and discernment. His commentary on John is of a more popular cast. His interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount is very valuable. *Olshausen.* The best example of commentary on the New Testament, with which we are acquainted, has been given by this writer. It is a model of exposition unrivalled in any language. Verbal criticism is but sparingly introduced, although even here the hand of a master is apparent. He is intent, however, on higher things. He investigates the thought, traces the connection, puts himself in the same position as the writers, and views with philosophic ability the holy revelations of Christ in their comprehensive tendencies. The critical and the popular are admirably mingled. Greatly do we lament that the writer was cut off before he completed so excellent a performance." (His Commentary extends through Hebrews, making 9 vols.) The commentaries which have come from authors in England, such as Bloomfield's Greek Testament, Alford's Greek Testament, Whitby's Commentary, and Trollope's Analecta Theologica, are highly scholar-like, and, as regards doctrinal views, are generally Arminian. The commentary of Mr. Livermore, a Unitarian, though not critical, nor correct as to doctrine, is spiritedly and eloquently written: the four

Introductory Essays are able pieces of composition; he is anti-Calvinistic in sentiment. On *Hebrews*, Turner's is again the clearest exposition, and after him, Stuart, Olshausen, Tholuck, Alford, Barnes, Trollope, and Bloomfield. For the *shorter epistles*, the chief dependence is upon Olshausen, Barnes, Alford, and Trollope. To Thom on Corinthians, nearly the same remarks are applicable as to Livermore on Romans. Eadie of Scotland is the author of critical commentaries on Colossians and Ephesians which have been reprinted in this country. Neander's three commentaries on Philippians, General Epistle of James, and First Epistle of John, translated by Mrs. H. C. Conant, are of a popular character, but yet deeply philosophical and discriminating.*

* As many of the books mentioned above are rare, and their value not easily ascertained, we annex a list of prices, at which they can be procured by ministers: they may be had at about these rates of Gould and Lincoln, Boston:

Bibliotheca Sacra, 10 vols., $25 50; Alexander on Psalms, 3 vols., $2 75; Alexander on Isaiah, 2 vols., $1 80; Hengstenberg on Revelations, 2 vols., $2 67; do. Christology, 1 vol., new edition, $1 67; do. on Psalms, 3 vols., $5 00; Stuart on Romans, $2 00; do. on Hebrews, $2 25; do. on Proverbs, $0 94; do. on Ecclesiastes, $0 75; do. on Daniel, $1 87; do. on Apocalypse, 2 vols., $3 25; Bush on Genesis, 2 vols., $1 31; do. on Exodus, 2 vols., $1 12; do. on Leviticus, $0 56; do. on Joshua and Judges, each, $0 56; Hackett on Acts, $1 87; McClelland on Interpretation, $0 60; Winer's Idioms of the Greek Testament, $2 00; Nevin's Biblical Antiquities, $0 75; Jahn's Archæology, $1 75; Trench on Miracles, $1 25; do. on Parables, $1 25; do. on Greek Synonyms of New Testament, $0 56; Barnes on the New Testament, $0 60 per volume; do. on Job, $1 80; do. on Daniel, $0 90; do. on Isaiah, 2 vols., $1 80; Hug's Introduction to New Testament, $2 25; Neander on John, James, and Philippians, $1 25; Tholuck on John, $1 75; do. on Romans, $1 75; do. on Hebrews; $1 75; Turner on Romans, $1 20; do. on Hebrews, $1 00; De Wette's Introduction to Old Testament, $2 81; Kitto's Cyclopædia, 2 vols., $5 50; Fairbairn's Typology, new edition, $2 25; do. on Ezekiel, $1 65; Strong's Harmony, $2 10; Olshausen's Commentaries, 9 vols., $1 65 each; Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of Paul, 2 vols., $4 50; Revised version of Peter, Revelation, &c., $0 75; Lord on Apocalypse, $1 60; Davidson's Introduction to New Testament, 3 vols., $9 50; Neander's Life of Christ, $1 60; Livermore on Romans, $0 60; Trollope's Analecta Theologica, 2 vols., $2 25; Robinson's Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, cloth binding, $3 80; Hahn's Greek Testament, $1 00; Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, $2 00; do. Hebrew Lexicon, $4 50; Hahn's Hebrew Bible, $2 25; Winthrop's Essay on Symbols, $0 60; Turner on Prophecy, $0 60; Kurtz's Sacred History, $1 00; Coleman's Biblical Geography and History, $1 37; Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church, $2 50; Davidson's Hermeneutics, $4 00.

Art. IX.—CORRESPONDENCE.

I. RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE.

Paris, *February*, 1856.

To the Editor,—The *leges silent inter arma* applies to books, it seems, as well as laws. Even intellectual Paris owns the dominion of the Crimea fever, and is turned from the libraries to the newspapers; or, perhaps rather, it is looking, and only waiting for an opportunity of getting back the eyes or purses of the public. At all events, no publications of any consequence have appeared of late, and the publishers are chiefly occupied with new editions of the "French Classics."

From the few original things issued, I select, however, three or four of such as may be of most interest to your readers. The first in rank is a small volume of some 350 pages, entitled "The Future Life: History and Apology of the Christian Doctrine in a Future State." (*La Vie Future. Histoire et Apologie de la Doctrine Chrétienne sur l'Autre Vie, par Th. Henri Martin.*) You infer immediately that a production of such a title can, in profane France, be but the threadbare lucubration of a lazy monk or a country *curé*. But you are mistaken; the author is a lay professor in a college of provincial distinction, and a historian of the "Physical Sciences in Antiquity"—that is, historian *in futuro*, as he has not yet published. You may form some opinion of his *professions* from the tone and terms of the following opening:

"For three years back, without interrupting my history of the Physical Sciences in Antiquity, I have felt the need of recurring occasionally to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in quest of the consolation become necessary to my heart. This perusal has presented me some sublime hopes of a future life, not only in the New Testament, in which they so abound, but also in the Old, wherein they occupy a lesser place, and especially the books of Moses, whereto they have often been traced. Upon this great question of the destiny of man beyond the grave, I have seen in the Bible throughout, in the fathers, in the councils, in the Catholic theology, one and the same doctrine, at once terrible and consoling, a doctrine founded upon supernatural revelation, transcending the data of reason without contradicting them, and, on the contrary, supplying their insufficiency."—*Preface.*

Now, if I have any skill in seeing a wolf through a sheep's covering, the writer of this introduction is a dubious convert to the Roman Catholic fold. A convert is not usually so moderate, so measured, so cosmopolitan in his spirit, so universal in his approbation. Like Shakspeare's Jacques, this writer encounters orthodoxy everywhere, in the Bible, in the Gospel, in the fathers, in the councils. Neither Protestants, nor Catholics, nor Jansenists, nor Gallican Churchmen, then, can complain of his exclusiveness, or will decline to buy his book. And, then, the seemingly casual mention of his being a writer on the *physical sciences* is a stroke quite worthy of a countryman of Beaumarchais and Le Sage.

But these conjectures, from the manner of the author to his motives, are, even if well-founded, meant to give you a characteristic illustration of the situ-

ation of things in France with respect to the so-called religious revival. The book is none the less worthy of perusal. It seems written with much sacred and scientific erudition. The author shows himself largely conversant with even British controversial writings, if I may judge from the citations in the notes. Nay, American theologians are not entirely overlooked. A list of the main topics will give the best idea both of the turn and the tenor of the work.

He maintains that the Hebrew writers—despite our notion of the Sadducees—cannot have been in ignorance of the doctrine of immortality, and undertakes to evince the reasons for the esoteric sort of mystery wherewith the dogma was enveloped in the most ancient of the sacred writings. In pursuance of this undertaking, he examines the conception of a future life according to the Pentateuch. He passes next to the Book of Job; then to the books anterior to the Babylonish captivity. The ensuing chapter pursues the thesis along to the birth of Christ. The result of all this is shown to be invariable unity and originality in the Biblical doctrine on the subject; the *originality* alluding to comparison with the heathen doctrine. Then follows a comparison of the two doctrines of immortality, the Biblical and evangelical *versus* the pagan, and a conclusion of the general superiority of the former. He closes Part First with a description of the kingdom of heaven, adjusted to the hypothesis of a plurality of worlds.

In Part Second M. Martin resumes his theme of a future world, and the immortality of the human soul as propounded in the Gospel. With this doctrine as expounded in the Gospel, and by the Catholic Church, he then compares the pagan metempsychosis. The comparison is traced in order through the councils and the fathers. The writer passes afterwards to the dogma of original sin, and to the successive creation of souls, for both of which he offers an explanation and an "apology," giving, doubtless, to the word apology the special import of the ancient fathers. He does a similar double service for the dogma, much less knotty, of the eternity of rewards and punishments. Then, returning to metempsychosis, he rejudges by it philosophy, after having before condemned it at the theological tribunals. After this new trial, it is coordinated with Catholic doctrine and Christian morality, in a closing comparison with science and *social progress*.

Here, again, we see the Frenchman peer out *socially* at the end, and bring within his ductile charity not only all the sects of religion, nor even the sceptics of science, but the very Socialists themselves. But, after all, the book must merit the attention of religious readers. From its size, I should judge the price to be not more than some four francs. It may be had, with the others following, through *Hector Bossange et Fils*, 346 Pearl-street, New York.

I may inform you, by way of interlude, that the twelfth and last volume of Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire" has just appeared, and seems to be what in America you call the "book of the season;" I say, by way of interlude, for Thiers is a real harlequin in history, as in politics and in person. This by no means excludes talent, but defines it in degree and nature, and characterizes it as aping with a burlesque cleverness the loftiest parts. M. Thiers prefaces this volume with a *prolegomenous* dissertation to teach the world the art and mystery of writing history. This is not, it seems, as we were taught

it by the patrician disdain and the subtle philosophy of Bolingbroke; nor as it had been exemplified in the terse and truculent style of Tacitus, that magic lantern of the human heart, whose every syllable reflects an image; nor as set off in the flowing costume of the "pictured page" of the graceful Livy. No; M. Thiers' receipt for writing it is, bare facts, and *no* style; for this is clearly the simple meaning of his description to this effect, that it should be such as to never call to it the notice of the reader. In other words, that its character should be to have no character at all. But these are the style and matter, not of history, but of newspapers. They are exactly those of M. Thiers himself, as might have been expected, since he never drew a precept or a portrait from any other, and might, accordingly, be defined a journalist historian. It is this instinct of self-portraiture that may have led him to an observation, the only one that has a tincture of freshness in his long preamble. M. Thiers, like all men without principles, has a vast opinion of his own practical good sense. This assumption consoles his class for their theoretic imbecility, and serves, besides, as a readier counterfeit to pass upon the multitude. Well, M. Thiers, no doubt intending to adorn the genius of Napoleon by the insertion in it of an attribute belonging to his own, has fallen on the profound truth, that the great distinction of the great emperor was to be *l'ésprit le plus* SENSÉ of the human race. This single stroke, as a *differentia* of the genius of Napoleon, is worth the libraries that have been written on his character. But in Thiers it was accidental, or but inspired by self-conceit.

Accordingly, the instant after, and under shelter of the concession, he turns to blame the same Napoleon, "the most sensible of mankind," for the impolicy and despotism of his government! Is not this charming logic? But it is perfectly in keeping with the mental character of M. Thiers, which, like his own ideal of writing history, consists in having none at all. And yet such is the man to rise, and keep afloat amid conflicting billows, in certain governmental forms of society.

A work that may be recommended for its subject as well as its solidity is a life of the once-celebrated Ramus. (*Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions*, par *Charles Waddington*, 1 vol., 8vo.) Ramus, as you know, was the predecessor of Lord Bacon in the crusade against the syllogistic logic of Aristotle, or rather, in reality, against its travesty by the schoolmen. For this attack he suffered the proscription of the French government, which, to its honour be it said, has always sustained the sounder of the two great ancients, who disputed for twenty centuries the education of the mind of Europe. The restless Ramus next incurred a persecution much more serious, by his religious secession to the Huguenots. Exiled on this account, he returned secretly to France, and perished in the nefarious massacre of St. Bartholomew.

With after generations it has, however, remained a question, what was the motive, and who the instigator of his murder? Some would have it, that the king ordered it directly; others, that it was accomplished by a revolt of the students, in resentment of the attacks of their professor upon Aristotle. But another version gained more credit with the progress of time and light. This attributed the murder, or, more strictly, its instigation, to a rival professor,

named Charpentier, who, jealous of the brilliancy and the popularity of Ramus, took occasion of the confusion to remove an object that overshadowed him, and then diffused the other stories to mislead opinion on the subject. This is the view adopted by the biographer before us; and he maintains it with a fair amount of documentary evidence to back the moral or intrinsic probability.

M. Waddington does none the less, however, persevere in the old *refrain* of making Ramus the hero and martyr of philosophical and religious liberty. But to explain the inconsistency, and, if possible, to excuse it, it will be requisite to note the origin and spirit of the undertaking. M. Waddington confesses, or rather announces with ostentation, that his project had proceeded from the famous Victor Cousin, and was conceived in those palmy days when the great high-priest of Eclecticism overrode the tricky weakness and the pedantic ministry of Louis Philippe. Cousin, who is outwardly an awkward and insidious jumble of simplicity and shrewdness, which is the habitual reflexion of a cracked and crooked intellect—Cousin, I say, congregated around the altar of his vanity the college witlings, aspiring to fame, the litterateurs looking to the Academy, the professors in need of chairs, and the politicians out of place, and fed their hopes as well as minds with a philosophy no less motley. Part of the tactics, as well as instinct, of the so-called philosophy consisted in republishing the insurrectionary writings of certain Frenchmen who were reputed to have revolted, in the past, against the authority of religion, or philosophy, or reason. Not that the new editions, left in their Latin original, could be reputed to be read more generally than before. The influence of the sect insured a sale to pay the printing. The profit to Cousin was a fresh occasion of laudation from the thousand chairs of the University, the myriad organs of the press, and the she-*savants* of the saloons of the capital. The share devolved to the retainers was the text supplied them by the "new work" for declamation, in all imaginable modes of pen and tongue, upon the blessings of radical liberty, the infallibility of the Ego, (that is to say, of each one's own Ego, all dissenting ones being absurd,) the sacred duty of resistance to all authority whatever, &c., &c.; and the result of which was, to bring up the government to "settle" with the most formidable, that is, flippant of the declaimers.

Such was the *political economy* of Eclecticism. As a phase of the human mind, it would be perhaps best defined to be a sort of Pietism in impiety. Accordingly, the famous founder, in the decline of his years and system, has turned to inditing sentimental biographies of the most notable or noble Magdalenes of the said sect in the seventeenth century.

But in the palmy days alluded to, Cousin betrayed less feebly the merely literary calibre of his talent. After making a translation of Plato, (from Schleiermacher,) a selection which again displays the sympathy in question, he republished an edition, in the first place, of Abelard, then a like collection of the works of Descartes, and was finally engaged, when Louis Philippe broke down under him, in collecting for the same object the productions of Ramus. Here, abandoning the undertaking—though one could scarcely imagine why, without the hints of the preceding explanation—M. Cousin has, it seems, en-

couraged M. Waddington, a disciple, to the present publication as a sort of substitute. It is no wonder, then, if the impulsion given by the master should fall into odds with the historical veracity of the pupil. But M. Cousin has contributed something better to the volume, in a complete catalogue of the vast and various productions of Ramus. And this great service he has also rendered by the other similar compilations. For, if men will only labour lawfully, the product will be always useful, despite the motives of the author, or even the errors of his system, the economy of providence and nature making this necessary. The distinction to be observed is, to assign the credit or extenuation to this great principle which transmutes vanity and quackery to things of value, and to strip the person of the borrowed plumage with which he has been decked by the public ignorance. A mass of rags upon a pole, though without much intrinsic value, becomes by position of real utility as a scare-crow.

As to Ramus himself, I conceive his merit also to be much exaggerated. His fame, which, like most others of the kind, is but traditional, arose, I think, from the occurrences of his life just alluded to. In the first place, the suspension of his lectures by the government; then his change of religion, and expulsion from the kingdom; and finally, and above all, the catastrophe of his death. It was his death, more than his life, that made Socrates, too, immortal. Not only is the French sufferer esteemed a martyr to the same cause; he was, moreover, intertwisted with two other parties of the country, who retained, for a long time after, a factious motive of commemoration. Add to these things an erudition that was eminent for that age, and an eloquence that would be honoured in our own, and you have the halo that was diffused around his weaknesses and his misfortunes from the popular imagination, by the spurious name of genius.

I can speak in this respect with entire confidence of Ramus. I have recently had an occasion to examine his works; a predicament not perhaps common to all the critics who talk of Ramus. I am astonished at his utter destitution, not of all theory, which, I presume, he could not have possessed of his own; but of bold, empirical innovation, for which I always had seen him celebrated. His objections to Aristotle are for the most part pedantic carpings, which he steals the means of making from other writings of the author nibbled at; a mode of warfare also followed by another sounding name, which, though less empty than that of Ramus, is due a good deal to the like inflation. The only novelty of the French reformer lies in his principles of division. As Aristotle preferred the triad, for which the Frenchman perceived no reason, the latter deemed it a safe distinction to take the bivary distribution, which he has pushed through all the sciences, arts, mysteries, and even some languages, with an extravagant distortion of all nature, truth, and history. This tortuosity is best detected in the application to geometry, of which the nature is more palpable and the conception more precise, and wherein the trinary division had prevailed spontaneously throughout. But though this unmasked him and his system to the more intelligent of his day, yet the gaudy display of his whole fount of "genealogical trees" of science was well adapted to impose upon such savants as M. Cousin.

On the other hand, what has astonished me no less in Ramus than his in-

anity, is the strange elégance of his Latinity and the graceful freedom of his style. There is no doubt that these accomplishments, wherein, in fact, he scarcely yielded to the Italian "Ciceronians" of Leo X., went also largely to the construction of his temporary reputation. But what surprised me above all was to find the *irony* of the Frenchman in full maturity an entire century before Pascal; not, to be sure, that intense irony which seems to mitigate by self-amusement the ebullition of the fierce intellect and indignation of the great ascetic. The irony of Ramus is much more national, without resentment, without conviction, and intended mainly, it would seem, for show. For instance, his objections to Aristotle are never open. They are regularly made with an accompanying apology. At one time it is the schoolmen that have mistaken the great master; anon, it is the old scholiasts that *must* have tampered with the text. Again, it is some careless copyist that *doubtless* mutilated an expression which had been perfect in sense and science in the original; another time, it is a whole treatise that must *infallibly* be supposititious, as the prince of all philosophers could not have written such downright nonsense, &c.

It may be said that the necessity of this manœuvring has been attested by the rebuke received by Ramus, notwithstanding; and I should say so too, were there a specious effort to disguise. But the pretended extenuations are so puerilely transparent that they could not possibly have been expected to deceive. Indeed, their great defect of art is to seek too little to conceal it; and, on the contrary, to be pedantically anxious to parade wit. And yet you cannot call the thing pedantic, for your life. The irony of a pedant has always bile as well as ponderosity; and that of Ramus is all milk and mansuetude; a sort of lemonade of the confectionary of criticism. It is strikingly characteristic of his nation and his race. So are equally the combined petulance, presumption, and superciliousness that stimulated his attacks upon Aristotle, as well as also the redeeming qualities of grace, eloquence, and method.

I have now to entertain at once the lay and medical of your readers, who may be interested in the popular subject of Homœopathy. A consistory of these new lights met last summer at Bordeaux, paraded reports, declaimed speeches, (which is no more than you can do in America,) but wound up with the French addition of a sumptuous banquet, "in honour of Hahnemann." This was done with so much eclat that it roused the ire of the old practitioners. A champion of the latter, M. P. A. Manec, *ancien professeur*, &c., *ancien chirurgien*, &c., comes forth in consequence with a fresh onslaught of some three hundred furious pages, entitled *Lettres sur l'Homœopathie, ou Refutation complète de cette méthode curative.* (Letters on Homœopathy, or a complete Refutation of that curative method.)

I have called the onslaught *fresh*, alluding chiefly to the publication, for the arguments, as far as I had time to read, appeared scarcely new. The abusiveness appeared to me more novel in a French writer. It is prefaced by the following motto from an eminent French physician: "Homœopathy is a medical system, which proceeds on the unknown, which proposes to itself the impossible, and which produces but mischief." This, you see, is an ominous prelude. I pass at once to the conclusion, to convey as succinctly as possible some general conception of the strain and value of the work.

The author, before proceeding to the task of summing up, takes the precaution to protest that he does not intend to deny absolutely all truth to the sect who follow the maxim *similia similibus;* he only claims more truth for the conflicting rule of *contraries;* which is not, perhaps, very logical at bottom. But all the practical applications of the Homœopathists he finds absurd. He concludes then against them in substance as follows: That maladies are not, as Hahnemann will have it, immaterial essences; for if so, material medicines could have no action upon them. (This, I think, is a decided *non sequitur.*) That maladies are not to be regarded as consisting of the mere external group of symptoms, but as the result of a deeper cause; which lurking cause, and not the symptoms, is what the physician should aim to extirpate. That to make each case a different malady, requiring special treatment, would be to do away "with all experience"— (a proposition which, though partly true, is generally awkward as an argument, since, on the contrary, it is experience that thus inclines to individualizing.) That the division of chronic maladies by the Homœopaths is arbitrary; consequently, that the curative system thence deduced must be defective practically. That the alleged similarity between the pathogenetic and the pathologic systems can never be complete; consequently, that the principle of *similia similibus* can never be anything but words—(the simpler reader may require to know, that the *pathogenetic* system means the process whereby Homœopathists produce or *generate* malady; or a set of symptoms resembling those presented by the illness to be cured, and that the *pathologic* system is the learned term for the latter.) Our author proceeds to sum up, that the dilutions of the Homœopathists must in the last degree transcend the lowest atomic divisibility; consequently, that the medical efficiency must be null. That Homœopathists are inconsistent, seeing that their principle demands a specific for every distinct case of illness to which the human flesh is heir, whereas they have but twenty or thirty in their whole materia medica. That the method which pretends to cure a certain order of diseases by inoculation with the same virus, or the tape-worm by the tape-worm, and which is termed Isopathy, is "Homœopathy run mad;" (and yet a treatise of two large volumes appeared some time ago in this city, filled with cases of alleged cures upon the former of these "insane" principles.) That, in a word, "the Hahnemannic doctrine reposes upon false assertions, and upon principles that are absurd, ridiculous, and contradictory."

This literal version will give a taste of the French amenity of the writer. He admits, however, that there may be "some honest persons in the practice of this molecular and cloudy issue from the dream-land of Teutonism; but that, in general, it is the refuge of mountebanks and scoundrels." I must protest against the truth as well as form of this invective, in the name of our own republic, where Homœopathy is in large repute. Besides the testimony of this experience, I think the author is scarcely competent to sit in philosophic judgment upon either Allopathy or Homœopathy. But this is not the place to discuss a question of that nature. I conclude with notifying the reader that the foregoing series of *assertions* are attempted to be duly proved throughout the body of the work.

II. HIGHER EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, *November 27th*, 1855.

MR. EDITOR,—The Universities of Germany have probably a more extended influence than those of any other country. Unlike the renowned institutions at Cambridge and Oxford, they are closed to no class of the community; and they are freely open, also, to citizens of all other countries. But not only are they thus accessible to all, as are the colleges of our own land, but a much larger proportion of the population avail themselves of the advantages they offer. Every professional man *must* pass his examination upon the studies of the University; and no theologian would be permitted to preach, no lawyer to plead, no physician to practise, no engineer to build roads, unless he had his certificate in his pocket that it had been passed satisfactorily. It is the only way in which to become a teacher in the gymnasia, (or state schools,) or to reach a professorship in the University. Thus the whole educated community are brought under the influence of the Universities, and the "gebildete" (that is, educated) are spoken of and referred to as a distinct class in the community. The arrangements of the universities are, for the most part, admirable, tending to produce thoroughness in the student, and to secure for him the best possible instruction.

The Gymnasia may be considered component parts of the University; they are, in fact, its necessary presupposition. No student (that is, German student) can attend University lectures until he has passed the examination of the gymnasia; this is his ticket of admission. The course in the gymnasium is nine years, though this period may be shortened by entering an advanced class. It is not usual, however, to do this. No boy is admitted younger than nine years of age, and he is expected at the first to possess the common rudiments of German education, and a little knowledge of Latin. During the nine years' course he is carefully instructed in Latin, Greek, the elements of mathematics, and history; usually, also, in the French and English languages; and, besides, if he is to study theology, in Hebrew. During so long a course, he learns *thoroughly* what he is taught. When he enters the University he can write and speak Latin with tolerable correctness and facility. Indeed, many of the recitations of the higher classes in the gymnasia are conducted entirely in Latin. Greek is read with ease; and, in fact, with all the languages, the difficulty of *translation* is past. They are tools ready to be used in theology, for the purposes of exegesis, and in philology for the higher criticism of the text, style, &c., of the classic authors. In fact, the universities correspond more to our professional schools than to our colleges, though they embrace departments which scarcely exist as yet among us.

When the student matriculates at the University, his school days are past; he is now engaged in preparing directly for his future employment in life. He is under no system of espionage; he can study or not, as suits him; can attend the lectures he pays for or not; and so, at first, he is apt to be lazy, and the first *semester* (half year) is usually a reaction against the strict discipline of the

gymnasium. But this state is only transitory. The fact stares the student in the face that so many courses of lectures are to be heard; and that, unless he passes a good examination upon them, all chances for success in life are lost. So the fox (as the freshmen are called here) stops frisking his tail by the end of the first semester, and turns with alacrity to his work.

Most of his instruction consists in lectures delivered on the various subjects in his department. Besides these, there is in most departments what is called a "*seminar*," a meeting of a certain number of students with the professors once or twice a week, for the discussion of particular topics. In the philological department these are always conducted in Latin, and consist of the discussion of the purity of text of a writer, or a disquisition on a tragedy, or something of the kind. An essay is usually read by one member; the others then discuss what he has said, and the professor sums up the argument, and gives his own opinion. Every one speaks in Latin, and is immediately corrected if he make a mistake. In Philosophy and Theology there is the same routine; save that in discussions on homiletics or dogmatics, German is spoken. The exegetical *seminar* is held in Latin. The student must spend three years in this manner, and must hear lectures in all the branches of his profession. He may prolong his course, if he chooses; but at the end of the sixth semester he may pass his examination. A theological student, if he wish to become a pastor, is not examined at the University, but by a council appointed by the king for the purpose, consisting of theological professors and pastors. If he wishes to teach, however, he must also be examined at the University. In most cases the students try to take the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which term comprehends all departments. You are to be examined on a certain list of subjects; but you can make any one of them the *chief* one, on which you are expected to be very thorough, and on which your success principally depends.

If, in addition to this, one wishes to teach in the University, with the prospect of becoming a professor, he writes a treatise in Latin upon some subject in his department, and holds a public discussion also in Latin upon it, with three opponents appointed by the faculty. The professors attend in their robes of office, and the candidate argues in white gloves and cravat, for it is quite a state affair. After it is over he receives the clasp of the hand, the open and shut books, the ring of office, and the official kiss; and is, moreover, smothered with Latin praises from the dean of the faculty. He then has permission to read lectures, but receives no compensation from the institution, depending on the number of students who hear him for his support. At first this is small, but if he is a man of ability and learning his students increase in number, and when he has published a good book on some subject he is promoted to be *Professor Extraordinary*, with a small salary from the government. In consideration of this he has to read a public (or free) lecture once or twice a week. If he comes to be at all distinguished, he is, after some years, made Professor *Ordinary*, with a larger salary. His chief support, however, at all times comes from the students who hear him; each of whom pays about four dollars for each course of lectures, except, of course, two *public* lectures, which are free to all. Neither the *Privat Docent* (the licensed lecturer) nor any of the professors have the subjects assigned in which they shall read. Of

course they *must* read in their department; but they may choose any branch of it they may see fit. This, one might at first think, would cause confusion; but it is soon seen to be an admirable arrangement. If two or more professors read on the same subject, the students are not slow in finding out which is the ablest, and the inferior ones are soon left to read to empty benches. A professor thus deserted will then take up another subject; and, if he is an able man, will soon have a full lecture-room to hear his ethics or exegesis, though his dogmatics had emptied it. Thus the students are sure to have every man's *best* offered to them in his lectures; and the professor is not obliged to read on one subject while his heart is fixed on another. The number of subjects is thus very much varied. In Church History, for instance, one lecturer may read on the History of Doctrines; another on External Church History; another on the Gnostics; or on the history of a particular doctrine, such as the Trinity, the sacraments, &c. In the exegetical department one may read on prophecy; another on the Mosaic record; another may expound the Psalms: all subjects requiring men of a somewhat different character. To have such a system, a great number of professors is required, and a great number of students too to support them. The instruction by lectures, moreover, presupposes a thorough discipline of mind, and habits of study already formed in the student: it requires, also, to make it effective, the prospect ahead of a severe examination in the lectures. But where these conditions exist, it must result in giving a fullness of information, and a thoroughness of culture, that could not be attained in any other way.

Of all the Prussian universities, the one at Berlin is the chief. The number of its professors and students is by far the largest, and it excels also in the size of its library, and the richness of its collections and museums. A somewhat special account of the University itself may not be without interest to your readers.

The University building is a large and finely-proportioned pile; forming three sides of a hollow square. The court-yard thus formed opens upon the street called "Unter den Linden." One wing of the building faces the opera-house; the other faces the Prince of Prussia's palace, and the magnificent bronze monument to Frederic the Great. This building is entirely used for lecture-rooms, and the various scientific collections of the institution. The students room where they please in the town, the University exercising no oversight over them save through the University police. These lecture-rooms, which are of all sizes, to suit the distinguished or undistinguished professors, are very plain, having unpainted seats and desks, and a desk in similar style for the lecturer. The *aula*, where the public exercises of conferring degrees, awarding premiums, &c., take place, is very handsome and spacious.

The number of students is ordinarily about fifteen hundred; but many hear lectures who are not matriculated, and the number of these attending lectures is about two thousand. This is about the number at Munich and Vienna. As the catalogue for this year has not yet appeared, I cannot give the number of students in each department. The students of theology, however, are the least numerous, the theological faculty not being so distinguished here as in Halle and other places.

There are in all departments ninety professors and sixty-four *privat docents.* Of these there are in *theology*, *five* ordinary and *five* extraordinary professors, and *four* privat docents; in *law*, *eight* ordinary and *four* extraordinary professors, and *three* privat docents; in *medicine*, *eleven* ordinary and *seven* extraordinary professors, and *twenty-two* privat docents; and in the comprehensive department of *philosophy*, *twenty-five* ordinary and *twenty-five* extraordinary professors, and *thirty-five* privat docents. Besides these there are *two* lecturers, whose title is "Academiæ Regiæ Litter. Sodalis," *five* lecturers on the modern languages and literature, not included in the philosophical faculty, and instructors in fencing, gymnastics, leaping, and riding. So, taken together, there are *one hundred and sixty-four* instructors in the various departments.

The subjects treated are, of course, very various. As an illustration of the variety and number of topics not usually considered with us, let me quote a few of the lectures in the theological department: Thus, Professor Hengstenberg reads a *public* lecture on "the History of the Jews from the Time of the Exile;" Professor Nitzsch reads on "*Catechetik*," or the mode and uses of teaching the Catechism. Then there are lectures on the "Ancient Semitic Geography;" "The Method and Encyclopedia of Theological Study;" "The Syriac and Semitic Languages;" "The Influence of Philosophy, since the Time of Spinoza, upon the Christian Religion and Theology." Dr. Erdmann reads on "*Patristic*," or the lives, works, and doctrines of the Church fathers; Licentiate Schneider on the "History of Ecclesiastical Poetry;" others on "Symbolik," or the history of confessions and creeds, while the "History of Doctrines," beginning now to be somewhat considered by us at home, is a branch very widely cultivated.

But it would be tedious to go thus through the various departments. Suffice it to say, that almost all branches are carefully treated even in their minutiæ. Indeed, the division of labour is as remarkable here as it is in our factories where machinery has been extensively introduced. I will, however, give some explanation of the philosophical faculty; for, from its name, it would not be generally understood among us.

The philosophical department, then, includes all those subjects which cannot come under the other departments, and which can be philosophically treated. Thus, history, philology, and the natural sciences are comprehended in it, as well as philosophy proper. This faculty in Berlin includes a great many of the most distinguished men belonging to the University. For instance, *Bekker* and *Boeckh*, the distinguished Greek editors; *Lepsius*, who may be said to be to Egypt what Niebuhr was to Rome; *Ranke* and *Von Raumer*, the celebrated historians; *Carl Ritter*, the great geographer; *Haupt*, the Latin professor; *Trendelenberg*, so distinguished for his philosophical writings; *Kiepert*, the author of the historical maps; *Michelet*, the Hegelian philosopher, and others.

It is quite bewildering, and positively amusing, at times, to see the topics which are treated of. Not only are there lectures on the various works of the classic authors of Greece and Rome, but numerous individuals hold themselves *ready* (mind, I do not say *read*) *to read* in Chaldee, Sanscrit, Persian, and the

Zend. One adventurous doctor has a "Privatissime" on Arabic, Rabbinical Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic; while another has the same on the Polish, Bohemian, Russian, and Servian tongues. The Coptic is, of course, not neglected; and even Turkish and Chinese have their devotees. Not only does Dr. Boetticher describe the Athenian Acropolis at the period of its glory, but his companion in arms is equally learned on the "geography of Egypt at the time of the Pharaohs."

But if some of this erudition is calculated to excite a smile, there is much which awakens a deep interest, and a longing that similar branches might be established among us. Thus, lectures on the "History of Philosophy," so numerous here, do not exist in our colleges, important and interesting as the subject is. In fact, the whole historical spirit here is something we ought to import as soon as possible. The idea, started by the modern German philosophy, of viewing history as a development, which, too, has happily dawned on some minds in our own land, has given a new spirit to all branches of learning. It has extended not only to political and moral history, but to the history of art, of languages, and of manners. It has awakened a deep interest in these subjects, and breathed a new life into the method of treating them; and, consequently, we find that almost every subject is treated by some one historically. Thus there are lectures on the history of art, of modern and ancient literature, and Professor Ritter reads on the history of geography. It is unnecessary to remark, that to rightly understand a subject, we must view it in its connexions; and if it be so, how important is this historical training? There are other lectures more closely related to these historical ones, which are of the greatest service: I refer to those on Encyclopedia. These are the first lectures which a student takes in his department, and they are intended to give him a general view of the province he is entering. Thus there are lectures on Theological Encyclopedia, Philosophical Encyclopedia, &c., &c., in which the departments are mapped out before the student into their appropriate divisions and subdivisions, and the best books in each department mentioned and criticised. In fact, no word is more common among German students than "orientiren." It is owing to this systematic training as much as to any other one thing, that the German scholars are enabled to accomplish so much. When a young man commences to make investigations for himself, he knows what has already been accomplished in his department, and so he can start from the point which has been attained, and may make use of previous labours instead of groping in the dark, uncertain as to what has been done, and, consequently as to what needs doing. C. C. T.

Art. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

(1.) "*The Testimony of an Escaped Novice from the Sisterhood of St. Joseph*, by Josephine M. Bunkley." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 338.) This book, unlike many of similar character, carries conviction of its truth along with it to the mind of the reader. It gives a fair account of the convent at Emmetsburgh, of its discipline, and of the results of the system upon the physical and moral health of the inmates of the institution. The instruments of Rome are the same, in substance, everywhere—appeals to the senses and to the imagination, to the fears and the desires of our poor human nature; and Miss Bunkley shows that these means are used with as much strictness and severity in American convents now, as in European cloisters centuries ago, making allowance for the differences of time and country.

(2.) "*Modern Pilgrims: showing the Improvements in Travel and the newest Methods of reaching the Celestial City*, by George Wood." (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1855; 2 vols. 12mo.) The title reveals in this book an imitation of Bunyan; but, after all possible allowance on the score of the difference of times and of topics, it is a very poor imitation. There are thrusts at every form of Christianity now extant among men; not the sharp sabre-cuts of genuine wit, but rough, butchering blows, which often do execution, but in a very rude way. The author seems to favour the Baptists more than any other modern sect; the rest, especially the Methodists, are generally caricatured.

(3.) Messrs. Carlton & Phillips have reprinted "*The Preacher's Manual: including Clarke's Clavis Biblica, and Letter to a Preacher, with Coke's Four Discourses on the Duties of a Minister of the Gospel.*" (New-York: 1855; 12mo., pp. 235.) The separate treatises contained in this volume have had a long career of usefulness; and, in their collected form, they are worthy to become a "manual" for candidates for the ministry.

(4.) Messrs. Harper & Brothers have republished "*The Works of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life*, by T. N. Talfourd." New-York: 1855; 2 vols. 12mo.) The editing of Lamb's letters and the preparation of his biography could have fallen into no more worthy hands than those of Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, himself so soon (alas!) to need the same kind services, and not likely to find so apt and so genial a biographer. In the present reprint the life, the letters, and the "Final Memorials" of Lamb occupy the first volume; the second contains the essays, tales, and poems of "the frolic and the gentle" Elia.

(5.) "*The Lives of the British Historians*, by EUGENE LAWRENCE." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1855; 2 vols. 12mo.) This book contains biographies of many men whose only bond of connexion is the common fact of their writing history. Yet this one bond is enough to afford ample opportunity for useful comparison and discrimination on the part of a capable writer. Mr. Lawrence has conceived the plan of his book well, and has executed it, on the whole, in a very satisfactory manner. The sketches of Burnet and Gibbon strike us as particularly well done.

(6.) "*An Outline of the General Principles of Grammar, edited by the* Rev. J. G. BARTON." (New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1855; 18mo., pp. 155.) This is a reprint of a very excellent little English treatise on Grammar, and is of far more value than most of the larger books of the kind now in the hands of school-boys. The American editor has added a set of questions, adapting the book more perfectly to use in the class-room.

(7.) "*Napoleon at St. Helena; or, interesting Anecdotes and remarkable Conversations of the Emperor during the five and a half years of his Captivity, collected by* JOHN S. C. ABBOTT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 8vo., pp. 662.) We regard this book as a far more truthful and useful one than Mr. Abbott's recent "Life of Napoleon." Mr. Abbott has here compiled, with much skill and judgment, the most interesting and characteristic portions of the St. Helena memorials of Las Casas, O'Meara, Montholon, and others, and arranged the whole under the form of a daily journal. The book thus affords a record of the concluding portion of Napoleon's life, which approximates Boswell's Johnson in minuteness of detail. As the books of which the present work is made up are mostly out of print, it will be very acceptable to a large class of readers.

(8.) MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS have issued a new and revised edition of "*The English Language in its Elements and Forms*, by W. L. FOWLER, *late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College.*" (New-York: 1855; 8vo., pp. 754.) In this revised edition there is a large amount of new matter, and exercises in Analysis and Synthesis are given, which adapt the book still better for use in teaching. In its present shape the book contains a larger amount of valuable information with regard to the origin and structure of the English language than any single book now accessible to American students.

(9.) JACOB ABBOTT'S popularity with the children of this generation is unlimited. Accordingly, there is no doubt of the success of a republication of his "Rollo Books," of which series we have received "*Rollo in Scotland.*" Boston: W. J. Reynolds & Co., 1856; 12mo., pp. 218.) Additional volumes are preparing in continuation of "Rollo's Tour in Europe."

(10.) We have received the *ninth* volume of "*The Works of Shakspeare, edited by the* Rev. H. N. HUDSON, A. M." (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1856; 12mo., pp. 579.) Two more volumes will complete the issue of this best and most convenient edition of Shakspeare yet published in this country.

(11.) "*A Child's History of the United States*, by JOHN BONNER," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 2 vols. 18mo.,) is not unworthy to be compared, in some respect, with Dickens's "Child's History of England." We should recommend it more cordially but for its free-trade doctrines, and its low tone on the subject of slavery extension.

(12.) "*The World's Jubilee*, by ANNA SILLIMAN," (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1856; 12mo., pp. 343,) belongs to a class of books (on the Advent) that we have given over reading. We have only glanced at the book sufficiently to see that its main object appears to be to show that the earth will be the future abode of the glorified saints.

(13.) "*A new Flower for Children*," by L. MARIA CHILD," (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1856; 18mo., pp. 311,) contains a series of very beautiful and instructive stories. Mrs. Child has a peculiar gift in this line of writing; and this little book is one of her best.

(14.) "*Carroll Ashton; or, the Reward of Truthfulness*," (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society,) is an excellent little story, showing how a good boy, who suffered for a long time on a false imputation of theft, was finally and completely vindicated. It may be put without fear into the hands of children.

(15.) The publication of "Harper's Classical Library" has gone on, since ourlast, with rapidity and promptitude. "*Thucydides, translated* by the Rev. HENRY DALE, M. A., (12mo., pp. 594,) is from the text of Arnold, collated with Bekker and others. The version is more literal than readable. "*Sophocles*" (12mo., pp. 339) is given in the standard Oxford translation, revised by Mr. Buckley. "*Herodotus, edited* by HENRY CARY, M. A.," (12mo., pp. 613,) is a literal version from the text of Baehr, and is furnished with geographical and general Index.

(16.) "*The Wonderful Phials, and other Stories*," (New-York: M. W. Dodd; 18mo., pp. 323,) is a collection of beautiful tales from the French. Some of them are tender and touching to a rare degree.

(17.) "*The Skeptical Era in Modern History*, by T. M. POST." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1856; 12mo., pp. 264.) The author of this book is, we believe, a Congregationalist minister at St. Louis. In the present treatise he aims, first, to show the nature and extent of the "defection of faith that marked the eighteenth century;" and, secondly, to consider its causes. The result of his investigation is, that the *fons et origo malorum*—the cause of causes for modern infidelity—is to be found in *despotism*, secular and spiritual, but especially the latter. His exposition of the subject is throughout clear and comprehensive; and the argument, or rather cumulation of arguments, by which he presses all the enormous evils of the eclipse of faith back upon the Church of Rome, is

powerful, as well from its method as from its truthfulness. The work affords a much-needed rebuke to the absurd Romanist charge—in which many silly Protestants have acquiesced—that the freedom of thought brought in by the Reformation has given rise to modern scepticism. Mr. Post writes with uncommon vigour and force; and his present work is an admirable contribution to the culture of the young men of this generation.

(18.) "*One Word more: an Appeal to the reasoning and thoughtful among Unbelievers*, by JOHN NEAL." (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1856; 12mo., pp. 220.) The peculiar characteristics of John Neal's mind are displayed here in a new field—the enforcement of practical religious truth. The book consists of brief essays—argumentative, didactic, and hortatory—upon Miracles, Faith, Prayer, Conversion, and other topics. The most striking papers in the collection are those on "Faith" and on "Universalism;" and in this last, the author, who was himself a Universalist, shows how his views came to be rectified, and points out a line of conduct and of argument in dealing with Universalists which orthodox teachers would do well to adopt.

(19.) "*Essays, Educational and Religious*, by E. THOMPSON, LL. D., *President of Ohio Wesleyan University.*" (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1855; 12mo., pp. 392.) This series of essays forms the first volume of a collection of Dr. Thompson's "Works," made by the Rev. E. D. Roe, M. D., with the author's consent. The "Educational Essays" include topics in the various branches of training—mental, moral, and physical—all of which are treated with the acute discrimination that marks Dr. Thompson's thinking, and with the clearness and method which are characteristic of his writings. The "Religious Essays" contain several discourses of great merit—especially two on "Missions," which we should be glad to see published as tracts and widely scattered. We shall await, with great interest, the additional volumes promised by Dr. Roe.

(20.) "*Systematic Beneficence: three prize Essays.*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1856; 18mo.) Some time since the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church offered a prize of six hundred dollars, to be given, "at the discretion of the adjudicators, in one sum, or, should three essays be selected, in sums of three hundred, two hundred, and one hundred dollars respectively." The present volume contains the essays to which the prizes have been awarded. The first is entitled "*The Great Reform*, by ABEL STEVENS." (18mo., pp. 126.) The title very well indicates the point of view from which Mr. Stevens regards the subject. He divides his essay into four parts: I. The importance of the subject; II. The present standard of beneficence in the Church; III. The true standard of Christian beneficence; IV. The results that would follow the adoption of the true standard. Each of these heads is well wrought out; but we consider the third as by far the most important and valuable. Its points are, (1) that Christian beneficence is a *duty*, and should be a habit; (2) that the Scriptures set forth the duty, its limits and its methods; and (3)

that the Church *can* and *must* come up to the standard. It hardly appears to us possible that any Christian man can read this essay with thought and prayer, and not at once determine to take his part in the "great reform" of which the Church is so signally in need.

The title of the second essay, again, clearly indicates another point of view—"*The Great Question; or, how shall I meet the Claims of God upon my Property*, by the Rev. L. WHITE." (18mo., pp. 234.) Mr. White grasps his subject strongly, and presses the duty of proportional and periodical giving upon the consciences of his readers with great force. His appeals rest upon a Scriptural basis throughout; though we must disagree with his enforcement of the rule in 1 Cor. xvi, 2. His chapter on the duty of the ministry has some passages which strike us as very strange: *e. g.*, that the "idea is now extensively entertained in the Churches that ministers are, *ex officio*, excused from giving." Certainly, in all our experience we have never heard of this before; and in the central region of American Methodism it has long been the habit, we think, of the ministers to *lead* their people in Christian beneficence. We consider the entire essay, however, to be eminently adapted to stir up the consciences both of ministers and people, and hope it will be widely circulated—a result which would be surer if it were cut down to half its present dimensions.

The third essay is also distinct from the others in its point of view: "*Property Consecrated; or, Honouring God with our Substance*, by the Rev. B. ST. J. FRY." (18mo., pp. 127.) The points in this essay are, (1) the will of God in relation to property, and (2) the temporal and spiritual advantages arising from a right use of property. These points are developed in ten chapters, each of which treats on subdivisions of one or the other of the general topics. Mr. Fry's style is good and concise, his argument is clear and cogent, and his application full of force and pungency. From the circulation of this and the other essays, we hope for a *new theory and practice* of benevolence in the Church. And may God speed the day.

(21.) "*The Ecclesiastical Principles and Polity of the Wesleyan Methodists*, by WILLIAM PEIRCE." (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.; royal 8vo., pp. 668.) This work professes to give a full and "impartial" account of all the ordinances, institutions, laws, regulations, and general economy of the Wesleyan Methodists in England, carefully compiled "from Mr. Wesley's Journal, the Minutes, and other scarce and authentic records, from the earliest period to the present time." The compiler aims, he tells us, not to sit in judgment on the laws of Methodism, but to give them in their integrity. He has certainly produced a book of great value to all who are interested in the study of Methodism, whether as friends or foes. The information gathered into this large volume would have to be searched for through a multitude of publications, many of them difficult of access; so that, as a repository of Methodist facts, the work must be acceptable to all who wish to learn what Methodism is, and how she has come to be what she is. But we are inclined to think that the compiler, with all his good intentions, has deceived himself a little with regard to the absolute "impartiality" of his labours. Even from his preface we can gather that it must have cost him an effort even to attempt the holding of an

even balance. He speaks—in somewhat clumsy phrase—of "the opposite adjudications of the pastorate, which so ominously disfigure the commencement of the second century of the Wesleyan chronology;" of the "mystery of expulsion from the pasture grounds of Methodism, which has, of late years, so powerfully obtained," &c.—passages which rather forebode the partisan than the impartial historian. Nor are there wanting similar indications in the body of the book. For instance, he gives an account (p. 12) of the dispute respecting Mr. Wesley's manuscripts, in which he cites Whitehead's account, and no other; but Coke and Moore's statements are equally worthy of citation, if not of credit. Again, Whitehead's account of the "Deed of Declaration" might fairly have been compared with Dr. Coke's manly statement of his own share in that transaction, (Drew's Life of Coke, Am. ed., 1818, pp. 37, 38.) On page 63 we are told that "no rule whatever, made during Mr. Wesley's lifetime, on this subject [of the exclusion of members] is to be found in the Minutes of Conference;" and yet, on the very next page we find one quoted from the Minutes of 1744! and, to add to the confusion, this is classed among the "rules made since Mr. Wesley's death!" And certainly Mr. Peirce *might* have referred to Mr. Wesley's paper read to the leaders of Dublin in 1771, in which may be found the following: "*Q.* 6. Have they [the leaders] not authority to expel a particular member of society? *Ans.* No: the *assistant* only can do this." Mr. Peirce states (p. 223) that the "excellent plan" of giving statements of the accounts of Kingswood School has been "discontinued since 1818;" but he is either ill-informed on the matter, or disingenuous, for the simple fact is, that these Reports have been as fully published since 1818 as before, but in the "Report of Kingswood School," instead of in the "Minutes."

Many passages like these, clearly indicating at least a want of care on the part of Mr. Peirce, might easily be cited; but there is one which must be characterized in stronger language. In his account of the "Theological Institution," (pp. 235, 236,) Mr. Peirce cites Richard Watson as giving certain questions and answers from the "Minutes," and in a note (p. 236) he says, "These questions and answers are not recorded in the Minutes of Conference for the years above named, nor is reference there made to the subject of such an Institution." This gives Mr. Watson the lie direct; nor does Mr. Peirce give his readers any fair opportunity of understanding him otherwise. Let our readers now examine the *very passage in Mr. Watson* (Life of Wesley, Am. ed., p. 173) which Mr. Peirce took his reference from, and then decide upon his claim to impartiality, or even to common honesty. It is as follows:

"As the subject of a seminary or college has been of late brought under discussion, it may not be uninteresting to those who have not access to the manuscript copies of the first Minutes, extracts from which only are in print, to give the passages which relate to this subject from the complete Minutes of 1744 and 1745. In the former year it is asked, 'Can we have a seminary for labourers?' and the answer is, 'If God spare us until another conference.' The next year the subject was resumed, 'Can we have a seminary for labourers yet?' Answer, 'Not till God gives us a proper tutor.' So that the institution was actually resolved upon, and delayed only by circumstances."

What we have said, and proved, is enough to show that Mr. Peirce's book, though commendable on the score of industry and research, is vitiated through-

out by a bad *animus*, which causes us to distrust him on every occasion of critical interest.

(22.) "*Tonga and the Friendly Islands, with a sketch of their Mission History*, by SARAH S. FARMER." (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 427.) Miss Farmer has shown great judgment and taste in the preparation of this volume, which, though professedly "written for young people," contains a large amount of information, set forth in a way to please and profit people of all ages. The discovery of the islands, their physical characteristics, the condition of the people, the introduction and history of Christianity among them—all these topics are treated with method, clearness, and simplicity. The missionary spirit animates Miss Farmer's pages throughout; indeed, we know no single volume of missionary history so likely to be useful in inspiring young Christians with missionary zeal as this. The illustrations are in excellent taste.

(23.) "*History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*, by WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT." (Boston: Phillips, Samson, & Co.; 2 vols. 8vo.) No period in the history of humanity offers more important and interesting material for the historian than that chosen by Mr. Prescott for the subject of his new work. It has been often treated, but never satisfactorily. Watson's "History of Philip II. and III." is, indeed, a clear and sober narration; but when he wrote, it was difficult, nay, impossible, to get access to the best sources of information; nor, indeed, were either writers or readers at that time very fastidious about such matters. Nor has there ever been a time so favourable as the present for getting at the truth of history with regard to this eventful period. Many ancient repositories, to which access was formerly denied, are now open to scrutiny; and, in particular, "the Archives of Simancas, which have held the secrets of the Spanish monarchy hermetically sealed for ages," have of late been thoroughly explored. New light has thus been thrown upon the motives of great movements that were before inexplicable; the clue to many a labyrinth has been discovered; and it is possible for us to understand the private policy of Philip II. better than even the statesmen of his own cabinet could do.

It is needless to say that Mr. Prescott has made diligent use of all accessible authorities. His reputation for a thorough and honest employment of original sources of information was established by former great works: the present will do nothing to diminish it. To use his own modest language, the present work "cannot fail to present the reader with such new and authentic statements of facts as may afford him a better point of view than that which he has hitherto possessed for surveying the history of Philip the Second." The two volumes now published carry the history down to the death of Queen Isabella, 1568. They therefore cover one of the most eventful periods in the history of Protestantism; and it is here that the great interest of the history centres. The key to Philip's whole policy is to be found in his determination to crush Protestantism. All other ambitions, in his narrow mind, were made subordinate to this; and on this issue he staked and lost the best part of his dominions. The beginnings of the Revolution in the Netherlands are stated with great

clearness by Mr. Prescott, and some of his most brilliant pictures belong to this part of the history.

When the work is completed we hope to give a full survey of the field. In the mean time, we cannot forbear to say that there are more instances of loose and careless writing in these volumes than ought to occur in a work destined to a permanent place in literature.

(24.) "*The History of England from the Accession of James II.*, by THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; Vols. III and IV, 12mo.) These two volumes only bring the history down to 1697; but it would be foolish to argue from this the rate of progress at which Mr. Macaulay will proceed hereafter. The period embraced in these volumes covers the most important period in English history; the settlement of William's government, the rise of the great parties, the subjugation of Ireland and Scotland, and the adjustment (if such it may be called) of the greatest and most perplexing Church questions. Minute as Macaulay's account is, we could not spare a page of it. All the brilliant qualities of his former volumes are displayed in these; and to a greater extent, if that be possible. We are sorry to say, also, that his rancour against William Penn remains undiminished.

(25.) "*Addresses delivered in New-York by the Rev.* WILLIAM ARTHUR, A.M., edited by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D." (New-York: Carlton & Philips, 1856; 12mo., pp. 188.) Mr. Arthur's reputation as a speaker will not suffer from these reports, which are made with great care by Dr. Strickland. The *Lecture on Systematic Benevolence* alone is enough to entitle this little volume to a permanent place in the library shelves; it contains, in short compass, the clearest statement of the duty of proportional giving, and the most pungent exhortation to its performance, that we have ever seen in print.

(26.) "*Unitarian Principles confirmed by Trinitarian Testimonies*, by JOHN WILSON." (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1855; 12mo., pp. 504.) This book is made up of excerpts from Trinitarian authors, collected under various heads, and accompanied by a running comment by the compiler—the whole designed to favour the Unitarian heresy. The very statement of the plan is enough to show its inherent and fatal fallacy.

(27.) "*Thirteen Years Experience in the Itinerancy, by the* Rev. ANDREW MANSHIP." (Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1856; 12mo., pp. 398.) The author of this book is well known in the Philadelphia Conference as a laborious and self-sacrificing minister. One of his latest labours was the erection of the "Hedding Church" in Philadelphia. The subscriptions to this Church were not all paid in; and to make up the deficiency, in part at least, he became responsible for a large sum of money—large, that is, for a poor itinerant minister. This book grew out of this state of things. But if its object, in one sense, is to get money, it has other and even better tendencies. Bishop Scott speaks of it, in the Introduction, as follows: "It is characteristic of its

author: sprightly, earnest, energetic; full of allusions, incidents, anecdotes, and biographical sketches; all tending to lead the sinner to Christ and to heaven." In view of the value and interest of the book itself, as well as of the benevolent end its sale will subserve, we commend it to our readers. Its laudatory phrases, with regard to living men, are occasionally somewhat extravagant.

(28.) "*The State of the Soul between Death and the Resurrection*, by the Rev. PHINEAS BLAKEMAN." (New-York: M. W. DODD, 1855; 18mo., pp. 114.) This little volume treats of the conscious existence of the soul after death; of the mode of its existence; of its employments, and of the length of the period between death and the resurrection. The writer sets forth, clearly and simply, what the Scriptures teach on these topics, and does not venture beyond the record.

(29.) "*The Gospels, with moral Reflections on each Verse*, by PASQUIER QUESNEL." (Philadelphia: Parry & M'Millan, 1855; 2 vols. 8vo.) Quesnel's "Reflections on the New Testament" have been known to all theologians as a repertory of acute as well as pious observations on the New Testament. It gave rise to the celebrated papal bull "Unigenitus," in which 101 propositions, extracted from the work, were condemned. A full account of the controversy which followed is given by Bishop Wilson, in an "Introductory Essay" prefixed to the present edition. The whole work was translated and published in London by Russell, (1719–25,) and from this translation Bishop Wilson selected the part containing the Gospels, carefully revised it, and published it in London, 1830. The present edition is a reprint of Wilson's, edited and revised by the Rev. Dr. Boardman of Philadelphia. The tone of Quesnel's observations, throughout, is strongly Calvinistic, or rather Augustinian; but for this, we should commend it for general readers, as well as for theologians.

(30.) SHOULD we ever fall in with a book on "Spiritualism," (so called,) which contains a gleam of common sense, we shall not fail to report it to our readers. The last which has reached our table is "*A Record of Communications from the Spirit Spheres*, by J. B. FERGUSON," (Nashville: 8vo., pp. 276;) but it has nothing in it professing to come from spirits, but unmitigated nonsense.

(31.) "*Notes on Central America, particularly the States of Honduras and San Salvador*, by E. G. SQUIER." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 8vo., pp. 397.) This volume contains a large amount of information with regard to a region of which little has been accurately known heretofore. Even the general geography of Central America has been so mystified that we could make nothing of it; and as for minute information about the resources, population, &c., or even about state lines, it was nowhere to be had. The maps that have been published (and these are few) have abounded in blunders. Mr. Squier has had extensive opportunities of gathering accurate data upon many of these points; and he has used his chances with great industry and perseverance. This book, with its ample map, is the first approach to a "Geography of Central

America" that has been published either in Europe or America, and, as such, it must take its place as an authority. Several valuable papers will be found in the Appendix; and, among them, an account of the "Bay Islands," and of their recent seizure by Great Britain, in spite, as it would appear, of the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. We regret that Mr. Squier treats this subject with a bitterness of tone that will be apt to lessen the effect his argument might produce if stated in more dispassionate language.

(32.) "*Three Questions answered: What is Slavery? Were Slaveholders Members of the Apostolic Church? Shall the Church adopt the Apostolic Standard of Discipline, or make a new one?* by the Rev. G. F. Cox, M. A." (Boston: J. P. Magee; pp. 40.) Mr. Cox defines slavery to be "power over service," which is inadequate. But the definition is of no account in the discussion. His main point is, that both slaveholders and slaves were admitted into the Apostolic Church—a point which he makes out very fully; indeed, the wonder is that it should ever have been disputed. It is only of late that the attempt has been made, in behalf of the Anti-slavery cause, to upset the settled interpretation of such passages as 1 Cor. vii, 21; Eph. vi, 5–8; 1 Tim. vi, 1; Tit. ii, 9; and 1 Pet. ii, 18; and, in our judgment, it has completely failed. But the Anti-slavery cause does not depend upon these interpretations. We pity the condition of that man who can read the New Testament, and not feel that it is penetrated, through and through, with a spirit opposed to all oppression. Mr. Cox's conclusion is, that the Methodist Church ought to "blot out of her Discipline every word upon the subject of slavery"—a conclusion in which he will stand nearly alone; indeed, he is inconsistent with himself, in declaring that the Church should "demand good treatment for the slave, food and clothing, religious instruction, and command obedience to the master." The questions discussed in this pamphlet are of vast importance; the writer treats them, in general, calmly and temperately; and we hope that his essay may be widely circulated, and discussed in the spirit of truth and in the love of it.

(33.) CARLTON & PHILLIPS have just issued a new edition (the *sixth*) of "*A Theodicy; or, Vindication of the Divine Glory, as manifested in the Constitution and Government of the Moral World*, by A. T. BLEDSOE, LL. D." (8vo., pp. 368.) Professor Bledsoe appends to this edition a note, in which he replies, with point and effect, to Dr. M'Cosh's notices of the "Theodicy," in the last edition of his treatise on the "Divine Government."

(34.) "*A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians*, by JOHN EADIE, LL. D." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 308.) Professor Eadie's labours in Biblical literature have been altogether creditable to him. In interpretation he has not been quite so successful; but this commentary on the Colossians is a great improvement upon that on Ephesians; and, indeed, as a whole, it is better than any commentary produced in England on the Epistle. Dr. Eadie spares no pains in studying the text, and evidently seeks to give it its meaning, its whole meaning,

and nothing but its meaning. His characteristic fault is prolixity; but this book is freer from it than his former ones. No minister of the Gospel, who wishes to give his people "things new and old," can afford to go without this commentary.

(35.) "*A Manual of Ancient History*, by Dr. LEONARD SCHMITZ." (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea; 12mo., pp. 466.) This manual embraces, besides the histories of Greece and Rome, an outline of the history of the non-classical nations, down to the overthrow of the Western Empire, A. D. 476. The Jewish history is omitted, for reasons stated in the preface—reasons by no means satisfactory. The general arrangement of the book is good; but its execution, in detail, is not such as to adapt it for use in schools.

(36.) "*Selections from the British Poets*, by ELIZA WOODWORTH." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 22mo., pp. 365.) The plan of this book of Selections is well conceived. It takes in the whole range of British poets, from Chaucer down to Tennyson, and gives brief biographical and critical notices of each, with some of their best and most striking passages as specimens

(37.) "*The Attaché in Madrid, translated from the German*," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.; 12mo., pp. 368,) contains a series of very graphic sketches of the Court of Spain, and, indeed, of Spanish society in general, in its modern aspects. The *Attaché* was a very busy person—seeing everything and everybody—and he describes what he saw very skilfully.

(38.) "*The Day-Star of American Freedom; or, the Birth and early Growth of Toleration in the Province of Maryland*, by GEORGE LYNN-LACHLAN DAVIS." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1855; 12mo., pp. 290.) This book contains a good deal of information, if one could only get at it; but Mr. Davis's style is so inflated, and his method so confused, that it is hard work even to read his chapters. He has evidently been industrious in collecting materials, but has failed to work them up into a clear and connected history.

(39.) "*The Prophets of the Restoration; or, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; a new Translation, with Notes*, by the Rev. T. V. MOORE, D. D." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 408.) The readers of this journal are familiar with Dr. Moore's contributions to our own pages, and therefore need not be told that he is a thinker, a student, and writer of very rare powers. The commentary on Malachi, which forms part of the present volume, appeared originally in this journal: those on Haggai and Zechariah were first printed in the Quarterly of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. All who have read them will rejoice to see them collected into this handsome volume; to those who have not, we commend them as the best exposition of "the Prophets of the Restoration" that has yet appeared.

(40.) In no field has the rapid development of this country been more marked than in that of literature. How rapid, and how vast, the movement has been, however, has heretofore been only matter of conjecture, except to the class of literary men who have kept watch of the history of the American mind. But the means of appreciating this great "march of civilisation" ought to be brought within the reach of all classes of reading people by the publication of a book with such a title as the "*Cyclopedia of American Literature*, by E. A. Duyckinck and G. L. Duyckinck." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1855; 2 vols. imp. 8vo.) This work, which is well got up, so far as the mechanical part is concerned, professes to embrace "personal and critical notices of American authors, and selections from their writings, from the earliest period to the present day, with portraits, autographs, and other illustrations." The aim of the work is historical, not critical; to show what books have been produced in America; and by whom, rather than "to sit in judgment" on American authors: not, however, to introduce the names of *all* who have written books in America: that would be to make a complete "bibliography," not a history of literature. And it is here, precisely where we might expect it, in the province of *selection*, that the compilers fail. We look in vain, for instance, in their index, for the names of Asbury, Emory, Durbin, Fisk, Bangs, and others, that are far more worthy of admittance into such a "Cyclopedia," than many that have found entrance. The compilers give notices of most of the colleges of the country, including some of the least important, but do not seem to have heard of the "Wesleyan University." The Messrs. Duyckinck have certainly been industrious; but we think there is at least one field of "American Literature" of which they are altogether ignorant. We hope they will enlarge their sphere of knowledge before issuing a new edition of their book, which, in spite of its unaccountable deficiencies, has great merits.

(41.) "*The Gospel in Ezekiel, illustrated in a Series of Discourses*, by the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D. D.," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 395,) is a volume of florid lectures on a passage in Ezekiel; well enough adapted to a popular audience, but by no means entitled to the dignity of print, any more than Dr. Cummings's effusions.

(42.) We have received a copy of the "*Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes*," (New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1856; 8vo., pp. 483,) too late, however, for any adequate examination. Our impressions, from a hasty survey, are altogether favourable, both as to the plan of the work and its execution. We shall endeavour to do full justice to it hereafter.

(43.) "*Abaddon and Mahanaim; or, Demons and Guardian Angels*, by Joseph F. Berg, D. D." (Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1856; 12mo., pp. 272.) The design of this book is to "restore the teachings of the Scriptures on the subject of demoniacal influence to their proper place in the creed of Christian faith." We have received it too late to examine it in time for adequate notice in this number, and can therefore only chronicle its appearance.

(44.) "*The Christian's Great Interest*, by the Rev. WILLIAM GUTHRIE." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 252.) Mr. Guthrie was a very eminent Scotch preacher of the seventeenth century. "His Great Interest" has been often reprinted in Scotland; the present edition was issued by Dr. Chalmers, who furnished an Introduction to it. The work is divided into two parts, entitled the "Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ," and "How to attain to a Saving Interest in Christ," and both are treated with discrimination, and applied pointedly to the conscience of the reader.

(45.) "*Evening Incense*," (New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1856; 18mo., pp. 130,) is a series of evening prayers, suitable as a companion to the "Morning Watches," by the same author.

Of the following pamphlets we regret that we can only give the titles:

Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, for 1855. By T. S. KIRKBRIDE. Philadelphia, 1856.

Jubilee Sermon, delivered before the Wesleyan Canada Conference, at London, C. W., June 6, 1855, by Rev. WILLIAM CASE. Toronto, 1855.

Fifteenth Annual Catalogue of the New-Jersey Conference Seminary. Freebold, New-Jersey, 1855.

An Address, delivered at Pittsfield, Mass., before the Young Ladies' Institute, August 22, 1855, by JAMES R. SPALDING. New-York, 1855.

Science and the Bible: a Review of Professor Tayler Lewis's "Six Days of Creation." By JAMES D. DANA. Andover, 1856.

The Jewelry of God: a Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mrs. Mary A. Burdick Clark, April 7, 1854, by Rev. Jos. CROSS, D. D. Savannah, 1855.

The Bible in its Relations to Good Citizenship: a Discourse delivered in Plymouth Chapel, Adrian, November 29, 1855, by Rev. T. C. GARDNER, A. M. Adrian, 1855.

Facts against Fancy; or, a True and Just View of Trinity Church. By the Rev. WILLIAM BERRIAN, D. D. New-York, 1855.

The Faith by which we are Sanctified. By W. P. STRICKLAND, D. D., of the Cincinnati Conference. New-York, 1856.

Religion in Common Life: a Sermon preached at Crathie Church, October 14, 1855, before Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Albert, by the Rev. JOHN CAIRD, M. A., Minister of Errol, Scotland. Published by Her Majesty's command. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1856.

Art. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF EUROPE AT THE BEGINNING OF 1856.

Religious life is still on the increase in Europe, as it has been for several years; the power of indifferentism begins to be broken in all classes of society. So powerful, indeed, is the current of this newly awakened interest in religion that all the organs of public opinion, the foremost representatives of the anti-religious press not excepted, agree in bearing witness to it.

PROTESTANTISM.

Protestantism in particular is gaining everywhere new and unwonted strength. Atheism and Rationalism have disappointed the European nations; and, consequently, the masses have no longer any confidence in them, and are longing for more substantial religious food. This revival of European Protestantism, it must be admitted, shows itself almost everywhere in connexion with a tendency to restore the imperfect forms of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. But there is also, on the other hand, in every Protestant country, a constantly increasing number of men, who plead the cause of *Separation of Church and State* as an indispensable condition for the success of the new reformation of the present day.

Many events in the latter part of the last year contributed to strengthen the Free Church party of Europe. First of all, the *great Assembly at Paris*. This brotherly meeting of so many different denominations, this frank recognition of the Christian character of other denominations than our own, is new to the Europeans; and in Europe, therefore, the fact itself of such a meeting is a great victory. Only let these meetings be repeated at regular intervals, and, ere long, the principle of religious liberty will be triumphant in Europe as it is in America. Protestant countries, at least, will not dare any longer to keep up the intolerant statutes of centuries past, if assemblies, like that of Paris, brand the intolerance of Protestant Sweden and Germany in stronger expressions than that of Catholic Austria and Mohammedan Turkey, and if they continue to adopt the language of Frederick Monod, the distinguished French divine, "Shame on every form of intolerance, but three times shame on the intolerance of a Protestant country."

Next to the Assembly of Paris, the Free Church party is indebted to the successful labours of the *Free Churches already existing in Europe*. Scotland is still the only country where the majority of the Protestant population is, in its religious affairs, free from the direct influence of the secular government. But in all other parts of Europe free organizations are springing up and flourishing. The Methodist and Baptist missions are prominent in this respect. They advance, although slowly, yet steadily in Germany, France, and the Scandinavian world; and the Baptists in particular have had important accessions to their ranks from the State Churches of these countries. Still more important than the progress of these Free Churches as separate bodies, is the influence which they exert by calling forth similar movements among the members of the European State Churches. The number and importance of these movements become greater every year. In Germany the warning of a man like Bunsen, in his lately published work, "*Zeichen der Zeit*," (Signs of the Times,) against the Romanizing idea of a Christian State and Christian State Churches, will not remain unheeded. The old *Lutheran Church*, although at present, unfortunately, misguided by the Romanizing tendencies of some of her leaders, yet helps, on her part, to undermine the sovereignty of the State over the Church. No less promising is the mutual pledge taken by a vast number of clergymen in the *Evangelical State Church of Prussia*, to derive their principles on the marriage and divorce law no longer from the civil law of Prussia alone, but from the New Testament and the teachings of the Reformation of the sixteenth century; and, consequently, to remarry, henceforth, no persons except those who, themselves innocent, had been divorced in consequence of adultery or desertion of the other party. The increasing number of religious associations, such as the "Kirchentag," "Gustavus Adolphus Association," "Home Mission," etc., will likewise confirm masses of the people in the conviction that the affairs of the Church are better managed by the Church herself than by the State. In France the eloquent voice of Count Agenor de Gasparin, one of the leaders of French Protestantism, has lately pleaded the cause of religious liberty in a master-

ly article in the *Archives du Christianisme*, (November 24.) Thoughts so vigorous, noble, and pious, cannot remain without result. In *England* the desire for having the *Convocation* resuscitated is by no means decreasing. The position in which the Established Church finds herself, in comparison with other European Churches, is too anomalous, and the number of pious and learned men in it is still too great, to let us believe that the State Government will be able to retain much longer the absolute control of this important portion of the Christian Church of Europe. The Lutheran State Church of *Denmark* is shaken to its deepest foundation by the National Free Church party, which endeavours to form a great Free Christian Church of the Scandinavian North. But lately, a leader of the Lutheran party, Rudelbach, complained, in a conference of German Lutherans at Leipzig, that the Lutheran Church of Denmark was in greater danger of losing its privileges than ever before.

ROMANISM.

The Roman Catholic Church of Europe is still rejoicing at the AUSTRIAN CONCORDAT. Romanists are not mistaken in considering it one of the most important events in the history of their Church in the present century. They begin to feel that the influence of the Church on the European nations has become extremely doubtful. Why does the Pope not dare to dismiss the French troops from Rome? The last Parliament of the French republic showed no more sympathies with the tendencies of the Catholic party than the present Parliaments of Spain and Portugal do, and in Austria more than five-sixths of the periodical press are, as a Catholic paper complains, under anti-Roman influence. Thus is easily explained the great importance zealous Romanists attach to the friendly dispositions toward their Church on the part of European monarchs. Both Church and princes have a common interest in keeping down civil and religious liberty. Thus the Roman Church has had great concessions made to her by Catholic as well as Protestant princes. But no State had yielded up to her so much as Austria. To place the whole system of education and the whole press under the control of the bishops, and to recognise without reserve the validity of the canon law to its full extent, is more than probably any German Romanist had expected to see granted. The bishops are not slow to avail themselves of such opportunities; they issue circulars to the professors of the national Gymnasium, instructing them how to teach history; and the Archbishops of Milan and Venice, with other Lombardian bishops, assume already the right to tell booksellers what books they are allowed to keep and to sell. Austria needs the support of the Church; and if the emperor concluded the Concordat, as the *Univers* asserts, to fulfil a promise made to his dying teacher, the Austrian ministers (one of whom is a Protestant) were in favour of it, only because it seemed to them difficult, if not impossible, to find other means by which to form out of different and sometimes hostile races one national Austrian party. The revolution of 1848 has shown to every Austrian, that without such a national party it is an impossibility to preserve the integrity of the empire. If this union of the Roman Church and the government of Austria should continue long, the favourable consequences of the Concordat for the Roman Church can hardly be overrated. Whoever is acquainted with German literature will understand what the Roman Church may hope from having under her control some twenty universities, more than two hundred gymnasia, almost all the common schools, and the whole press of a population of thirty-six millions of inhabitants. Until 1848 the Austrian Catholics were not allowed by their government to join those associations and societies which have lately had so great a part in resuscitating mediæval Catholicism, the Foreign and Home Missionary Societies, the confraternities and monastic orders. All these associations had in Austria a national, instead of a Roman character, and were not allowed to communicate with similar organizations in Rome and other countries. If the Roman Church should succeed in reawakening in a considerable part of Austria a lively interest in her cause, it will be felt all over Europe.

Next to Austria, the internal development of FRANCE is of the greatest consequence for the fate of the Roman Church. The French government has not prostrated herself at the feet of Rome, as Austria; she has made a compromise without giving up entirely the supreme control of Church affairs. In the important department of education, in particular, the bishops must condescend to share the government and superintendence of the state schools with Protestants, Jews, and Pantheists. But they are satisfied to see the emperor and almost all officers of the state eagerly endeavouring to appear as friends and

obedient members of the Church; to find for all her institutions not only full liberty of development, but often encouragement and support. The priesthood of France as a body is more zealous and moral than that of any other Catholic country; if the laity of a nation, so far advanced in modern civilisation as France is, can be won by such a priesthood, they may be expected to prove an efficient aid. This accounts for the fact that most of those societies which work so effectually for reviving Romanism, spring up in France; for foreign missions, France contributes as much as the rest of the Catholic world together. As to the religious views of the emperor, few if any believe him a sincere Catholic; Prince Napoleon is still more suspected, and Prince Murat, the emperor's cousin, is known to be the Grand Master of the excommunicated order of Freemasons. The unfavourable impression of facts like these is somewhat counterbalanced, however, by the Catholic zeal of another cousin of the emperor, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who was ordained a priest about two years ago, and is now a member of the Benedictine Order, and exercises all his influence to obtain from the government favours for the French Church.

In ITALY several princes (Tuscany, Parma, Modena) have followed, or are about to follow, the example of Austria. The King of Naples is still at variance with the pope on account of the Jesuits, but the dissidence will probably be of no long duration. The King of Sardinia appears still determined to preserve a noble independence. His answer to the address of the Christian Young Men's Society of London shows, that he is resolved to protect the rights of his Protestant as well as his Catholic subjects. No country of Europe is watched with greater anxiety by the friends of religious liberty than Sardinia; a great part of the population is almost ready to leave the Roman Church; ministry and Parliament vie in vigorously opposing Roman pretensions; the press almost unanimously considers and treats Rome as the implacable enemy of the free institutions of the country; the budget has this year for the first time a sum (6,426 francs) for Protestant worship.

In SPAIN, the Roman Catholic party in the Parliament counts hardly more than twenty reliable members; the property of the Church is selling well; the press is free, and defends its freedom against the Church, the only party striving to subvert it; the clergy find that when their salary is not regularly paid by the government, they cannot rely for support on their congregations. In PORTUGAL, the Romanist party is stronger, counting about one-third in the House of Representatives; but here, as in Spain, the government is decidedly hostile to its pretensions. BELGIUM has at present a ministry belonging to the Catholic party; the clergy is gaining greater influence over the national schools, and making great endeavours to bring them entirely under its control. In proportion to its population, Belgium ranks next to France in activity for Romanism.—The Papists of PRUSSIA and the other German states avail themselves to some extent of the results of Protestant literature. Less active, in a practical point of view, than the French and Belgians, they are the prominent champions of Romanism in the province of literature. The French, Italians, English, and Spanish are continuing to acknowledge the merits of their Catholic brethren of Germany by numerous translations; and not a few of the German text-books on Church history (Döllinger, Alzog), canon law (Phillips, Walter), exegesis (Jahn, Hug), &c., are introduced into institutions of almost every country of Europe. Also during the last year the Catholic press of Germany produced a number of valuable works. (See Method. Quart. Rev., Oct., 1855, pp. 635–638.) The Catholics of Prussia have been the first to organize themselves openly as a political Catholic party. The Catholic section of the present Parliament numbers some sixty members. Last year they succeeded, by a combination with the liberal party, in having their leader, Reichensperger, elected vice-president of the House of Representatives. At the organization of the present house, both the liberals and Catholics together were defeated by the conservative (Russian) party. In ENGLAND, the last year has carried over some more of the Puseyistic clergy and nobility to Rome, (Revs. Wheeler, Somers, Woodward; the Duchess of Buccleugh, Hon. Mrs. Henniker.) These accessions to the Roman Church are by no means equal in number to what Protestantism gains, especially in Ireland; but Catholic literature gains by them some new contributors, and Catholic institutions wealthy patrons. IRELAND is evidently and rapidly losing its character of a stronghold of Romanism; the leading organ of Ultramontanism complains often that they have not much over half a dozen members of Parliament who are trustworthy Catholics; the pope has for-

bidden the Irish clergy to take an active part in political agitation, and has thereby created a great dissatisfaction in some of the Irish bishops and the majority of clergy and people. Frederic Lucas, than whom British Catholicism has not had a more zealous leader, tried in vain to avert this resolution of the pope, and died of a broken heart. The dissatisfaction with Rome is increased in Ireland still more by the circumstance, that Rome repeatedly refuses to ratify the nominations made by the Irish clergy for vacant Episcopal sees, and appoints bishops against the wish of the clergy and the people. In RUSSIA, the Roman Church expects better times under Emperor Alexander II.; several vacant sees of Poland are about to be filled, and other promises are held out to the pope; but the Jesuits have been forbidden to hold missions in Poland, and secessions from the Greek to the Roman Church have been fined as before.

ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

In the GREEK and other ORIENTAL Churches, the formerly predominant Russian influence has been broken by the war. With the aid of France and Austri, anew efforts have been made to resuscitate Romanizing tendencies in the midst of these bodies, and to prepare the people for a union with Rome. The Greek Church has been addressed to this purpose by a certain Pitfipios in his work, "L'Eglise Orientale," (1 vol. Rome: 1855); for the refutation of which the Greek synod has appointed a committee, consisting of the ex-patriarch Costanzo and the learned Dr. Karatheodory. In the Armenian Church, the director general of the Turkish powder manufactory, Boghos Dadian, has directed a pamphlet of the same kind to the Armenian patriarch in Constantinople. The author, it is said, found, during his journey through Europe, the liveliest sympathy and great encouragement from the French emperor. Being by birth and position a prominent member of his Church, his work calls forth some excitement. The Roman missions in Turkey are in a very flourishing state, and their prospects are better than ever before. On the other hand, the noble exertions of American, English, and German missionaries of evangelical Churches are likewise crowned with great success. There can be but little doubt that the next years will have to record great changes in the religious life of Turkey.

In the Greek Church of Russia, the old Greek party, which is opposed to the union of State and Church and to the position of the Czar in the Church, has given some signs of life. In Greece, the flourishing University of Athens and the newly organized system of public instruction, as well as the successful labours of American missionaries, will probably arouse the national Church from her lethargy.

Theological and Literary.

DR. CHARLES ELLIOTT'S new work on slavery is nearly ready for the press. It will be the most learned and thorough investigation of the whole subject of ancient slavery that has yet appeared in the English, or perhaps in any other language. It will treat,

I. Of Roman slavery in general, the facts and doctrines being drawn almost wholly from the original sources of information, viz, the civil law.

II. The Paulo-post Apostolic discipline on slavery, collated with Roman law.

III. The discipline of the Church of Rome on slavery. The sources here are the Canon law, collated with Scripture and the Roman law.

IV. The effects of Christian principles and practice in Roman legislation. Here the learned author has drawn upon the Roman code, comparing and collating the contemporary historians, sacred and profane.

The work has required great labour and research, and, in fact, could only have been executed by a man of thorough scholarship and indomitable industry, like Dr. Elliott. We hope soon to see it issue from the press.

MESSRS. CARLTON AND PHILLIPS are preparing for speedy publication a volume of great interest to the Methodist public, under the title of "*The Heroes of Methodism; containing Sketches of Eminent Methodist Ministers and Characteristic Anecdotes of their Personal History, by the Rev. J. B. Wakeley.*" The work will doubtless have a great run.

A GREAT stir has been caused in the Church of England by the publication of a commentary entitled, "*The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans: with Critical Notes and Dissertations,*" by BENJAMIN JOWETT, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. (London: Murray, 1855. 2 vols.

8vo.) The following summary of Mr. Jowett's views is taken from the London Quarterly Review: "'Even in the counsels of perfection of the Sermon on the Mount, there is probably nothing which might not be found, in letter or spirit, in Philo or some other Jewish writer;' and the *language* of the New Testament, though 'the language of the Old Testament' in part, 'is still more the language of the Alexandrian philosophy.' In short, according to his showing, Christianity itself would appear to be the product of a fusion of Platonic, Oriental, and Jewish philosophy together, with the addition of another element supplied by the teaching of Christ and his apostles, to give it a consistency, and, above all, a power, which, in the other three elements, were wanting. The following are specimens of the *theology* to be found in the Notes: 'We cannot say that all men are regenerate or unregenerate. All things may be passing out of one state into the other, and may therefore belong to both or neither. Mankind are not divided into regenerate and unregenerate, but are in a state of transition from the one to the other, or too dead and unconscious to be included in either.' Again, comparing Gal. ii, 19, 20, Mr. Jowett 'traces three stages in the Christian state: 1. Death; 2. Death with Christ; 3. Christ living in us. First, we are one with Christ, and then Christ is put in our place. So far we are using the same language with the Apostle. At the next stage a difference appears. We begin with figures of speech —sacrifice, ransom, Lamb of God; and go on with logical determinations—finite, infinite, satisfaction, necessity, or the nature of things. St. Paul also begins with figures of speech—life, death, the flesh; but passes on to the inward experience of the life of faith, and the consciousness of Christ dwelling in us.' 'When it is said, that "Christ gave himself for our sins," or as a sin-offering, the shadow must not be put in the place of the substance, or the Jewish image for the truth of the Gospel. Of such language, it may be remarked, (1.) That it is figurative, natural, and intelligible to that age, not equally so to us; (2.) That the figures themselves are varied, thereby showing that they are figures only, and not realities or matters of fact; (3.) That the same sacrificial language is applied almost equally to the believer and his Lord; (4.) That the effect and meaning of this language must have been very different, while the sacrifices were being daily offered, and now that they have passed away; (5.) That such expressions seldom occur in the writings of St. Paul, another class of figures, in which the believer is identified with the various stages of the life of Christ, being far more common; (6.) That, in general, the thing meant by them is, that Christ took upon him human flesh, that he was put to death by sinful men, and raised men out of the state of sin, in *this* sense, taking their sins upon himself.' 'We nowhere find in the Epistles the expression of justification by Christ, exactly in the sense of modern theology.'"

All parties in the Church, Tractarians, Evangelicals, even Broad Churchmen, seem to have taken the alarm. Dr. Golightly and Dr. McBride, both of Oxford (Evangelicals) were the first to interfere in the matter, and called on the vice chancellor of the University to require Mr. Jowett to sign the articles of the Church of England. Mr. Jowett signed them!

Among the new works recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:

Lic. Dr. Weiss, Der petrinische Lehrbegriff. Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie, sowie zur Kritik und Exegese des ersten Briefes Petri und der petrinischen Reden. Pp. 444, 8vo.

Introductio in dogmaticam Christianam, scripsit Dr. Theodorus Albertus Liebner. Leipzig: Parts I. II., 8vo.

Philosophische Dogmatik, oder: Philosophie des Christenthums, von Ch. H. Weisse. Vol. i, 8vo.

Dr. Joh. Carl Ludw. Gieseler's Dogmengeschichte, bis auf die Reformation. Aus seinem Nachlasse herausgegeben von Dr. E. R. Redepenning. 8vo.

Die Bekenntnissschriften der altprotestantischen Kirche Deutschlands. Herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Heppe. 8vo.

Dr. E. Böhmer, Ueber Verfasser u. Abfassungszeit d. Johanneischen Apokalypse und zur bibl. Typic. Halle: 8vo.

Dr. J. H. Friedlieb, Geschichte des Lebens Jesu Christi, mit chronologischen und andern historischen Untersuchungen. Breslau: pp 347, 8vo.

Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Die christliche Kirche vom vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert. Leipzig: pp. 398, 8vo.

W. F. Rinck, Die Religion der Hellenen aus den Mythen, den Lehren, der Philosophie und dem Cultus entwickelt. II. Band. 2. Abth: Mysterienfeier, Orakel, Ewigkeit u. Heiligung, nebst dem Register. Zürich: pp. 331–583, 8vo.

We continue our summaries of the contents of the principal theological journals:

Theological and Literary Journal, for January: I. Professor Sanborn's Essay on Millenarianism: II. Notes on Scripture, Critical Conjectures: III. The Parables of the New Testament: IV. Professor Lewis's Response in the New-York Observer in Reference to his Six Days of Creation: V. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chap. xxxiv.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for January: I. The Disposition of Tiberius Cæsar and Marcus Aurelius toward the Christians: II. Chastel on Charity: III. Christ, not Peter, the Rock: IV. Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné: V. Müller on the Christian Doctrine of Sin: VI. Philosophy of Methodist Itinerancy.

Christian Examiner, and Religious Miscellany, for January: I. The Hebrew Doctrine of a Future Life: II. Religious Prospects of Germany: III. The American Church: IV. Morning: V. A Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy: VI. Mr. Thackeray as a Novelist: VII. Romanism in the Island of Malta.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, for December: I. The Foreign Mission Question: II. Are the Planets Inhabited? III. The Life, Character, and Services of Rev. Robt. H. Bishop, D. D.: IV. Dr. Hickok's Works: V. Professor Lewis's View of the "Days" of Creation: VI. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

Christian Review, for July: I. The Critics on Judas Iscariot: II. The Rev. William Jay: III. Classical Studies in this Country: IV. The Intermediate State: V. The Old Testament, Judged by the New: VI. A Search for the Church: VII. Geographical Accuracy of the Bible.

Christian Review, for January: I. Æsthetic Influence of Nature: II. The Unicorn: III. Spencer H. Cone, D. D.: IV. General View of Theological Science: V. Origen: VI. Council of Trent: VII. Progress of Baptist Principles.

Mercersburgh Quarterly Review, for January: I. Boardman on the Christian Ministry: II. Sketches of a Traveller from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: III. Faith and Reason: IV. Chief Justice Gibson: V. Abelard, Abraham, and Adam: VI. Liturgical Contributions.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, (Boston,) for January: I. Newman's Hebrew Monarchy: II. The Chief Appeal of Religion: III. Skepticism: its Causes; its Cure: IV. The Condition and Prospects of Freedom: V. Heathen Views of the Punishment of Sin.

Evangelical Review, (Gettysburgh, Pa.,) for January: I. Commentary on the Gospel of John, by Tholuck: II. The Signs of the Times: III. A high Standard of Piety demanded by the Times: IV. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: V. Bachman on the Unity of the Human Race: VI. Our General Synod: VII. Hymnology.

Westminster Review, (London,) for January: I. German Wit: Heinrich Heine: II. The Limited Liability Act of 1855: III. History of the House of Savoy: IV. Russia and the Allies: V. Military Education for Officers: VI. Athenian Comedy: VII. Lions and Lion Hunting.

Quarterly Review, (London,) for January: I. Table Talk: II. Reformatory Schools: III. Menander: IV. Henry Fielding: V. Landscape Gardening: VI. Neology of the Cloisters: VII. Zoological Gardens: VIII. Results and Prospects of the War.

London Quarterly Review, for January: I. Religious History of Mankind, Smith's Sacred Annals: II. The Royal Ladies of England: III. Jesuitism: its Political Relation: IV. Professor Wilson, Noctes Ambrosianæ: V. Present Religious Aspect of the World: VI. Thirty Years of French Imaginative Literature: VII. Donaldson's Book of Jashar: VIII. Popular Authorship, Samuel Warren: IX. The Bampton Lecture: X. The War in Asia.

National Review, (London,) for January: I. Edward Gibbon: II. The Spanish Conquest in America: III. The Life and Writings of Dr. Thomas Young: IV. Atheism: V. The State of France: VI. Phœnicia: VII. W. M. Thackeray: Artist and Moralist: VIII. Foreign Policy, and the next Campaign: IX. Books of the Quarter.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, (Edinburgh,) for January: I. Sir William Hamilton and his Philosophy: II. Bible Principles on the Subject of Temperance: III. Success in the Ministry: IV. Jephthah's Vow: V. The Geology of Words: VI. Essence and End of Infidelity: VII. The Roman Catholic Press: VIII. Lyall on the Science of Mind: IX. Jowett on the Pauline Epistles: X. Buchanan's Faith in God and Modern Atheism Compared: XI. German Periodicals.

Christian Remembrancer, (London,) for January: I. Lee on the Inspiration of Scripture: II. The Canons of Historic Credibility: III. Dulwich College: IV. Mozley on St. Augustine: V. Cureton's Spicilegium Syriacum: VI. Dr. Lushington's Judgment.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1856.

ART. I.—JULIUS CHARLES HARE.

[SECOND PAPER.]

1. *Guesses at Truth.* By TWO BROTHERS. First Series. Fifth Edition. Revised. London: 1855.
2. *Guesses at Truth.* By TWO BROTHERS. Second Series. Third Edition. 1855.
3. *Sermons preacht in Herstmonceux Church.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, A. M. Rector of Herstmonceux, Archdeacon of Lewes, and late Fellow of Trinity College. Cambridge: 2 vols. 1841 and 1847.
4. *The Victory of Faith, and other Sermons.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, &c. Second Edition. 1847.
5. *The Mission of the Comforter, and other Sermons, with Notes.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE. Second Edition. Revised. 1850.
6. *Essays and Tales.* By JOHN STERLING. *Collected and edited, with a Memoir of his Life.* By J. C. HARE, &c. 2 vols. 1848.
7. *The Means of Unity: a Charge. With Notes on the Jerusalem Bishopric, and the Need of an Ecclesiastical Synod.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
8. *Letter to the Dean of Chichester on the Appointment of Dr. Hampden.* Second Edition. With Postscript. By J. C. HARE, &c.
9. *The Better Prospects of the Church: a Charge.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
10. *The Contest with Rome: a Charge delivered in* 1851, *with Notes; especially in Answer to Dr. Newman's Lectures.* By J. C. HARE, &c.
11. *Archdeacon Hare's Last Charge.* 1855.
12. *Two Sermons on the Occasion of the Funeral of Archdeacon Hare.* By the Rev. H. O. ELLIOTT, M. A., and the Rev. J. N. SIMPKINSON, M. A. 1855.

IN attempting to give a fair estimate of JULIUS CHARLES HARE as a religious teacher, we have two functions to perform; the former of minor importance, and which need not detain us long; the latter of main moment. First, we must endeavour to characterize the form and style of his pulpit addresses; then we must consider the quality of the theology which constitutes the substance of his teaching. We intimated in our former paper that we do not rate Hare among the most eloquent and powerful of preachers, though he is, unquestionably, among the purest and most gifted of English

writers. Many men have failed as preachers, because they were little aware of the necessary distinction between the style proper for the essay or treatise, which is to be read in private by the student, and that which is appropriate to the lecture or sermon, which is to be delivered before a listening congregation. It appears to us that Hare failed mainly because he had an exaggerated idea as to what should be the degree of this distinction. His sermons lack closeness and weight of thought; they are too diffuse in style, and too profuse in illustration. The rein is given too freely to all the caprices of the author's fertile fancy; and, at the same time, there is a want of the dignity and solemnity which, whatever may be the plainness of speech, befit the theme and office of the pulpit. Not that there is anything frivolous; not that the writer is not earnest and serious; yet there is, very commonly, a loose negligé style of too palpably condescending speech, which must have much diminished the preacher's weight and authority. Of course, this will be seen most distinctly and frequently in the "Parish Sermons," prepared for simple country folk; but something of it is also apparent in his sermons preached before the University, which, with all their learning and thoughtfulness, are very diffuse, rather careless in style, and somewhat juvenile in tone. The sort of eulogy which these college sermons have received, certainly does not impress one with the idea that profound and weighty theological thought is extensively in circulation in the English Universities. A part of Hare's fault in this matter is, no doubt, owing to that principle in his philosophy which we have had occasion to note—that the imagination, in matters of religion, is to teach its truths, no less than the understanding; and that its culture, no less than that of the heart and mind, is a part of the office of a true, deep, and universal religion. We have no disposition to deny this principle; only we think that Hare, having supposed that it had been lost sight of, was tempted to make too much of it. The freshness and fertility of his fancy, and the poetic impulses of his nature, too, would naturally incline him to indulge and expatiate, where no necessity of argument, no cogency of a controlling purpose, or idea, compelled him, as in his criticisms and in his controversy, to urge on his forward course. Had Hare, indeed, been an orator—had passion ruled his intellect, and filled his heart, and prompted his tongue, or had the grand solemnities of revelation fully mastered and inspired his soul —his fancy would have been made subordinate and subservient. But Hare was not an orator, or a man of passion. The stream of his soul was not a strong river, but a fresh current, flowing, it is true, in a distinct channel, and toward a definite and

well-perceived issue, but loving, nevertheless, to meander, "at its own sweet will," among flowery meads and calm, fruitful prospects. We might, perhaps, not be far wrong in saying that Hare was too much of a poet to be an orator. He himself says, (Guesses, &c., First Series, p. 137,) or rather his brother said, and he adopted the sentiment: "Oratory may be symbolized by a warrior's eye, flashing from under a philosopher's brow. But why a warrior's eye rather than a poet's? Because in oratory the will must predominate." Hare, then, was too much of the poet, too little the man of combined will and passion, to be an orator.

It will not be supposed, from what we have said, that there is not much of eloquence, and more of beauty, in Hare's sermons. Passages of rare beauty abound in them; and not a few may be found of real power and eloquence. Still the texture of his discourses, however brightly coloured, lacks substance. There is not a little also of sameness in the pattern, if we may so speak, of his illustrations; while sometimes his fancies so outrun the natural and the beautiful as to become grotesque.

The following passage would, we should think, be more likely to make his parishioners admire the bright fancy of their minister, than feel the deadly and loathsome nature of that "evil and bitter" thing against which he was wishing to warn them:

"Satan, when he lures people into his prison-house of sin, always tries to make them forget that they are there. He tries, for a while, to make them think that they are in a very pleasant and goodly place. He dazzles their eyes, so that the walls seem to glitter with gold and precious stones; the poisonous plants, which are creeping along the ground, are covered with bright berries and gaudy flowers; and as all the inmates of the prison are beguiled, more or less, by the same delusion, there is no one in the whole company to admonish and warn them where they are."—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

The conceit about to be quoted is worthy of the patristic age, or would, perhaps, suit better still the rhetoric of Roman hagiologists:

"Surely, if we will not even do thus much, we cannot be clusters of the true Vine; we cannot hope that our families will be among those clusters, with which the Vine will adorn itself, when it spreads out its branches through the firmament; and the stars shall drop from their spheres to crown the heads of Christ's saints."—*Ibid.*, p. 382.

Not a few samples of the same sort of fruit might have been gathered with the least possible trouble, from the second volume of these "Parish Sermons," which, as a whole, indeed, is inferior to the first. At the same time, these volumes contain many fine specimens of homely, yet often beautiful practical preaching; and some of the more contemplative discourses, which treat of the ways of Providence, and the blessings and duties of life, have a quiet

power of thought, and a rich yet chaste beauty of illustration, which, in sermon-writing, we scarcely know where else to match. Among these we would particularly direct attention to the sermon on "Harvest Parables," in the second volume.

We alluded at the beginning of this paper to the *form* as well as the *style* of Hare's sermons. Those of our readers who are at all acquainted with the modern school of preachers in the English Church, will expect to hear that these sermons have no formal divisions or obvious plan. This is not so insignificant a point as might be supposed. As, in the ages when logical forms and methods ruled in the ascendant, divisions and subdivisions were multiplied, every truth affirmed was traced backward to its cause, and onward to its effect, and every kind was distinguished as to genus and species; so those who decry or slight logic, and who, above all, dislike its application to the science of theology, shun every appearance of division or formal distinction in their discourses. They preach the Gospel "broadly" and generally. They present its facts in a somewhat superficial way; they explain its narratives not *too* minutely, for this would not accord either with their doctrinal haziness and generality, or with their loose notions as to "inspiration;" they enforce its duties, but they do not preach its doctrines in their strict, mutual harmony, or in their precise adaptation to the condition and wants of man. To do this would involve the need of logical distinctions and deductions, and would bring them, before they were aware, within the forbidden circle of systematic theology. An outline or plan, distinctly stated, would suggest to their hearers, as one principle or position after another came forth to view, or as fact after fact was named, all sorts of questions as to the whence? the how? the why? the wherefore? to attempt to meet which would not agree with the views of those who belong to the "Broad Church," and who glory in a vague, unsystematized theology. Now, though Hare was far more logical and doctrinal, far less vague, and more evangelical, than most others of this school; yet to this school he did belong, as we are about to show forthwith. His sermons, accordingly, though they have generally a more obvious plan, and are more concerned in the statement and discussion of the great ground-truths of theology, and the gracious provisions of the Gospel, than most of those of his fellows, are yet, on the whole, theologically considered, somewhat superficial and unsatisfactory, and systematically avoid everything like express divisions and logical forms. Had this not been the case, they would, probably, have been less diffuse, and much more cogent and effective. After all, there is more in a method than is commonly supposed.

Had the preachers of the seventeenth century been less minute and multifarious in their logical distinctions and divisions, the world would have lost a vast amount of worthless quibbling, wearisome repetition, and irreverent conjecture and conclusion. So now, the absence of logical method from so much modern preaching, serves to hide the vagueness and slightness of its theology, and its deficiency of faith and feeling as to the most fundamental truths of the Gospel.

What was Hare's faith, and the substance of his teaching as to these fundamental truths, we now pass on to inquire. *A priori*, as we intimated at the commencement of our former article, we should seem to be warranted in coming to the conclusion that he was very far from being right in this matter. We are willing to leave out of account the laudatory way in which he often refers to Maurice, which may be well enough accounted for, without supposing him to be at all agreed with that writer on the points on which the latter is so widely astray, especially when we remember the relationship between the two, and that Maurice had not at all distinctly disclosed his heretical views at the time when Hare made those laudatory references. But, apart from this, Hare's frequent, distinct, emphatic mention of Coleridge, as his master, in regard to the highest aspects not only of philosophy, but of theology, would lead us very naturally and reasonably to infer that he was nearly, if not altogether, as far off from evangelical orthodoxy as that philosopher. We have seen, indeed, that, in reference to philosophy, however Hare might agree with Coleridge in general tone of feeling, in taste and tendency; however much he might admire his intuitive sagacity, his profound penetration, his piercing subtilty of distinction and insight, the moral dignity and purity of his tone as a teacher, his wide compass of inquiry, and his catholic sympathies; however heartily he might welcome his leadership against the materialist and utilitarian philosophies which had been in vogue; yet, in fact, he does not seem to have accepted, to their full extent, the special dogmas of Coleridge's metaphysics. And hence we might be disposed to infer beforehand, that, so far as the theological tenets of Coleridge were particularly dependent upon these dogmas, Hare would, probably, differ from him. On his doctrine of the Logos, for instance, as in some way identified with all men, and as being the light of reason in every man, and on those other subtile, abstruse, mystical, and incomprehensible doctrines, which, if they appeared at all, only just peeped out in his "Aids to Reflection," but were more fully dwelt upon—explained we can scarcely say—in notes and appendices to later works, we should have no right to assume that Hare agreed with Coleridge. Most men, indeed, if they differed

from Coleridge on these points, and yet expressed their high admiration of his philosophy and theology, would have been careful, at the same time, to put in a disclaimer, so far as these points were concerned; but this does not seem to have been Hare's way. He was on the look-out for points of agreement with others, and was eager to consent and applaud. The points of difference he did not care to discriminate, unless compelled; nor would he allow any man, whose views on essential points he believed to be right, to be condemned because of logical consequences deducible from some of the tenets which he held. We think he carried this much too far; but our present purpose is only to note the thing itself, as helping to account for his indiscriminating eulogy of Coleridge. Still, after every abatement has been made, we cannot but believe that, in some main principles, there must have been an agreement between the theology of Hare and of Coleridge; otherwise, such language as we are about to quote can have no meaning. In his "Life of Sterling," Hare tells us, that when Sterling was a young man, the influence of Coleridge was the principal means by which there was wrought in his mind "a temporary reconciliation with that which is best and soundest in the faith and institutions of his countrymen."—P. 128. He "dedicated, with deep reverence and thankfulness," his "Mission of the Comforter," to the "honoured memory" of Coleridge, "the Christian philosopher; who, through dark and winding paths of speculation, was led to the light, in order that others by his guidance might reach that light, without passing through the darkness;" and described himself as "one of the many pupils whom his writings have helpt to discern the sacred concord and unity of human and Divine truth." In a similar strain of reverent eulogy, he speaks, in the preface to this work, of the "great religious philosopher," "the main work of whose life was to spiritualize not only our philosophy, but our theology; to raise them both above the empiricism into which they had been dwindling, and to *set them free from the technical trammels of logical systems.*" This last clause deserves note.

The elementary and popular (we use the word, of course, only *comparatively*) teaching of Coleridge on theology is contained in his "Aids to Reflection." No one can be said to agree with Coleridge at all on theology, who does not accord with the main principles laid down there; and in that work, it is well known that Coleridge teaches a theology differing from what is ordinarily understood to be "evangelical orthodoxy," in regard to the doctrines of the atonement, and of justification by faith. On these momentous points, then, we must expect to find that Hare differed, more or less widely, from the evangelical doctrine. But Coleridge's

views as to inspiration are also intimated in that work, and are pretty fully explained in another, (the "Confessions of an enquiring Spirit,") the general teaching of which Hare has referred to in his "Life of Sterling," in a manner which seems to imply approval. This, then, will be another main point to which we must direct our attention.

But, before we proceed to examine Hare's views on these very important points, let us draw a wide distinction between his teaching and that of such writers as Maurice. Though scarcely to be called, in the full sense, an evangelical believer and teacher of Christianity, Hare *was* distinctively a Christian, an "orthodox" Christian, in the *broad* sense, and a devout and earnest one. He believed in the Christian Trinity, not in a Neo-Platonic triad; his teaching is clear and decisive as to man's fallen condition; and his sense of the sinful taint and corruption of our nature seems to have been exceedingly deep and vivid; it meets us continually in his writings, and is expressed in every variety of emphatic and impressive statement and appeal. He neither denies nor ignores, though he does not often dwell upon, the rectoral character of God as the pure and holy Judge; he teaches that there will be a day of final judgment, and that there will be a separate lot and blessing for the righteous in heaven, while the wicked will be punished in hell. There is no glimpse of anything bordering upon Universalism in his writings. He teaches fully, and with great earnestness and enlargement, the doctrine of sanctification by the power of the Holy Ghost as the privilege of all who are pardoned through faith in Christ, and the absolute need of faith in Christ in order to sanctification.

It is impossible for us to illustrate all these particulars by quotations from Hare's writings; but we feel that we should not do justice to him, if we neglected to give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves, by one or two pregnant quotations, relating to the grand, fundamental truth of man's fallen and sinful condition before God, and need of the Holy Ghost to quicken him anew; how widely apart was Hare's theological position from that of Maurice, notwithstanding that both avowed themselves disciples of Coleridge, that each praises the other's writings, particularly Hare several of Maurice's, and that they were intimate friends and nearly related by marriage.

Hare tells us (and this is in direct contradiction to Maurice's teaching) that "the condition of man after the Fall was as nothing in comparison with his first glory;" and speaks of a "living communion with God, such as he had enjoyed in Paradise, and had lost by the Fall." He says, that "the innocence of childhood is noth-

ing more than a bud with a worm gnawing at its heart, and which the first blast of temptation is sure to nip." He speaks of man's nature as "shattered by the fall, and rotted by selfishness," so that "its unity and harmony" are "utterly destroyed." He says, "there is a taint of sin in our hearts, which runs through all our thoughts and feelings, through all our words and deeds."* More at large, he thus deals with the fearful mystery of sin and evil in the world:

"Whether we look north or south, east or west, without or within, we see evil. If we say, as some have foolishly said, that it is the growth of civilisation, that it arises from the perverse institutions of society, and that it would not be found in man if he were but in a state of nature; if we resolve to fly from civilized society, and take the wings of the morning, and abide in the uttermost parts of the savage wilderness, even there, whatever and whomever we may see will bear the scar and mark of evil, like the mark which was set upon Cain. If, on the other hand, we fancy, as others have no less foolishly fancied, that evil springs wholly from ignorance; and that the laws of man, and the arts of man, and the craft of man, will be able to overcome and get the better of it, then we need only turn our eyes toward those nations which have made the greatest advance in knowledge; and we shall find that, so far as that advance has been made by man, and by human means only, while men have advanced in knowledge they have also advanced in wickedness, and gone on devising new vices and abominations before unheard of. How evil came into the world we know not; but that it is there, we all of us know far too well," &c.—*Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140.

"Why should I refuse to tell a lie, when by so doing I should save the life of a father or a brother? *Because*, a philosopher replies, *I am bound to revere the dignity of the human soul.* But what is the dignity of the human soul, except as the soul which God made, and Christ has redeemed? It is the dignity of the foundling, which knows not its birthplace or its parentage; of a pauper, clothed in rags, the faded relics of bygone glory; the dignity of a lackey, that dogs the heels of custom and opinion; the dignity of a cripple, bloated and maimed by the consequences of its own intemperance, and only enabled to walk by the crutch of some lifeless maxim. What is such dignity worth? and how many drops of blood will it outweigh? Might it not be deemed an excess of vanity to prize it above the life of a worm?"—*Parish Sermons*, vol. ii, p. 313.

The last paragraph, it will be observed, refers to man as conceived of by a godless philosophy; man, as apart from the grand truths of revelation and redemption. And these extracts, taken together, may give a fair, though scarcely an adequate, idea of Hare's doctrine and manner of speech, in regard to the fallen and sinful condition of man. Surely it must be admitted, however much we lament his deficiencies as to some points of evangelical doctrine, that he who wrote in such a style was an earnest Christian, as far removed from the mere philosopher, as from the formalist, or the dry doctrine-monger. Coleridge's writings show nothing like the above; and Maurice's teaching is fundamentally different. As to Hare's teaching on the other points recently enumerated, on which

* *Parish Sermons*, vol. ii, pp. 113, 116; vol. i, pp. 28, 393; and vol. ii, p. 131.

he agrees with orthodox and evangelical believers in general, we beg to refer to his "Mission of the Comforter," *passim*, to the last sermon of his "Victory of Faith," and to his *Parish Sermons*, vol. i, pp. 164, 417; and vol. ii, pp. 219, 307.

We have made these preliminary admissions, in simple justice to the distinguished and noble-hearted man, whose writings we have undertaken to review. It is our earnest wish in this article to be strictly impartial. We have no sympathy whatever with that principle, which has so extensively obtained in all controversial writing, and especially in theological discussion, that it is wise and fair, so far as this can be discreetly and safely done, to ignore, in a writer whose errors you undertake to expose, whatever is good, and wise, and true; and we are conscious that our personal bias is all in favour of Archdeacon Hare; yet we should not perform our duty, if we omitted to note, that even in the extracts which we have given, excellent as these are, so far as they go, there is yet a defect, more easily to be felt, perhaps, than defined. Sin is viewed rather as a disease and misfortune, than as a transgression of the Divine law, and as involving guilt. The preacher mourns over it, subjectively considered, as a tendency and habit, producing discord with God and nature, and bringing with it wretchedness; but he does not, as a witness for God, denounce it in its objective character, as a guilty violation of God's holy revealed will. He speaks of it rather in the sentimental view of a poet-philosopher, than as a preacher of righteousness. Nor do we find that he anywhere brings out to view the doctrine of imputed guilt; that the *race* is treated as guilty, in consequence of Adam's sin and fall, without the admission of which, in some form, we fear that the blessed doctrine of atonement for sinners, through the Saviour's obedience unto death, cannot be well sustained.

In fact, it could not be expected that Hare should be full and explicit in his doctrine of sin and guilt, unless he had been thoroughly evangelical as to the grand, central doctrine of atonement. This, however, was not the case. Like Maurice, he chooses to use the verb *atone* frequently—indeed, except in his "Parish Sermons," ordinarily, if not only—in the obsolete sense of to make at one, to reconcile. Once, in the New Testament, the word *atonement* is unquestionably used either instead of *reconciliation*, or, at any rate, where *reconciliation* [as a consequence of *atonement*] would have been a more correct rendering. But it is equally certain, that as used ordinarily in the Bible, and in reference to the purpose and effect of the sacrifices under the law, *expiation* and not *reconciliation* is intended by the word. Of course, the recent customary use of the word in the sense of *reconcile*, by Hare, Maurice, and perhaps a

few more, does not, of itself, affect the Scriptural doctrine of atonement, or even go any way toward proving that those who thus use it differ from others in their view of the doctrine in question. Still, supposing they do differ, it is clear that their peculiar use of the word may stand in relation to their peculiar doctrine; and such is, in fact, the case. Not admitting that the Scriptural doctrine of atonement involves essentially the idea of expiation, believing that the reconciliation of man to God is not brought about in virtue of the expiatory character and merit of Christ's vicarious sufferings and death, they wish to dissociate the idea of expiation from the customary use of the word *atonement;* and, to this end, they carefully and continually use the word in the direct and simple sense of reconciliation. If their view is correct, we do not know that we have any right to blame their device. That their view, however, is not correct, we have heretofore, particularly in our articles on Maurice, given our reasons for believing; and may hereafter show at greater length, in a specific article on the subject of sacrifice. Our present business is to show, that Hare agrees too nearly with his master, Coleridge, on this point.

His avowed relations to Coleridge, and the use of the word *atone*, in the sense we have just adverted to, would, of themselves, be sufficient to convince us that this must be the case. Yet, under the influence of evangelical feelings, and, perhaps, when rising fresh, not only from the study of his Greek Testament, but from the perusal of the writings of Luther and Calvin, or of the holy Leighton, so nearly does Hare approach, in many places, to the language and doctrine of the Reformers, and the best evangelical divines of his own Church, that it requires a careful collation of passages, and nice and narrow examination, to see, oftentimes, how and wherein he falls short of the full standard of evangelical orthodoxy. Moreover, in his "Notes to the Mission of the Comforter," he not only *homologates*, (to borrow a convenient word from Scotch Presbyterianism,) in terms of warm and emphatic approval, the spiritual and self-abasing doctrines of Augustine and the Reformers, but he speaks very highly, indeed, of Anselm, as the first who brought out into distinct view, the union of the Divine and the human natures in the person of Christ; and the bearing of this on the satisfaction which he made for sin. It will be found, however, that he does not directly cite, or, at least, that he never cites in such a way as to appropriate the distinct expositions given by these writers of their doctrine of satisfaction and atonement; and when he expressly states his own views, they do not accurately and fully accord with theirs. His language is often ambiguous, and might well bear the orthodox

evangelical sense; his teaching sometimes approximates very nearly to the full standard of evangelical truth; nevertheless, he never does actually and distinctly enounce the doctrine of vicarious and expiatory suffering, while, in a number of passages, he either teaches what is irreconcilable with this doctrine, or what is so essentially and critically defective as to furnish convincing, though negative evidence that he did not hold it.

The following passage might easily be supposed to be truly evangelical in its sense; yet those who are acquainted with the modern schools of theology, know that even some Unitarians would find little difficulty in adopting its language. Maurice, too, contrives to use language little dissimilar:

"We must be buried by baptism into the death of Christ, before we can rise again in newness of life. We must be justified through faith in the death of Christ, before we can be sanctified by the indwelling of his Spirit. The spirit of sanctification is only given to those who have already been washed from their sins in the all-purifying blood of the Lamb."—*Mission, &c.*, p. 25.

We shall see reason presently to conclude that, in using this language, Hare meant no more than that "the blood of the Lamb," as declaring the mercy and good-will of God toward sinners, and as thus operating morally, through the power of the convincing and sanctifying Spirit, upon the conscience and affections of the sinner, washes and purifies from sin, not as directly, and in the first place, as a foundation for all the rest expiating the guilt of sin, and satisfying the justice of God.

There is another passage, however, so strongly evangelical in its language, that we find it difficult to understand how Hare could have explained away its meaning:

"In that all sinned, all became subject to death; to immediate, sure, everlasting death. Only because the eternal Son of God vouchsafed to suffer death in the stead of all mankind—he whose death far outweighed the deaths of millions of millions—was the sentence which condemned all mankind to death cancelled and recalled."—*Parish Sermons*, vol. ii, p. 216.

There are truly evangelical teachers who would, probably, have hesitated to employ phraseology such as this, so easily to be interpreted as sanctioning the view which regards the death of Christ as an arithmetical or commercial equivalent for the eternal sufferings of all mankind. Certain it is that, in its ordinary and obvious acceptation, it contradicts the general tenor, as well as all the exact and specific statements of Hare's doctrinal teachings. It will be observed that the passage occurs in his *Parish Sermons*, in which he naturally endeavoured to accommodate himself to the ideas and feelings of the common people. We presume that he meant to say,

that Christ died to deliver sinners from their spiritual death; and that his death, in its moral power and spiritual efficacy, far outweighed the curse and evil attending upon the inward soul-death of the millions of mankind.

Let us hear Hare on the "Cross of Christ," a testing subject; and let our readers judge whether he could have believed in the expiatory character of the death of Christ, who, on such a theme, could express himself as follows:

"It is at the foot of the cross that we most deeply and thoroughly feel the sin of not believing in Him, who came down from heaven to die upon that cross for us. It is at the foot of the cross that we feel all the hatefulness of sin, which could not be removed from the souls of men, except by the death of the Son of God. It is at the foot of the cross, when the consummating trial of death is past—when he whose every word has manifested the Divine power of love to overcome sin's fiercest and subtlest temptations, has given up the ghost—that, with the centurion, we recognise the perfect righteousness of Christ; and as the purpose for which he was lifted up was that he might become our righteousness, and draw us to partake in the righteousness which he had obtained for us; so it is at the foot of the cross that we feel how we are admitted to a share in the righteousness of Christ. Thus, too, if, standing at the foot of the cross, we raise our eyes to him who was nailed thereon; if, in the light of the Spirit, we behold him there lifted up as our righteousness; if we call to remembrance what he left, and what he embraced for our sakes; if we thus fix the earnest gaze of our hearts, and souls, and minds on the glory of God, as manifested on the cross of Christ; then, when our eyes drop from thence on the things of this world, we cannot fail to discern how the prince of this world has been judged."—*Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137.

The doctrine of substitution has, no doubt, been miserably distorted and perverted by vulgar fanatics and high Antinomians. It has been too often degraded, also, by good and useful men, who have represented the holy Judge as acting on mere personal and (as it were, let the word be forgiven us) selfish grounds; and as exacting from the Saviour, as the condition of man's redemption, a rigid *quid pro quo*, a commercial equivalent. Such views, however, have never been sanctioned by the great and profound divines, from whom evangelical theology has derived its strength, and by whom its principles have been expounded and sustained. Of late years they have been held by a continually decreasing number; nor are they to be met with in those modern works, such as the well-known English standards of Magee and Pye Smith, in which the doctrine of vicarious and expiatory sacrifice has been so learnedly and ably sustained. Yet, to the whole school of Coleridge there is no greater bugbear than this doctrine of substitution, however taught; though it is so inwoven into Scripture phraseology, and so craved for by the guilty conscience of men, that they themselves find it next to impossible to teach any of the most vital and characteristic truths

of theology, without continually expressing themselves in language which seems to imply it. Sterling was a disciple of Coleridge, and a friend of Hare's. He had left his curacy under Hare, in 1834, on account of his health; being at that time, according to Hare's standard, a sound and orthodox Christian believer. In the following year, when, if he had begun his descent on that incline, which years later conducted him to Straussianism, he can *but* have begun it, and does not appear to have in any degree materially altered his views, on theological subjects, from what they were the year before, we find him writing to Hare as follows, in reference to Milman's History of the Jews: "On sacrifices he seems to have nothing of the least interest to offer; though I think he does keep clear of the ghastly speculations of Magee, and of most of our modern orthodox Brahmins."—*Hare's Life of Sterling*, p. 72.

The meaning of this is as obvious as its injustice is glaring. All are "Brahmins," however cautious and moderate in their expressions, who believe in the proper piacular character of the Jewish sacrifices, and of the death of our Lord. No one can have held the doctrine of substitution more warily, or expressed it in a form less likely to be repulsive, than Magee; but his sin was that he held the root of the matter so firmly, and defended the "orthodox" doctrine of sacrifice so ably; therefore he is a Brahmin. We remember that Maurice, in his Essays, similarly singles out Magee as a mark for his sneers. Now, far be it from us to make a man responsible for the sins of his friend: we have shown no disposition to do this. But we cannot but conclude that Hare agreed to a certain extent with his *ci-devant* curate; both from the fact, that while Sterling held such views he chose him to be his curate, and because, in quoting this letter to himself, he enters no *caveat*, and gives no intimation of anything like doubt or dissent. About the same time, moreover, Sterling writes to Hare again, as follows: "I find myself more and more attracted toward the divines who occupy themselves much in setting forth the depth and extent of sin, as a fact of human nature; though, *as you may suppose*, far from satisfied with the Calvinistic theories as to the Divine purposes and the process of redemption. I do not find Tholuck as full or satisfactory as I could wish in this last matter; the doctrine of substitution appearing in him with too much nakedness."—*Ibid.*, p. 75.

Yes, there is the stumbling-block with all who have belonged to the Coleridge school—the doctrine of substitution. Tholuck is too evangelical for them. The doctrine of substitution, it cannot be denied, does seem to be in the Bible; but it must be vailed; it must not be understood or taught in its plain sense; it must, in fact,

be explained away. Often it seems likely to prove too strong for Hare; the Bible and the Spirit of God concur in driving him to imply and almost to teach it; but, when it becomes necessary either explicitly to affirm or to evade it; when a statement of doctrine upon the subject, *apparently* explicit and definitive, must be given, Hare in no case expressly utters it.

In fact, his "understanding," to adopt such phraseology as he himself might have used in a similar case, his "understanding," beset with prejudices, and trained in a presumptuous philosophy, refused to adopt or admit truths, which his higher and truer "reason," in conjunction with his conscience, inclined and urged him to confess. His reason and conscience would have taught him the need of expiation for his sin, and made him welcome the doctrine of a sinless Substitute, who was made sin for him, that he might be made the righteousness of God through him; but his biased and mistrained understanding refused to accept the doctrine of piacular sacrifice, and did violence to itself, and his whole inward man, by explaining away the doctrine of the substitution of Christ, the great and holy Mediator, as suffering the penalty of law instead of man.

It will be necessary for us to show what was Hare's view of sacrifice. On this point, too, he does not always express himself consistently. The truth, which was working at his heart and conscience, struggled with the notions which his understanding had embraced. When, for instance, in the "Victory of Faith," (p. 253,) he tell us that, in the humiliation and abasement of the Son of God, "the justice of God was won by the self-sacrifice of his love, to make a sacrifice of itself," we might easily suppose him to be an orthodox evangelical, using a novel mode of expression; but in the following quotation from the same volume, where he is evidently expressing his deliberate opinions, carefully and definitely, we find the distinctive evangelical view wanting, and an incongruous doctrine present:

> "One [way set before the Jews] was the way of sacrifice, by which expiation and atonement were to be made; and which was to be a type and sign of the slaying and offering up of the carnal will, the carnal nature to God." —P. 156.

Now this is precisely the theory of sacrifice which has been maintained in Germany with great ability, by Bähr; and which Maurice has adopted into his recent work on sacrifice. It makes the Jewish sacrifices to be no longer typical of the penal sufferings and death which Christ endured on behalf of sinners, but only of

his own self-sacrifice, which actuated his whole life, shining only with a peculiar transcendency in his death. It is true that with this typical purpose and central meaning of the sacrificial rites, Hare connects, as does also Bähr, a number of feelings appropriate to the occasions, and the offerings which were associated with the rite in the mind of the offerer, and some of which were specially appropriate to certain kinds of offering—as thank-offerings, sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, &c. (P. 157.) But most carefully does he exclude all direct and proper typical reference to the great Sacrifice on Calvary. Thus he takes out the very heart of the whole matter, and affords the clearest evidence that he was not an orthodox evangelical teacher. To the same effect, in his sermon on the "Unity of the Church," he says, that "the lesson of the cross" was (he names, he intimates, *no other*) that men are "to draw nigh to God, not by this work or by that work, not by the sacrifice of this thing or that, but by the entire sacrifice and resignation of their whole being to the will of God." In this way, "through Christ, and through him alone, they have power to approach to the one God and Father of all."—*Mission, &c.*, p. 281.

In the second volume of the "Parish Sermons," Hare has two sermons on critical texts. One, the eighteenth, is on 2 Cor. viii, 9: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich," &c.; the other, the twentieth, on John xix, 30: "When Jesus, therefore, had received the vinegar, he said, *It is finished.*" In these sermons, had his creed been fully evangelical, it would have been impossible for him to have helped making some reference to the vicarious character of Christ's sufferings; but there is no such reference. In the latter of these sermons, especially, we should have looked for evangelical doctrine. The doctrine which Hare preaches, however, is such as follows:

"All that he came to do by action had already been finisht. But . . . his great work was to be completed and made perfect, *as every truly great work must be*, by suffering. For no work can be really great unless it be against the course of the world, &c. . . . . nor *unless we manifest our own sense of its greatness, by our readiness to give up our own personal interests, and pleasures, and comforts, and to endure hardship, and pain, and bereavement, and death itself, for the sake of its accomplishment. Thus it was* by losing his own life in every possible way—by the agony in the garden; by the flight and denial of those whom he had chosen out of the world to be his companions and friends; by the mockery and cruelty of those whom his goodness and purity rendered more bitter against him; by the frantic and murderous cries of the people, whom he had loaded with every earthly benefit, and whom he desired to crown with eternal blessings; and by the closing sufferings on the cross—that Jesus was to gain his own life, and the everlasting life of all who will believe in him. All this, then, the whole work of the redemption of mankind, does our Lord in the text declare to be finished."—Pp. 388, 389.

This doctrine is, indeed, deplorably defective; and there is much more in the same strain in this sermon, in which, contrary to the tenor of some former quotations, the death of Christ is regarded as merely the crowning act of his life, displaying, as in a grand symbolic reality, that which had ever been the inner principle of his life, and having a moral power, in connexion with the grace of the Holy Ghost, to exercise a transforming influence upon the character and course of all who rightly regard it; "becoming thus," to quote Hare's words, "the teeming parent of countless works of the same kind, the first in an endless chain that should girdle the earth, and stretch through all ages."

On the whole, we can come to no conclusion, but that Hare was decidedly non-evangelical on this grand doctrine of atonement, though we rejoice in believing that the faith of his heart was often better than the doctrine of his head. If we have seemed to labour this point, it has been because, in his own country, Hare is not unfrequently claimed by evangelical Church of England journals, (*The Christian Observer* and *Church of England Quarterly*, for example,) as belonging to their party; is counted as such by many of the clergy of his own Church, and by other parties has been generally held to occupy at least a doubtful position. His expressions, indeed, often approach to evangelical orthodoxy—he had strong sympathies in favour of the old-fashioned evangelical truths—but fundamentally and intellectually he was, we grieve to repeat, not orthodox in his evangelical creed.

There exists an intimate connexion between the doctrine of a vicarious atonement for sin, and that of justification by faith. Hare, indeed, disbelieved the former, and yet, in a sense, believed the latter. But we must distinguish in what sense Christian faith, according to him, signifies a general persuasion of God's good will to man, as manifested in the incarnation, the life, and death of his Son. When a sinner becomes persuaded of this, his own attitude toward God becomes that of gratitude and trust; his affections are set right; and at the same time that the sinner thus trusts and believes in God the Father, through Christ, he becomes an actual recipient of his pardoning love, and of a growing influence of the Holy Spirit. He has put away his rebellion and his unbelief, and God at once puts away his anger. The sinner is now justified; he is set right with God. From this time forth he is in process of sanctification. All this Hare seems to call the work of regeneration, nor does he draw the distinction anywhere, so far as we have noted it, between regeneration and sanctification.

Such a doctrine is rather one of regeneration by faith, than of justi-

fication by faith, in the ordinary Protestant sense. Faith is supposed to bring the sinner into appropriate spiritual dispositions toward God, as his Maker, Judge, and Redeemer; and thereupon God is represented as sending down upon the sinner, both the light of his countenance and the hallowing influences of his Spirit. Faith, in fact, operates morally upon the believer, producing in him such a state of feeling as is congruous to the Father's purposes of love, and to the operation of the indwelling, hallowing Spirit. Whereas, according to the true Reformation doctrine, such as it is taught, for example, in the Homilies of the Church of England, justifying faith is understood to be exercised specifically in Christ, as by his death making expiation and satisfaction for the sinner's guilt, or (to put the same idea in another light) in God's covenant with mankind in Christ, as offering them pardon for the sake of Christ's death; and this faith, whatever may be its congruity *as* a condition, is yet viewed *merely* as a condition of justification.

Justification, again, according to the same doctrine, the doctrine of the Reformation, is viewed as a change, primarily and properly, not of disposition or principle on man's part, but merely of relation, as "a relative, not a real, change," to use the established phraseology. Only, coinstantaneously with this exercise of justifying faith on the part of the sinner, and the correspondent act of pardon or justification on the part of God, there is believed to be conveyed the special and covenanted gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby the sinner becomes "a new creature."

Hare talks much, indeed, about Christ as the sinner's righteousness; but with him this seems to be but a compendious expression, which must be taken to signify, that the faith in the life, and especially in the death, of Christ, the Son of God, is the origin of the sinner's righteousness; and, further, that the righteousness of Christ, as the God-Man, becomes both the standard and source of the believer's growing righteousness; or, in a word, that the righteousness which was manifested in Christ, as God-Incarnate, and the righteousness which is derived from him, constitute the only ground and source of righteousness to the sinner. Christ is thus his righteousness; and his only trust and hope must be in that. In this sense, to quote Hare's words, the believer is "to seek, through faith, to be justified by the blood of Christ," [that is, he is to be brought to right feelings toward God, and a sense of acceptance before him, through a contemplation of the love of God to man, particularly as shown in the death of Christ, the God-Man, for sinners,] "and casting off all pretensions to any righteousness of his own," [as if his mere unhelped and isolated nature could bring forth righteousness,] he is

"to put on his perfect righteousness;" [that is, to gain, by his faith, and love, and the help of the Holy Spirit, a growing conformity to that righteousness of Christ, which is the standard of perfection for humanity.]—*Mission of the Comforter*, p. 30, cf.

It might be inferred from this, as was, in fact, the case, that Hare was no believer in instantaneous conversion or regeneration. A grand central fact not being presented as the one object for the faith of the penitent sinner to fix upon, and an act of hearty affiance in the blood of Christ as our expiatory sacrifice not being made the immediate condition of justification, and antecedent of regeneration, there is not the same critical hinge on which the whole work of salvation turns. The faith required is rather passive and receptive, than active and appropriating, and, therefore, the operation is less a matter of distinct consciousness, and the crisis less marked. A certain act of faith, a particular exercise of affiance, is not made epochal, vital, determinative. Faith is rather a disposition which is induced, a habit which is formed, and which respects the whole revelation of God in Christ. It does, indeed, view the death of Christ as the crowning act of his life, and that in which he most fully showed forth the nature and love of the Father, and as therefore demanding a more reverent and grateful regard than any other fact in the history of Christ; yet it does not look upon this event as standing toward the sin and guilt of mankind in a relation altogether peculiar and unique. This habit of faith is therefore gradually acquired. There is, indeed, a season of conviction and repentance, during which the habit of a grateful, confiding faith is but in process of formation; and when, in its darker character of guilty fear, this has passed away, through the prevalence of faith, there is then realized a "peace and joy through believing," and the abiding indwelling of the Holy Ghost; but still the seasons and experiences, thus distinguished, melt and pass into each other. In some souls, indeed, the crisis of conviction may be much keener than in others, and the contrast between the different stages and seasons more marked. This, in a fine passage, Hare describes to have been the case with Luther, and to be ordinarily the experience of "spirits of a peculiar depth and earnestness." "The conscience," he says, "thus stirred and shaken, in its agony and bloody sweat, will often, for a while, reject all consolation, and is unable to discern the angel coming to strengthen it through the thickness of the surrounding night." But still this admission does not alter his view of the principles and process involved in justification and regeneration. Most strongly does he lay it down in his Parish Sermons, that those who assert "that they received Christ at such or

such a moment, contradict our Lord's declaration that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation." We need scarcely add that in this point he agreed with Coleridge.*

It is pleasing to find, notwithstanding Hare's particular views on this point, two cases delightfully narrated in the first volume of his *Parish Sermons*, which are evidently instances of genuine conversion and of blessed religious experience, although the reflection of a hazy doctrine may be observed in the character of some portion of the experience in both instances.

We know not whether it is much to the purpose to observe, that in one place, in his notes to the "Mission of the Comforter," Hare seems disposed to defend, and almost to identify himself with, the "evangelicals," any more than to note, on the contrary, that in his "Contest with Rome," he aims against the same party a significant sneer at "Exeter Hall," and in another place, in the notes already named, tells Mr. Ward, that for him to boast as if he had damaged the reputation of Luther, when he has only hit certain peculiarities of the modern evangelicals, was much as if "Thersites had boasted of having run his spear through Hector, because he had spit at his Lycian auxiliaries." It is certain, that while Hare, with his large heart and devout feeling, saw much to agree with in the doctrine, spirit, and purpose of the evangelical Low Church party in the Church of England, there was also not a little in their creed, prejudices, and tendencies, as a party, with which it could not be expected that he would sympathize. We fear he did not sympathize with all in them which was sound and right; we feel sure, that some part of that which he must have disliked in them was wrong, the result of a narrow and somewhat superficial theology, for the most part highly Calvinistic and enthusiastically pre-millenarian, and of very defective knowledge and training in Biblical criticism.†

Hare's views on the subject of inspiration are the next, and the only other main point to which we shall refer. It is well known how lax were the teachings of Coleridge on this subject, and it is to be feared that Hare's views differed from his rather in degree than in kind. Though we have not found reason for believing that Hare adopted, to the full extent, the views held by Coleridge, and many others of the same school, as to the power and authority of the intuitive reason, yet, on the whole, he is disposed to magnify the intuitive power and faculty of the soul in comparison with the capa-

* See the "Victory of Faith," *passim*, but particularly the last sermon in the course; Mission of the Comforter, vol. ii, pp. 25, 30, 102–3, 106–7, 137, 508; "Parish Sermons," vol. i, pp. 34, 35, 75, 76, 142, 449.

† Mission, &c., pp. 557, 731. Contest with Rome, p. 230.

bilities and functions of the understanding. This tendency naturally, if not inevitably, leads to the depression of the authority of the Bible, considered as an exact revelation and standard of objective truth. Its spirit, and the main purport of its teaching, are recognised by the reason as true and divine, and constrain the allegiance of the conscience; but if salvation and sanctification were made to depend, in any important degree, upon the letter and precise statements of the word of God, then the understanding, with its logical processes and discussions, would come to hold too important a relation to the believer's spiritual development. In fact, it will be seen at once, that a logical and systematic theology, constituted out of a number of definite objective truths, upon which a Christian must anchor his faith and hope, becomes a necessity, if the strict doctrine of inspiration, which holds every part of the word of God to be fully and exactly true, is maintained. This doctrine, therefore, will not accord with the theology of those who make faith to be, to repeat the language we recently used, rather passive and receptive, than active and appropriating, and sanctification rather to be, from first to last, an unconscious spiritual process wrought by the progressive assimilation (so to speak) of certain grand ideas, than dependent, at any time, upon the hearty and active reception and appropriation of certain objective truths and distinct utterances of grace and love. Hare, indeed, as he admits more objectiveness into his theology of faith than most others of his school, seems, in like manner, to deal more reverently with the word of God. Whatever may have been his theory on the case, he was a diligent and loving student of the sacred text, and delighted himself in its explicit revelations of truth and promise. Still there are indications, that his views in regard to inspiration were far from sound. We do not find fault with his severe handling of the theory of verbal dictation; for so it ought to be called, and not verbal inspiration; though we have a right to complain that he, as well as Maurice, follows Coleridge in ignoring any other view, as opposed to their own, besides this. But we do deplore, that while he denounces this theory as if it were the only one known in England, he nowhere condescends to even hint at the outline of a better. We are yet more concerned to observe, that in his "Life of Sterling," he refers to Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," in such a way as, while no *caveat* is entered against any part of it, to intimate a general approval of its purport; and that, in consistency with this, he makes light, in his "Letter to the Editor of the English Review," of such matters as discrepances in the Evangelists, "which may, indeed, perplex those who cling to the vulgar notion of literal

inspiration; but, when we take a correcter view, are *wholly immaterial*;" adding that "the correction of our views on inspiration would remove a number of stumbling-blocks which now beset our students of theology, and which they cannot get over except by willfully closing their eyes to them." Yet, the very discrepance here specially referred to by Hare, (that found in the history of the Gergesene demoniac,) and which he agrees with Olshausen in considering equally irreconcilable and "immaterial," is not admitted to be any real discrepance by Stier, an exegete not inferior to Olshausen,-and rated very high by Hare himself. No doubt it is to such a philosophy as that of Coleridge's on the subject of inspiration, a philosophy borrowed, like most of Coleridge's, from Germany, that Hare refers in his Preface to the "Mission of the Comforter," when he says that in Germany the champions of the truth defend it, "not by shutting their eyes to its difficulties, and hooting at its adversaries, but by calmly refuting those adversaries, and solving the difficulties, with the help of weapons derived from a higher philology and philosophy." We confess that we have met with nothing in all Hare's writings to us so distressing as these passages on the subject of inspiration.

Akin to his views on this subject are those which he seems to have held on the subject of miracles. Undoubtedly these, and the other external evidences of Christianity, were, by the Grotian school, insisted upon far too exclusively. Even Chalmers, also, has confessed, that at one time he placed too main a reliance on this branch of evidence. But Coleridge and his school place miracles too low by far, scarcely admitting them to have any importance whatever as evidence of the divinity of Christianity. They have authority, in Coleridge's view, only as authenticated and accepted by the reason; they are not allowed to be the seal of God to the validity of the commission of those by whom they were wrought. How far Hare went along with Coleridge in this view we know not, but there is enough evidence to show that at least he shared in the general bias of his school.*

Liberal as Hare was, he was a thorough Church of England man. He loved to preach upon the subject of her main festivals; and to trace the order of her services through the year as illustrating the life and offices of Christ. Indeed, as we remarked in a former article, the Anglican Church arrangements and formularies are peculiarly suited to the principles and predilections of the Broad Churchman, who dwells so fondly upon the life and human character

* See "Mission of the Comforter," vol. ii, pp. 553, 564. "Guesses at Truth," First Series, p. 385.

of our Lord, while he ordinarily avoids the theology of guilt and ransom, of law and expiation, and, indeed, doctrinal theology in general. But, though a Church of England man, Hare was no believer in sacramental salvation in any form; which he speaks of as a doctrine of "magical powers and acts." If our readers should sometimes, in consulting him, think his phraseology on the subject of baptism ambiguous, they will find by and by, that, at any rate, what he means is nothing like Tractarianism.

We feel that we have by no means done justice to this distinguished writer. We could much more easily have managed, if he had been a man of less comprehensive cultivation, and less catholic sympathies. But it is hard to form, and harder still, within reasonable compass, to furnish a fair estimate of a man who seems to have been equally familiar with profane and with sacred studies, with ancient and modern history and philosophy; with Fathers, Schoolmen, Mystics, Reformers, Puritan and Church of England divines, German Philosophy and Theology, and British Poetry and Literature; who could criticise with equal ability a play or a metaphysical argument, an opera or a political treatise; who was an equally good judge of a fine old painting or a fine old folio; who had sympathies which linked him with all tendencies, tempers, and ages—only never with meanness or vice; who, in his theological writings, quoted, with almost equal relish, Tauler or Calvin, Andrewes or Leighton, Donne or Baxter, Matthew Henry or Neander, while, above all, he studied and honoured Luther and Coleridge; who now verges on Mysticism, then speaks out in the strong dialect of Lutheran evangelism; and again philosophizes in the spirit of Coleridge's better and more genial vein; who here winds his way in brilliant allegory, and elsewhere writes in a practical style of unequalled pith and point. Take him for all in all, he was, perhaps, the richest, freshest, and most genial among English writers of our time, on religious subjects; and, much as we regret his serious deficiencies on some vital points, yet we cannot but be thankful that, in his case, a soul of such various and exquisite endowments was so deeply swayed by genuine and unsectarian piety.

Yet it must not be forgotten in reading his writings, that Hare, with all his excellences and accomplishments, with all his wisdom and eloquence, and Christian feeling, *was* seriously defective in his views of those doctrines which constitute the very heart of Christianity. Strength of intellect was his; yet was his mind not so strong as his spirit was genial, nor was his insight so profound as his apprehension was quick and subtile. His perception of

analogies and harmonies was wonderfully quick, because sedulously, we might almost say, passionately, cultured: but for a philosopher, and theologian especially, the faculty of perceiving and discriminating differences is not less necessary. This faculty Hare seems to have cultivated with little diligence; hence the incautious and indiscriminating praise which he has bestowed upon such writers as Coleridge and Maurice, not to refer to certain German philosophers and theologians of a very dubious character. That Hare, by his writings, has been a benefactor to his race, is not to be doubted, at least by us; but, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that he has added weight and authority to opinions, to writers, and to a school of theology, from which great and vital danger is to feared to the best interests of Protestants. Perhaps, between the prevalence of semi-Popery, on the one hand, and an uncritical and narrow evangelism on the other, with neology, unchecked and unanswered by either party, but making its inroads upon both, we should rather be thankful than surprised that the Broad-Church school, heterodox as are many of its tendencies, has attained to its present influence and development in the Anglican Church. We trust it will force Tractarianism to give up its blind hold of tradition, and the evangelical school to apply themselves to a profound and critical study of Scripture and theology. But, in any case, it is a thing to be noted, how rapidly this school has advanced in power and public influence during the last twelve months. Had Hare been living now, he might have found organs easily, in which to express his views. Both the great English Quarterlies may now be considered Broad Church, besides minor magazines and reviews. A strange amalgam the party seems to be, of semi-infidelity, High Churchism, social benevolence, and real religious liberality and zeal, not without some considerable leaven, here and there, of evangelical truth and feeling. Out of it will come forth good and evil, not a little. Meanwhile, let the orthodox watch it, in a spirit at once wary and liberal; equally ready to learn from what is good and to contend against what is evil. Assured we are that the noblest and best of the party has gone from the strife of time to a peaceful land of truth and love. Had he lived longer, he might have receded more and more from his friends; and have still more fully outgrown the anti-evangelical prejudices and tendencies of the philosophy to which he had addicted himself.

Art. II.—THE CHINESE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT FUH CHAU.

BY REV. M. C. WHITE, M. D.

The Chinese language is, in theory, a language of monosyllables; but, owing to the paucity of distinct syllables, two monosyllabic words having, in the language of books, the same signification, are often joined together in the spoken language to represent a single idea. Other varieties of compound words are used to express ideas which, in other languages, are represented by a simple word. Some words which are generally regarded as monosyllables, contain two or more vowel sounds, which are pronounced so distinct and separate as to constitute real dissyllables, as, kiang, hiong, sieu, which are pronounced ki-ang, hi-ong, si-eu.

There are in the Fuh Chau dialect but ten vowel sounds, and they are generally reckoned as only nine, and the elementary consonant sounds are only ten, hence the number of syllables must also be small. Many combinations of consonants found in other languages are unknown to the Chinese, and the structure of their language is unfavourable to the formation of many polysyllabic words. To compensate for these restrictions upon the formation of words, they have adopted the use of a variety of tones to distinguish ideas expressed by what we should call the same word.

The tones used in different dialects vary both in their number and intonation.

In the court dialect, spoken at the Capital, and by public officers in all parts of the empire, there are five tones. In the Tiechu dialect there are said to be nine tones. In the several dialects spoken at Canton, Amoy, and Fuh Chau, there are reckoned eight tones; but in the Fuh Chau dialect there are really but seven tones, for the second and sixth are identical, and in their books, the words referred to these two tones are all arranged under the second.

In the Fuh Chau dialect there is a native work, called the *Book of Eight Tones*, and *Thirty-six Mother Characters*. In this book all the characters in common use are systematically arranged, according to their sounds. Three of the mother characters are mere duplicates, and are not used in the body of the work. All the syllabic sounds of this dialect are, therefore, arranged in thirty-three genera, under mother characters, having the same final sound as the

characters arranged under them. Each genus (containing the same final sound) is again divided into fifteen classes, in reference to the initial sounds with which they are severally connected.

The Chinese have not carried their analysis of vocal sounds to the nice elementary distinctions recognised in Western languages; but each simple word is divided by their analysis into two parts: a *final part*, or "*mother sound*," which gives body to the word, and a "*leading part*," or initial sound.

The *initial sound* consists of a single consonant, or of two consonants combined, but no vowel ever acts as the "*leading part*," or *initial*.*

The *final part*, or "*mother sound*," consists, essentially, of a vowel or vowels, followed, in some words, by a single consonant, but never by two consonants. *Ng*, which is found at the end of many Chinese words, represents, as in English, but a single elementary consonant sound, unlike either *n* or *g* when used alone, and not compounded of the sounds of *n* and *g* combined. This is a distinct elementary sound, and is used both at the beginning and end of Chinese words. This consonant sound, which we represent by *ng*, is one of the *initials*, and in some cases it is used alone, without the addition of a *final*, but only as a prefix to other words, giving them a negative signification; as, hò^{2}, good; ng^{7}-hò^{2}, bad; k'ò^{3}, to depart; ng^{7}-k'ò^{3}, will not depart.

Each class of syllables is again sub-divided, according to the distinctions introduced by the tones.

The thirty-three *final sounds*, multiplied by the fifteen *initial sounds*, give four hundred and ninety-five primary syllables. These again, multiplied by the seven *tones* in actual use, give *three thousand four hundred and sixty-five* different monosyllabic words, which may be distinguished by the ear; to which may be added the *semi-vocal initial, ng*, used in a single tone without a *final*, as mentioned above.

Though there are in theory this number of simple words, many of them are distinguished from others by very slight shades of difference, and there are (so far as known to the writer) only *sixteen hundred and-forty-four* in actual use.

To supply the defect which this paucity of words occasions in the spoken language, two or more words are frequently combined into one, to express a single idea. This practice is so common, that the

* One of the (so called) *initials* has merely the force of the Greek *spiritus lenis*, and denotes the absence of any initial consonant, in which case the word begins with the vowel of the *final* or "*mother sound*."

dialect of Fuh Chau has become, to a great extent, a language of polysyllables.

The statement sometimes put forth, that there are hundreds of characters expressing different ideas, which are all pronounced exactly alike, refers only to the written language as read; and even in the language as read the number of set phrases and the peculiar collocation of words give a good degree of definiteness to the language. There is but little more difficulty in understanding the idea intended, than we experience when we hear an English book read, in which occur such words as *right*, *rite*, *write*, and *wright*, or cleave, *to split*, and cleave, *to adhere*. It is true, however, that such equivocal words are more numerous in Chinese than in English.

In the different provinces, and in different districts of the same province, the reading sounds of the characters differ in the same manner as the Arabic figures are differently pronounced by the various nations of Europe. The spoken dialects also differ widely from the reading dialects of the same localities.

In general, the spoken dialects are more diffuse than the written language, which is common to all parts of the empire. This results, in the main, from the frequent necessity of using two words of similar meaning, or, more properly, a dissyllable, to express an idea definitely, when a single written character or word is all that is required.

The spoken languages being more diffuse, and differing in style from the written language, they have adopted, in several dialects, a system of writing the spoken dialects, by borrowing from the general written language a few common characters, which they use chiefly as *phonetics*, to represent the sounds of the spoken language. These characters are thus used without reference to their signification in the classical writings which have been handed down from the remote ages of antiquity.

This is the common system of mercantile and epistolary writing adopted by persons of limited education, and can only be understood by persons speaking the same dialect, while the style of writing in use among professed literary men, is understood alike by the literati of all parts of the empire.

The system of *initials* and *finals* used in the "Book of Eight Tones," referred to above, would, if used for that purpose, form (in connection with the *tonal marks*) a complete alphabet for the Fuh Chau dialect. They have been so used by missionaries for writing colloquial phrases, in their private study of the language. Three of the gospels have been written out in this manner by Chinese teachers in the employment of missionaries.

Books written in this style can be read with the same facility as alphabetic writing of other languages, and are a great aid in learning the *colloquial*, though no books have been printed in this style, and the *initials* and *finals* have never been used in this manner in native books.

To foreigners learning the Fuh Chau dialect, a thorough knowledge of this system of *initials* and *finals*, and the *eight tones*, is of great importance.

The student should constantly refer the pronunciation of every word to its place in this system, till he can analyze each spoken word, giving its proper *initial* and *final*, and point out its proper *tone* as readily as he can spell any word in his mother tongue.

Slight variations in the pronunciation of Chinese words are noticed among different Chinese teachers. When, therefore, Chinese words are represented by the letters of the English alphabet, (which are written more readily than the Chinese *initials* and *finals*,) the student refers at once to the sounds of the corresponding *initials* and *finals*, as he has learned them from his teacher.

The letters of the English alphabet, when used in the following pages to represent Chinese sounds, are to be pronounced as follows:

I.—Consonant Sounds.

1. Ch, having the same sound as in *church*.
2. Ch', *ch* with the same sound as above, followed by an additional *h*, which is represented, in such cases, by the Greek spiritus asper, (').
3. H, having its own proper sound, as in hand, at the beginning of words, while at the end of words (where it occurs only in the fourth and eighth tones) it denotes simply an abrupt closing of the vocal organs, without the formation of any distinct sound. When the sound of *h* follows *ch*, *p*, or *t*, it is, for convenience, represented by the spiritus asper, (').
4. K has its own proper sound, as in *king*.
5. K', *k* followed by a distinct sound of *h*.
6. L, as in English words.
7. M, as in English words.
8. N, as in English words.
9. Ng, as in *sing*, both at the beginning and end of words. It often requires great care to enunciate this sound correctly at the beginning of words.
10. P, as in *park, parade*.
11. P', *p* followed by the distinct sound of *h*.
12. S, as in same.

13. T, as in *tame, till.*

14. T', *t* followed by *h*, each letter retaining its own proper sound.

The preceding are the consonant sounds found in the Fuh Chau *initials*, but it will be seen that there are, in reality, only ten elementary consonants, viz.: Ch, H, K, L, M, N, Ng, P, S, T.

The spiritus asper, (',) which is equivalent to *h*, being used to avoid confounding *ph* with the sound of *f*, and *th* with *th* in *thin* or *then*, and to show that it is never silent in any combination.

II.—Vowels. There are nine distinct vowel sounds, viz.:

1. *a*, as in *far, father.*

2. *e*, as in *they, prey*, but when followed by *ng* its sound is nearly as short as in *met.*

3. è, like the flat sound in *there*, or like *a* in *care.*

4. ë, pronounced nearly like *e* in *her*, or *i* in *bird*, but more open, and spoken deeper in the throat.

5. i, as in *machine*, but frequently like *i* in *pin*, if the word ends with a consonant.

6. o, as in *note, report.*

7. ò, like *o* in *for, cord, lord.*

8. u, like *oo* in *school;* but if the word ends with *h* or *ng*, the sound is like that of *u* in *bull.* The distinction, if any, between the sound of *u* in these two forms of Chinese words is unimportant in practice, and too slight to be noted by any diacritical marks. At the beginning of words, when followed by another vowel, it has the force of *w* in English words.

9. ü has the French sound of ü, as in *l'üne.* This is a sound between those of *e* and *oo.* When two vowels come together in the same word, each vowel retains its own sound. There are no silent letters employed in this system.

III.—Tones. Figures raised above the line, at the end of words, are used to distinguish the tones.

Note.—This system of orthography is substantially that known as the system of Sir William Jones, used for Romanizing the languages of India, the Pacific Islands, and the languages of the North American Indians. Some have desired to embrace the sounds, used in all the dialects of China, in one system, distinguishing them by separate letters, or by diacritical marks, so that each letter shall have a uniform sound in every dialect for which it is used. Such strict uniformity would require the use of several diacritical marks on letters where they are not needed, when, as in the plan here adopted, slight modifications are allowed in each dialect. The sounds of the letters, as here given, is nearly identical with the system used in writing the language spoken at the Sandwich Islands.

TABLE OF FINALS AND INITIALS, WITH THEIR NAMES, AND THEIR ALPHABETIC VALUE IN ROMAN LETTERS.

THIRTY-THREE FINALS.								FIFTEEN INITIALS.			
1	Ch'ung	春	ung	18	Ngūng	銀	ūng	1	Liu	柳	L
2*	Hua	花	ua	19	Kong	缸	ong	2*	Pieng	邊	P
3*	Hiong	香	iong	20	Chi	之	i	3	Kiu	求	K
4	Ch'iu	秋	iu	21	Tēng	東	ēng	4	K'e[3]	氣	K'
5	Sang	山	ang	22	Kau	郊	au	5	Tè	低	T
6	K'ai	開	ai	23*	Kuò	過	uò	6	P'ò	波	P'
7	Ka	嘉	a	24	Sè	西	è	7	T'a	他	T'
8	Ping	賓	ing	25†	Kūò	橋	ūò	8	Cheng	曾	Ch
9*	Huang	歡	uang	26†	Kie	雞	ie	9	Nih[8]	日	N
10	Kò	歌	ò	27*	Siang	聲	iang	10	Si[5]	時	S
11‡	Sū	須	ū	28	Ch'oi	催	oi	11	Eng	鶯	'
12*	Pue	杯	ue	29	Ch'ē	初	ē	12	Mung[5]	蒙	M
13	Ku	孤	u	30*	T'ieng	天	ieng	13	Ngū[2]	語	Ng
14	Teng	燈	eng	31*	Kia	奇	ia	14	Ch'oh[4]	出	Ch'
15*	Kuong	光	uong	32	Uai	歪	uai	15	Hi	非	H
16*	Hui	輝	ui	33†	Keu	溝	eu				
17†	Sieu	燒	ieu								

NOTE.—The twelfth and sixteenth *finals* are regarded by some teachers as having the same alphabetic sound, (the initial consonant, of course, is excepted,) but most persons observe the distinction given in the table. The characters arranged under the twenty-fifth *final* are pronounced by many persons residing within the walls of Fuh Chau, like those under the twenty-third. The vowel of the eighth *final* is pronounced by some teachers like the sound of *i* in *machine*, while others give it the sound of *i* as in *pin*. The vowel of the fourteenth *final* is pronounced by some like *e* in *met*, and by others like *e* in *they*. The thirty-third *final* has a peculiarly clear and ringing sound, and at once reminds a person of the croak of a frog.

The thirteenth *initial* sound is, in one instance, used alone without any *final* or vowel sound following it. It is used only in the seventh tone, and merely as a negative prefix to other words.

The primary syllables formed by joining each *initial* with all the *finals*, will be seen in the following table.

* Accented on the second vowel. † Accented on the vowel before the last.

‡ The eleventh initial denotes merely the absence of initial sound.

		Liu	Pieng	Kiu	K'e[3]	Tò	P'ò	T'a	Cheng	Nih[4]	Si[5]	Eng	Mung[5]	Ngü[3]	Ch'oh[4]	Hi
		柳	邊	求	氣	低	波	他	曾	日	時	鶯	蒙	語	出	非
Ch'ung	春	lung	pung	kung	k'ung	tung	p'ung	t'ung	chung	nung	sung	ung	mung	ngung	ch'ung	hung
Hua	花	lua	pua	kua	k'ua	tua	p'ua	t'ua	chua	nua	sua	ua	mua	ngua	ch'ua	hua
Hiong	香	liong	piong	kiong	k'iong	tiong	p'iong	t'iong	chiong	niong	siong	iong	miong	ngiong	ch'iong	hiong
Ch'iu	秋	liu	piu	kiu	k'iu	tiu	p'iu	t'iu	chiu	niu	siu	iu	miu	ngiu	ch'iu	hiu
Sang	山	lang	pang	kang	k'ang	tang	p'ang	t'ang	chang	nang	sang	ang	mang	ngang	ch'ang	hang
K'ai	開	lai	pai	kai	k'ai	tai	p'ai	t'ai	chai	nai	sai	ai	mai	ngai	ch'ai	hai
Ka	嘉	la	pa	ka	k'a	ta	p'a	t'a	cha	na	sa	a	ma	nga	ch'a	ha
Ping	賓	ling	ping	king	k'ing	ting	p'ing	t'ing	ching	ning	sing	ing	ming	nging	ch'ing	hing
Huang	歡	luang	puang	kuang	k'uang	tuang	p'uang	t'uang	chuang	nuang	suang	uang	muang	nguang	ch'uang	huang
Kò	歌	lò	pò	kò	k'ò	tò	p'ò	t'ò	chò	nò	sò	ò	mò	ngò	ch'ò	hò
Sü	須	lü	pü	kü	k'ü	tü	p'ü	t'ü	chü	nü	sü	ü	mü	ngü	ch'ü	hü
Pue	杯	lue	pue	kue	k'ue	tue	p'ue	t'ue	chue	nue	sue	ue	mue	ngue	ch'ue	hue
Ku	孤	lu	pu	ku	k'u	tu	p'u	t'u	chu	nu	su	u	mu	ngu	ch'u	hu
Teng	燈	leng	peng	keng	k'eng	teng	p'eng	t'eng	cheng	neng	seng	eng	meng	ngeng	ch'eng	heng
Kuong	光	luong	puong	kuong	k'uong	tuong	p'uong	t'uong	chuong	nuong	suong	uong	muong	nguong	ch'uong	huong
Hui	輝	lui	pui	kui	k'ui	tui	p'ui	t'ui	chui	nui	sui	ui	mui	ngui	ch'ui	hui

Sieu	燒	lieu	pieu	kieu	k'ieu	tieu	p'ieu	t'ieu	chieu	nieu	sieu	ieu	mieu	ngieu	ch'ieu	hieu
Ngüng[5]	銀	lüng	püng	küng	k'üng	tüng	p'üng	t'üng	chüng	nüng	sung	üng	müng	ngüng	ch'üng	hüng
Kong	缸	long	pong	kong	k'ong	tong	p'ong	t'ong	chong	nong	song	ong	mong	ngong	ch'ong	hong
Chi	之	li	pi	ki	k'i	ti	p'i	t'i	chi	ni	si	i	mi	ngi	ch'i	hi
Tēng	東	lēng	pēng	kēng	k'ēng	tēng	p'ēng	t'ēng	chēng	nēng	sēng	ēng	mēng	ngēng	ch'ēng	hēng
Kau	郊	lau	pau	kau	k'au	tau	p'au	t'au	chau	nau	sau	au	mau	ngau	ch'au	hau
Kuò	過	luò	può	kuò	k'uò	tuò	p'uò	t'uò	chuò	nuò	suò	uò	muò	nguò	ch'uò	huò
Sè	西	lè	pè	kè	k'è	tè	p'è	t'è	chè	nè	sè	è	mè	ngè	ch'è	hè
Küò	橋	lüò	püò	küò	k'üò	tüò	p'üò	t'üò	chüò	nüò	süò	üò	müò	ngüò	ch'üò	hüò
Kie	雞	lie	pie	kie	k'ie	tie	p'ie	t'ie	chie	nie	sie	ie	mie	ngie	ch'ie	hie
Siang	聲	liang	piang	kiang	k'iang	tiang	p'iang	t'iang	chiang	niang	siang	iang	miang	ngiang	ch'iang	hiang
Ch'oi	催	loi	poi	koi	k'oi	toi	p'oi	t'oi	choi	noi	soi	oi	moi	ngoi	ch'oi	hoi
Ch'ē	初	lē	pē	kē	k'ē	tē	p'ē	t'ē	chē	nē	sē	ē	mē	ngē	ch'ē	hē
T'ieng	天	lieng	pieng	kieng	k'ieng	tieng	p'ieng	t'ieng	chieng	nieng	sieng	ieng	mieng	ngieng	ch'ieng	hieng
Kia	奇	lia	pia	kia	k'ia	tia	p'ia	t'ia	chia	nia	sia	ia	mia	ngia	ch'ia	hia
Uai	歪	luai	puai	kuai	k'uai	tuai	p'uai	t'uai	chuai	nuai	suai	uai	muai	nguai	ch'uai	huai
Keu	溝	leu	peu	keu	k'eu	teu	p'eu	t'eu	cheu	neu	seu	eu	meu	ngeu	ch'eu	heu

Each of the syllables in the preceding tables is susceptible of seven variations of the tone in which it is enunciated. Some of the tones affect the orthography, while others do not. Under each word thus formed may be arranged several characters having independent significations; and thus it happens that a single word in the spoken language is made the symbol to express a number of ideas essentially different from each other.

Chinese Tones.

The greatest obstacle to the acquisition of the spoken dialects or languages of China, is the peculiar application of the *tones*, which distinguish words having otherwise the same orthography. It is believed that the *tones* are not in themselves very difficult, but as they are absolutely essential to the spoken language, and require constant attention to nice distinctions, which are never noticed in other languages, they demand all the attention the student can bestow, to remember always the proper tone of each word, and to enunciate it correctly in speaking.

In English, various tones or inflections of the voice are used to give force and animation to language; but in Chinese, the tone is an essential part of the word in all circumstances; while rhetorical effect is given to discourse by accentuation, rapidity or slowness of utterance, and peculiarities of manner, as well as varieties of pitch of the voice, and gesticulation.

Much has been written in regard to the tones, and some discrepance will be found in the statements of different writers, caused, principally, by the differences in tones of the same name in the several dialects with which the different writers were acquainted.

It is generally believed that the system of tones was invented to compensate for the paucity of syllables, or single words, in the spoken languages, or dialects, of the numerous kingdoms of Eastern Asia, which have long since been consolidated into the one vast empire of China.

What was the condition of the spoken languages of China previous to the adoption of the present system of writing, we have no means of learning, except from the structure of their written language, and their ancient poetry.

The general rules of poetry, derived from the Confucian classics, have been fixed and unchanging for more than twenty centuries.

In poetical composition the words are arranged in reference to their tones, of which, for poetical purposes, there are reckoned but two classes or distinctions.

The poetical division of tones is into 平聲 ping[5] siang, smooth

tone or tones; and 仄聲 cha[4] siang, oblique, or harsh tone or tones; (for these terms may be taken either as singular or plural.) These being the only distinctions, in regard to tone, which it is necessary to observe in poetical composition, it is not improbable that there were only two tones in use when the ancient classics were written, or at least in the early ages, when the poetic standards were fixed.

The universal study of the ancient classics, and the observance of the ancient standards of poetical composition, secure a pretty general uniformity in the division of the characters into ping[5], or *smooth* toned, and cha[4], or *harsh* toned characters, though the subordinate divisions in these two classes of tones are by no means uniform in the different dialects.

The Nanking, or court dialect, has five tones, viz.: two *ping*[5], or *smooth* tones, and three *cha*[4], or *harsh* tones; though it is stated that there was originally but one smooth, or even tone.

The names which now distinguish the ping[5] tones, viz.: 上平聲 siong[2] ping[5] siang, *primary smooth tone;* and 下平聲 ha[2] ping[5] siang, *secondary smooth tone*, are thought, by Chinese writers, to have arisen from having the characters arranged under the ping[5] tone, placed in two volumes; the first volume (as is customary with any work) marked 上 siong[2], or *first*, and the latter volume marked 下 ha[2], or *last*. These distinctions, which originally related to the volumes of the book, having been afterward referred to a distinction of two ping[5] tones. This view is still further supported by the fact that, while characters referred to the smooth tones in the court dialect, are also referred to what are called smooth tones in the several local dialects, yet many characters referred to what is called a *primary smooth tone* in one dialect, are placed in the *secondary smooth tone* in another dialect, and *vice versa*.

The cha[4] tones, of which there are three in the court dialect, called 上聲 siong[2] siang, *high tone;* 去聲 k'ëü[3] siang, *diminishing tone;* and 入聲 ih[8] siang, *entering*, or *abrupt tone*, as they are now found in the dictionaries of the general language, or court dialect, are each again sub-divided, in many of the local dialects, (as the even tone has been in all dialects,) into *primary* high, diminishing, and abrupt, and *secondary* high, diminishing, and abrupt tones.

When all the tones now enumerated are arranged together, the 上聲 siong[2] siang, *primary tones*, are always arranged before the 下聲 ha[2] siang, or *secondary tones*, as follows, viz.:

1. 上平聲 siong^{2} ping^{5} siang; primary smooth tone.
2. 上上聲 siong^{2} siong^{2} siang; primary high tone.
3. 上去聲 siong^{2} k'ëü^{3} siang; primary diminishing tone.
4. 上入聲 siong^{2} ih^{8} siang; primary abrupt tone.
5. 下平聲 ha^{2} ping^{5} siang; secondary smooth tone.
6. 下上聲 ha^{2} siong^{2} siang; secondary high tone.
7. 下去聲 ha^{2} k'ëü^{3} siang; secondary diminishing tone.
8. 下入聲 ha^{2} ih^{8} siang; secondary abrupt tone.

This translation of the Chinese names of the tones, though not the one usually given, is admitted by the original, and gives a better idea of their nature than a more literal translation. The names of the tones, as given above, are common to various dialects, but they do not represent the same qualities of voice, or sound, in the different dialects; that is, tones bearing the same names are often essentially different in different dialects.

The number of tones in actual use, varies also in different districts. In several dialects, there are reckoned eight tones, as given above, while in the Fuh Chau dialect, only seven are in actual use, and in the Tiechu dialect there are said to be nine tones. In the spoken language of Canton there are ten tones, but in reading, only eight. The names applied to the tones give but an imperfect idea of their nature, and, in general, it would be as well to designate them as first, second, &c., tones, as to employ the names they bear in Chinese books.

Description of Tones in the Fuh Chau Dialect.—The *first*, or *primary smooth tone*, called siong^{2} ping^{5}, is a uniform even sound, enunciated a little above the ordinary speaking key, but neither elevated nor depressed, from the commencement to the close of the word. It is, in this respect, like the enunciation of a note in music; it may, therefore, be called the singing tone, or the musical monotone.

The *second*, or *primary high tone*, called siong^{2} siong^{2}, is enunciated in the ordinary speaking key, and the voice usually falls a note at the close, as at the end of a sentence in unimpassioned discourse. In connected discourse, however, the second tone is sustained, and turns upward, like the vanishing stress of unaccented words in common conversation. In attempting to pronounce the letters *a-e*, we notice that *e* is pronounced either a note higher, or lower, than *a*. So, also, if we take the pains to listen attentively when *a* alone is pronounced, we shall notice that it has its ending, or vanishing move-

ment, turned upward one note; or, if spoken like the close of a sentence, where the voice falls in the usual way, we shall perceive that the vanishing movement of *a* turns downward one note. This is exactly the variety of enunciation, distinguished by the *second*, or siong^2 siong^2 tone in this dialect.

The *third*, or *primary diminishing tone*, called siong^2 k'ëü^3, is what elocutionists call the *rising third*, and is heard in English on the emphatic word in a direct question, as, "Does it *rain?*" where the voice turns upward, through the interval of two notes of the octave.

The *fourth*, or *primary abrupt tone*, called siong^2 ih^8, turns the voice upward through the same interval as the *third tone;* but it terminates abruptly, as though the voice was suddenly interrupted in an effort to pronounce a final *h*. In words which, in other tones, end in *ng*, the abrupt close of the fourth tone sounds somewhat like a suppressed, or half-uttered *k*, but the clicking sound of the *k* is not heard. If a person should attempt to ask the question, "Can you open the *lock?*" and be suddenly stopped before enunciating the final clicking sound of the *k*, he would give to the last word the *primary abrupt tone.*

The *fifth*, or *secondary smooth tone*, called ha^2 ping^5, is a quick, forcible enunciation, commencing about two notes above the ordinary key, and suddenly dropping down, at the close, to the key note. It is what is called by elocutionists the *falling third*, and, when emphatic, the *falling fifth.* It is sometimes called the scolding tone. It is heard in a petulant enunciation of the emphatic words in the sentence, "*No!* I'll do no such *thing.*"

The *sixth tone* is identical with the *second*, and no words are arranged under it; that is, no *secondary high*, or *rising tone*, has yet been invented in this dialect.

The *seventh*, or *secondary diminishing tone*, called ha^2 k'ëü^3, is a guttural downward circumflex. It is, in English, expressive of peculiar emphasis, frequently indicating rebuke, scorn, or contempt, as,

> "*Whence*, and what art thou, *execrable shape?*
> . . . *Back* to thy *punishment*,
> *False fugitive.*"

> "You wrong me every way; you *wrong* me, Brutus."

The words *very many*, if spoken with forcible emphasis, would also exhibit the tone under consideration.

This is probably the most difficult tone in the language to enunciate correctly, under all circumstances.

The *eighth*, or *secondary abrupt tone*, called ha^2 ih^8, closes abruptly, like the *fourth tone*, but differs from it by being enunciated on a uniform pitch, a little above the ordinary key. The eighth tone is an abrupt termination of the first tone, in the same manner as the fourth tone is an abrupt termination of the third.

The tones affect only that part of the word known as the *final*, while the *initial* remains unaffected by the tone.

In the table, pages 366, 367, the finals are given with the modifications produced by the tones. If each *initial* consonant is successively prefixed to all the forms in the *table*, there will be obtained all the separate words, or distinct syllables, found in the language. We have placed at the head of the table, the initial *eng*, which denotes merely the absence of any initial consonant, as this gives the simplest form of all the *finals* through each tone. The student will see, from the table at pages 358, 359, how each *initial* is successively united with all the *finals*, and in the table, pages 366, 367, how each *final*, whether joined to an initial or otherwise, is modified by the tones. In the table, the vowels printed in italics are accented; in all other cases the first vowel in a word takes the accent. This accentuation of the vowels is uniform, and should be thoroughly learned from the table. The accented vowels are not marked in other parts of this article. Besides the final syllables in the table, the semi-vocal *ng* is used in the seventh tone, without a vowel or any other addition. With this addition there are sixty-one independent final syllables, which may be arranged in alphabetical order, as follows:

a, aë, aëh, aëng, ah, ai, aih, aing, aiu, ang, au, auh, aung, e, è, ë, eh, ëh, eng, ëng, eu, ëü, ëüh, ëüng, i, ia, iah, iang, ie, ieh, ieng, ieu, ih, ing, ioh, iong, iu, ng, o, ò, oe, oh, oi, òi, ong, u, ü, ua, uah, uai, uang, ue, uh, üh, ui, ung, üng, uò, üò, uoh, uong.

If we add the forms produced by prefixing the *initial* consonants, we shall obtain nine hundred and one syllables, or simple words, capable of being distinguished by the mode of spelling them with Roman letters. Some of these forms, it will be noticed, are produced by changes in orthography, required by the tones. The entire number of forms obtained by all the changes produced by the tones, is three thousand four hundred and sixty-six words, which can be distinguished by the ear. Some of these are distinguished with difficulty, and (as nearly as is known) only one thousand six hundred and forty-four of these monosyllabic words are in actual use in the spoken language; while in the *Tonic Dictionary*, or *Paih Ing*,

only one thousand six hundred and twenty of these sounds have characters arranged under them.

To compensate for this paucity of monosyllables, two or more are often united together, forming real polysyllables, to express single ideas. By this means the number of words is increased to several thousands, and, as regards its richness and variety of expression, this dialect is but little inferior to many alphabetic languages.

It will be seen in the table, that the orthography of some words is changed, as they are declined through the different tones. In rapid speaking, words in the third and seventh tones are but slightly distinguishable from the first tone; and in such cases the orthography reverts toward the form of the corresponding word in the first tone. Yet when spoken deliberately, the tones are readily distinguished, and the orthography varies with the tones, as shown in the table.

Nouns.

Nouns, like other Chinese words, are incapable of inflexion. Gender, number, person, and case, are determined either by the addition of other words, or by the position a word occupies in the sentence.

Case.—The subject nominative precedes, and the predicate nominative follows the verb, as in English. The accusative case is placed after transitive verbs and prepositions, and is only distinguished by its position in a sentence. But in many instances, the accusative precedes the verb in the imperative mood, as chü pong^{3} chü-ka^{3}, book place book-case; that is, place the book in the book-case. This construction is very common, though not always adopted.

The dative and ablative cases are often used without any distinguishing mark, though they are sometimes preceded by a preposition. The genitive case of nouns is formed by adding ki^{5}, his, hers, its, or theirs, after the noun, as sung^{5} ki^{5} nëng^{5}, ship's men; that is, sailors, or boatmen; Tüng kuoh^{4} ki^{5} nëng^{5}, Central kingdom's men; that is, Chinamen. The genitive is often followed by the name of the thing possessed, without any intervening word, as sung^{5} nëng^{5}, boatmen, sailors; Tüng kuoh^{4} nëng^{5}, men of China; Kuoh^{4} hò^{2}, nation's title, or national title. But in such cases, the noun in the genitive may generally be regarded as an adjective, qualifying the following noun.

Gender.—The gender of nouns is indicated by words denoting male and female, either directly or indirectly, as nang, male; and nü^{2}, for female. These are general terms, applicable to any living beings, and are placed before the nouns which they qualify. These terms are but seldom used in speaking; they belong more properly to the written language.

TABLE OF FINALS, MODIFIED BY THE TONES.

Eng	鶯	上平	上上	上去	上入	下平	下上	下去	下入
Ch'ung	春	ung	ung	ong	oh	ung	ung	ong	uh
Hua	花	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*	u*a*
Hiong	香	i*ong*	i*ong*	i*ong*	i*oh*	i*ong*	i*ong*	i*ong*	i*oh*
Ch'iu	秋	iu	iu	eu	eu	iu	iu	eu	iu
Sang	山	ang	ang	ang	ah	ang	ang	ang	ah
K'ai	開	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai
Ka	嘉	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Ping	賓	ing	ing	eng	eh	ing	ing	eng	ih
Huang	歡	u*ang*	u*ang*	u*ang*	u*ah*	u*ang*	u*ang*	u*ang*	u*ah*
Kò	歌	ò	ò	ò	ò	ò	ò	ò	ò
Sū	須	ū	ū	ěū	ěū	ū	ū	ěū	ū
Pue	杯	u*e*	u*e*	oe	oe	ue	u*e*	oe	u*e*
Ku	孤	u	u	o	o	u	u	o	u
Teng	燈	eng	eng	aing	aih	eng	eng	aing	eh
Kuong	光	u*ong*	u*ong*	u*ong*	u*oh*	u*ong*	u*ong*	u*ong*	u*oh*
Hui	輝	u*i*	u*i*	oi	oi	ui	u*i*	oi	u*i*

Sieu	燒	ieu	ieu	ieu	ieu	ieu	ieu	ieu	ieu
Ngŭng⁴	銀	ŭng	ŭng	ĕŭng	ĕŭh	ŭng	ŭng	ĕŭng	ŭh
Kong	釭	ong	ong	aung	auh	ong	ong	aung	oh
Chi	之	i	i	e	e	i	i	e	i
Tĕng	東	ĕng	ĕng	aĕng	aĕh	ĕng	ĕng	aĕng	ĕh
Kau	郊	au	au	au	au	au	au	au	au
Kuò	過	uò	uò	uò	uò	uò	uò	uò	uò
Sè	西	è	è	è	è	è	è	è	è
Kŭò	橋	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò	ŭò
Kie	雞	ie	ie	ie	ie	ie	ie	ie	ie
Siang	聲	*ia*ng	*ia*ng	*ia*ng	*ia*h	*ia*ng	*ia*ng	*ia*ng	*ia*h
Ch'oi	催	oi	oi	òi	òi	oi	oi	òi	oi
Ch'ĕ	初	ĕ	ĕ	aĕ	aĕ	ĕ	ĕ	aĕ	ĕ
T'ieng	天	ieng	ieng	ieng	ieh	ieng	ieng	ieng	ieh
Kia	奇	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*	*ia*
Uai	歪	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*	u*ai*
Keu	溝	eu	eu	aiu	aiu	eu	eu	aiu	eu

In common conversation, mò^{5}, signifying mother, and këüh^{4}, to denote the male, are employed after nouns, to distinguish the gender of all the lower animals, including birds and insects; as iong^{5} mò^{5}, the female goat; iong^{5} këüh^{4}, the male goat. For human beings, nü^{2} ing^{5} is used for woman, in the most genteel society; but the common terms for man and woman are derived from a singular circumstance in the history of the ancient kingdom of U^{5}-chü, of which Fuh Chau was the capital.

The kingdom of U^{5}-chü was subjugated by the Tong^{5} dynasty, and tradition says, that all the men were destroyed, and that the women were compelled to become the wives of their captors, (called Tong^{5} men,) who immediately occupied the kingdom of U^{5}-chü, which, thereafter, became a part of the great Chinese empire. In memory of this circumstance, to the present day, the women of Fuh Chau are usually called Chü niong^{5}, or Chü niong^{5} nëng^{5}; that is, Chü ladies, retaining a part of their ancient name. Girls are called Chü niekiang^{2}; that is, Chü children. On the other hand, the men are called Tong^{5}può nëng^{5}, or Tong^{5} men, and boys are called Tong^{5}può niekiang^{2}, or Tong^{5}può kiang^{2}; that is, Tong^{5} children. The shorter term, Tong^{5}può, is often used to signify husband. A teacher, or any literary man, is called sieng sang, while a literary lady is called sieng sang niong^{5}. There are also other terms descriptive of the various human relations, some of which are essentially masculine, and others essentially feminine; as,

Huang^{5}kiang^{2}, foreigner.	Huang pò^{5}, foreign lady.
Ho^{7}, father.	Mu^{5}, mother.
Nong^{5}pa^{7}, papa.	Nong^{5}nè^{2}, mamma.
Tong^{5}può kiang^{2}, son.	Chü niekiang^{2}, daughter.
Hiang tie^{7}, brother.	Chia^{2}moe^{3}, sister.
	Neng^{5}nè^{2}, nurse.
Hiang, elder brother.	Chia^{2}, elder sister.
Tie^{7}, younger brother.	Moe^{3}, younger sister.

Number.—In the Chinese language, both written and spoken, there is often much vagueness in regard to the *number* of nouns.

The singular can only be indicated definitely by being preceded or followed by the numeral for one. The plural is denoted by the connexion of words in the sentence, or by the addition of teng^{3}, denoting a class, or collection of individuals. Sometimes the plural is formed by repeating the noun, as nëng^{5} nëng^{5}, man by man, or men generally.

Classifying Nouns.

These are analogous to what are called, in English, *collective nouns;* as *flock, drove, herd, pair.* These and many others of the

same character are found among the Chinese *classifying nouns*. But the greater part of the Chinese classifiers (as these nouns are commonly called) relate to individual things, and become plural only, when preceded by a numeral greater than one; as, a piece of wood; a fibre of silk; a blade of grass; a stalk of grain; a kernel of corn; a grain of sand; a head of cabbage; a sprig of mint; a loaf of bread; a block of marble, &c. While in English comparatively few nouns have classifiers of this kind used with them, both in the singular and plural numbers, in the Fuh Chau Chinese every noun has its appropriate classifier attached to it, in almost every case where it is preceded by a numeral.

Generally several nouns have the same classifier, but when the same vocal sound is used as the names of different objects, the different classifiers that are used clearly distinguish them.

In the written language the numeral can frequently be joined to the noun without the classifier, but this usage is seldom or never admissible in the spoken language.

If we say in English *two piece men*, as the Chinese do when speaking English in the Chinese idiom, it sounds no more uncouth to us than lang^{7} nëng^{5} (literally *two men*) does to the Chinese, who say lang^{7} ka^{2} nëng^{5}, for *two men*, using the classifier ka^{2} between the adjective lang^{7}, *two*, and the noun nëng^{5}, *men*. The combinations, a flock of tongs, a drove of weights, a kernel of twine, a sprig of land, would sound no more uncouth in English, than corresponding errors in the use of Chinese classifiers; and as very few Chinese nouns can be used without their classifiers, early attention to the proper use of this class of words is of great importance. Këng, a day's work, is used without a classifier, and perhaps some others. The round numbers for twenty, thirty, forty, &c., one hundred, two hundred, one thousand, one myriad, &c., can be used before many nouns without classifiers; but these are rare exceptions to the rule, that *Every noun must be accompanied by its appropriate classifier, when taking a numeral adjective before it.*

The classifiers are called uah^{8} che^{7}, living words; because they give life and precision to discourse. Two nouns, differing greatly in signification, though pronounced exactly alike, may be readily distinguished by the different classifiers with which they are joined in discourse; as, süò^{8} kuò^{3} ua^{7}, a phrase of speech; and suò^{8} hoh^{4} ua^{7}, a scroll of painting; the word ua^{7}, meaning *discourse* in one case, and *painting* in the other, being rendered perfectly definite by the classifying nouns with which it is joined in the two cases. Tiu^{5}, plain silk cloth, and tiu^{5}, a wardrobe, or cupboard, are distinguished in a similar manner, for we say, süò^{8} ka^{3} tiu^{5}, one frame

wardrobe; but süò^{8} peh^{4} tiu^{5}, one web of silk; or, süò^{5} tòi^{7} tiu^{5}, a small piece of silk goods. It is thus that these *living words* give clearness and precision to discourse.*

Compound Nouns.

Two or more words are often united to describe an object which has no simple name. They form regular compound nouns, and are of frequent occurrence. Kiang^{2}, a child, or a small specimen of any object named, is often affixed to nouns to form compounds; as, nëng^{5} kiang^{2}, a human child; ngu^{5} kiang^{2}, a calf; huang^{5} kiang^{2}, a foreign child, or a foreigner; chieng^{5} kiang^{2}, a small coin; ie^{2} kiang^{2}, a small chair, or a stool; sung^{5} kiang^{2}, a boatman. Kiang^{2} may be joined to any noun in the same manner as a diminutive suffix. Sa hu^{2} signifies a leader, and is a term often applied to priests; but when preceded by the term for such substances as wood, earth, stone, silver, it signifies a worker in those substances; as, ngüng sa hu^{2}, a silversmith; T'u^{5} sa hu^{2}, a mason; süo^{8} sa hu^{2}, a stone-cutter; muh^{8} sa hu^{2}, a worker in wood, a carpenter. Some other trades are designated in the same manner.

Chò^{3}, to make or do; or pa^{8}, to beat out, or to fashion, prefixed to the name of a thing, or the material of which it is made, designates the maker of those goods, or the worker in that material; as, chò^{3} i siong^{5}, maker of clothing, or a tailor; pa^{8} t'ieh^{4}, iron worker, that is, a blacksmith; pa^{8} tëng^{5}, a coppersmith, or a brass-worker; pa^{8} ngüng^{5}, a silversmith. Sa hu^{2}, affixed to the above compounds, will give the additional idea of a master workman at any of those trades. We have chò^{3} mè^{2} mè^{7}, to work at buying and selling, or chò^{3} seng li^{2}, or chò^{3} seng e^{3}, to be a trader, or a merchant; chò^{3} ch'eng^{5}, to work the fields; that is, to be a farmer; chò^{3} cheng^{3} këü^{3}, to bear testimony, to be a witness; chò^{3} këng ngie^{7}, to be a mechanic of any kind; chò^{3} maëng^{3} would signify a maker of nets, but as the very

* In the use of nouns preceded by their classifiers, a numeral adjective must always precede the classifier. The numeral süò^{8}, *one*, is, in such circumstances, commonly equivalent to *a* or *an*. There is no proper article in the Chinese language; its place is in part supplied by numeral and demonstrative adjectives.

Weights and measures, as classifiers, are used before nouns in the same manner as in English. In the Chinese money weights in common use at Fuh Chau,

10 Lie equal one Hung = 5.755 grains, Troy.
10 Hung equal one Chieng = 57.55 grains, Troy.
10 Chieng equal one Liong, or ounce = 575.5 grains, Troy.
16 Liong equal one Küng, or pound = 9208 grains, Troy.
100 Küng equal one Tang, or load = 131⅓ pounds, Avoirdupois.

Six or eight other weights are in use at Fuh Chau, varying in value from $\frac{8}{11}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the Küng, or pound, given above.

same expression signifies also *to dream*, they usually say pa^{8} maëng^{3}, for making nets. All the above terms formed with chò^{3}, to make, or pa^{8}, to fashion, often take after them the phrase ki^{5} nëng^{5}, *its man*; that is, the man of whom these actions are predicated, and the entire expression is used as a noun, for merchant, trader, &c.

Adjectives.

Adjectives commonly precede the nouns which they qualify; as, *keng*^{5} sang, a high hill; *uong* ngu^{5}, a yellow ox; *ngai*^{5} nëng^{5}, bad men. The adjective may also be placed after the noun, the substantive verb being understood, in which case the adjective becomes a predicate. Such forms are more common than in English, as the substantive verb is more readily understood, and needs not to be so frequently expressed; as, nëng^{5} *ngai*^{5}, the man is bad; nò^{8} *hò*^{2}, the thing is good; tüo^{7} *huong*^{7}, the road is long. In some such cases it is scarcely admissible to supply the substantive verb in speaking, though it must be supplied to give a correct translation in English. An adjective reduplicated becomes intensive; as, hò^{2}hò^{2}, very good; keng^{5}keng^{5}, very high; ming^{5}ming^{5}, very plain, clear, or evident; kuong^{2}kuong^{2}, very smooth; kuongkuong, very luminous. Different qualities are expressed by ordinals; as, Tè eh^{4} ho^{2}, number one good, or first quality; Tè ne^{7} ho^{2}, number two good, or second quality. The Chinese are extravagant in the use of adjectives, using superlatives where intensives only are strictly admissible. Siong^{3}, upper, or superior, and ting^{5}, ridge, or summit, are often thus used.

The following examples will show the method of comparing adjectives: ia^{5} keng^{5}, rather high; keng^{5}, high; keng^{5}keng^{5}, very high. ku keng^{5}, higher; kah^{4} keng^{5}, too high; ting^{5} keng^{5}, highest; ia^{5} hò^{2}, rather good; hò^{2}, good; hò^{2} hò^{2}, very good; ku hò^{2}, better; kah^{4} hò^{2}, too good, or remarkably good; ting^{5} hò^{2}, best; siong^{3} hò^{2}, first rate, best quality; ia^{5} pa^{3}, rather white, pretty white; sometimes it means *very* white.

Nia^{3}nòi^{3}, a little, or somewhat, affixed to an adjective, indicates a slight shade of the quality; but this form is more commonly used in comparing two objects, and indicates that the object to which the adjective thus modified is applied, surpasses by a little the one with which it is compared. When two things are compared, they are generally connected by the conjunction këüng^{7}, and the quality expressed by the comparing adjective belongs to the thing first mentioned, though it is placed after both nouns; thus, li^{2}, këüng^{7} li^{5}, ku hò^{2}, plums than pears [are] better; the same idea may be expressed without the conjunction; as, li^{2} ku hò^{2} li^{5}, plums [are] better [than] pears; though placed between the nouns, it still qualifies the former noun.

"The position of an adjective determines its comparison." When two things are compared, 長一尺 tong^{5} süò^{8} ch'üò^{4}, signifies, longer by a foot; but when one thing only is spoken of, the same expression means, length one foot; so also 一尺長 süò^{8} ch'üò^{4} tong^{5}, means, (when one thing only is referred to,) one foot long; but if two objects are mentioned, the same expression signifies one foot longer, and the greater length is understood of the thing first mentioned. 子女 chü^{2}nü^{2}, signifies sons and daughters; while 女子 nü^{2}chü^{2}, signifies a female child; and in the written language, when these two are combined into one character, thus, 好 it is read hò^{2}, and signifies good, beautiful. 平正 pang^{5}chang^{3}, literally level and perpendicular, signifies in common conversation, bad, of inferior quality.

Numeral adjectives are best understood in connexion with the written characters. Both the common and the business forms are given in the following table.

Numbers.	Characters.	Spoken.	Abbreviated.	Spoken.
1	一	Sūò^{8}, or, Eh^{4}.	丨	Eh^{4}.
2	二	Laug^{7}, or, Ne^{7}.	丨丨	Ne^{7}.
3	三	Sang^{3}.	丨丨丨	Sang^{3}.
4	四	Se^{3}.	乂	Se^{3}.
5	五	Ngo^{7}.	𠂆	Ngo^{7}.
6	六	Lēūh^{4}.	亠	Lēūh^{4}.
7	七	Ch'eh^{4}.	亠	Ch'eh^{4}.
8	八	Paih^{4}.	亖	Paih^{4}.
9	九	Kau^{2}.	文	Kau^{2}.
10	十	Seh^{8}.	丨十	Eh^{4} seh^{8}.
11	十一	Seh^{8} eh^{4}.	丨一	Eh^{4} seh^{8} eh^{4}.
12	十二	Seh^{8} ne^{7}.	丨十二	Eh^{4} seh^{8} ne^{7}.
13	十三	Seh^{8} sang^{3}.	丨十三	Eh^{4} seh^{8} sang^{3}.
20	二十	Ne^{7} seh^{8}.	丨丨十	Ne^{7} seh^{8}.
30	三十	Sang^{3} seh^{8}.	丨丨丨十	Sang^{3} seh^{8}.
100	一百	Sūò^{8} pa^{4}.	丨百	Eh^{4} pa^{4}.
101	百一	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ling^{5} sūò^{8}.	101 百	Eh^{4} pa^{4} ling^{5} sūò^{8}.
102	一百二	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ling^{5} lang^{7}.	101丨 百	Eh^{4} pa^{4} ling^{5} lang^{7}.

Numbers.	Characters.	Spoken.	Abbreviated.	Spoken.
110	一百一十	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ling^{5} seh^{8} i^{7}.	一一.0 百	Pa^{4} eh^{4}.
111	一百一十一	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ling^{5} seh^{8} eh^{4}.	一一一 百	Pa^{4} eh^{4} sūò^{8}.
120	一百二十	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ling^{5} ne^{7} seh^{8}.	一二0 百	Pa^{4} ne^{7}.
121	一百二十一	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ne^{7} seh^{8} eh^{4}.	一二一 百	Pa^{4} ne^{7} eh^{4}.
122	一百二十二	Sūò^{8} pa^{4} ne^{7} seh^{8} ne^{7}.	一二二 百	Pa^{4} ne^{7} lang^{7}.
200	二百	Lang^{7} pa^{4}.	二00 百	
1,000	一千	Sūò^{8} ch'ieng.	一.000 千	Eh^{4} ch'ieng.
10,000	一萬	Sūò^{8} uang^{7}.	一.0000 萬	Sūò^{8} uang^{7}.

211. Ne^{7} pa^{4} eh^{4}, *or*, lang^{7} pa^{4} eh^{4}.
220. Ne^{7} pa^{4} ne^{7}, *or*, lang^{7} pa^{4} ne^{7}.
122. Pa^{4} ne^{7} lang^{7}.
1220. Ch'ieng ne^{7} lang^{7}.
1221. Ch'ieng ne^{7} ne^{7} seh^{8} eh^{4}.
1001. Sūo^{8} ch'ieng ling^{5} sūo^{8}.
1202. Sūo^{8} ch'ieng lang^{7} pa^{4} ling^{5} lang^{7}.
12000. Uang^{7} ne^{7}. [One] myriad two [thousand].

In the use of the duplicate forms for *one* and *two*, some care is required, for while we can say eh^{4} seh^{8}, or ne^{7} seh^{8}, for ten and twenty, we cannot say sūò^{8} seh^{8}, lang^{7} seh^{8}, neither is it admissible to say sūò^{8} pa^{4} eh^{4}, sūò^{8} pa^{4} ne^{7}, for one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty.

The system of abbreviated numerals used in business transactions is easily made to represent concrete numbers, as inches, feet, and poles; or ounces, pounds, &c., with their decimals, by placing the character denoting some weight, or measure, under the proper figure, in the same manner that the character for tens, hundreds, &c., is used under ordinary abbreviated characters; thus,

二一.六 / 尺 two hundred and twenty-one feet, four inches, six tenths;

二二.六 / 丈 twenty-two poles, one foot, four inches, six tenths; or,

二一.六 / 寸 two thousand two hundred and fourteen inches, six tenths.

The same system serves for writing decimals, as the character placed below the line determines the place of units.

Pronouns.

The words used to perform the office of pronouns, in Chinese, are varied to suit the comparative rank of the speaker and hearer.

When a person speaks to an equal, or when a man of rank speaks to an inferior, the proper personal pronoun Nguai^{2} is used; but this is inadmissible in addressing a superior. Nëng^{5}-ka, I or we, is commonly used when speaking to equals; it is, however, a circumlocution, but is in common use for the first person. Nu^{5}, [literally, a *servant*,] your servant, or, I your servant, is used by persons addressing their superiors, and generally by persons desiring to honour those whom they address. Puong^{2}-sing, *this body*, equivalent to *myself*, is used to denote the speaker; it has no plural. There are various other circumlocutions, used as polite forms of indicating the speaker. Nü^{2}, thou, or you, is the common form of the pronoun in the second person. *I* [pronounced as in *machine*] is used for he, she, it, they, or them. Pronouns, like other words in the Chinese language, may be either singular or plural, as best suits the connexion. Nëng^{5}, *man*, is often appended to pronouns, as the sign of the plural; as, Nguai^{2}-nëng^{5}, or, Nu^{5}-nëng, we, or us; Nü^{2}-nëng^{5}, you; I-nëng^{5}, they.

Ki^{5}, the sign of the genitive case, may be placed after any of the pronouns, in the same manner that it is used after nouns. For the possessive case of pronouns, other forms are often used; thus, leng^{7} chong, your father; leng^{7} tong^{5}, your mother; leng^{7} hing, your elder brother; leng^{7} tie^{7}, your younger brother; leng^{7} chiang, your wife; leng^{7} ch'ing, your relations; leng^{7} long^{5}, your son; leng^{7} ch'ieng king, your daughter. Leng^{7}, in all these examples, signifies *good*, or *excellent*, and is used for *your* as a very respectful and dignified address. The words for father, mother, &c., with which it is joined, are also titles of respect and honour, and not literal translations of our terms; yet one who fails to use them will often appear uneducated.

In the same manner they say, *ka* ho^{7}, my father; *ka* mu^{2}, my mother; *ka* hing, my elder brother. *Ka*, in these expressions, signifies *one's own family*, or, perhaps, *the family*. When other relations are spoken of, another term is used; as, chieng^{7} nòi^{7}, my wife; (literally, *the unpretending, secluded one*.) This accords with the Chinese custom of speaking in humble terms of one's self, or what is one's own, and of praising that belonging to another.

Sia^{3} tè^{7}, my younger brother; *sia*^{3} ch'ing, my relations; *pe*^{3} iu^{2}, my friend; *pe*^{3} ngieh^{8} sü, my teacher; *pe*^{3} muong^{5} tu^{5}, my pupils; *pe*^{3} huò^{2}, my agent; *pe*^{3} siong^{7}, my master; sieu^{2} i^{5}, my boy; sieu^{2} nü^{2}, my

daughter; sieu^{2} k'ai^{3}, my slave. Sieu^{2} means, literally, the little, or inferior one. Koi^{3}, signifying *honourable*, is used for *your*, on the ground that what is said to be honourable, is of course understood to belong to the person addressed, rather than to the speaker. Koi^{3} k'ai^{3}, your slave; koi^{3} siong^{7}, your master, or superior; koi^{3} huò^{2}, your agent; koi^{3} tung, your employer; koi^{3} ka, your noble family; koi^{3} iu^{2}, your noble friend; koi^{3} kuoh^{4}, your honourable country; koi^{3} seng^{3}, your surname. In all these examples honour is conferred upon the person addressed by applying an honourable epithet to what belongs to him.

When speaking of brutes or inanimate objects, the simple possessive pronouns are generally used.

The Interrogatives are, sie^{7} nò^{8}, what? which? sie^{7} nò^{8} nëng^{5}, what man? who? tie^{7} në nëng^{5}, who? or, man from what place? tie^{7} süō^{8} chia^{4}, which one? This expression is varied by using, instead of the last word *chia*^{4}, the classifier which corresponds with the particular thing in reference to which the inquiry is made.

The Demonstratives are, chi^{2}, or chia^{2}, this; hi^{2}, or hia^{2}, that. Chia^{2} is also often used as nearly equivalent to *that*. Chui^{5}, or in full, chia^{2} kuai^{3}, this place, is often used adjectively for *this*. Hui^{5}, or hia^{2} kuai^{3}, is also used for the demonstrative *that*.

Who, which, and what, when used as relative pronouns, have no proper equivalent in this dialect of the Chinese language. Their place is supplied by demonstratives, followed by the nouns themselves.

Verbs.

The variations of the verb are not as numerous, or as precise in their meaning, as in most other languages. The various forms of pa^{8}, to strike, will illustrate the peculiarities of the Chinese verb in the Fuh Chau dialect.

I.—*Indicative Mood.* 1. General tense. Nguai^{2} pa^{8}, I strike. This form may denote either past, present, or future time, which may be determined, with more or less certainty, by the connexion in which it is used.

2. Present tense, definite; as, Nguai^{2} lè^{2} pa^{8}, I am striking.

3. Perfect tense. This tense denotes that an action or event is already completed. With transitive verbs, in this tense, the accusative follows the principal verb, and lau^{5}, finished, follows the accusative, to denote the completion of the action; as, Nguai^{2} pa^{8} *i* lau^{5}, I have struck *him*.

In case of intransitive verbs, k'ò^{3}, departed, or, li^{5}, to come, is often inserted between the principal verb and the auxiliary lau^{5},

which denotes the completion of the action; as, Muong^{5} kui^{3} k'ò^{3} lau^{5}, the door is opened already; Muong^{5} kuong li^{5} lau^{5}, the door is shut to.

4. Future indefinite. Nguai^{2} chiong pa^{8}, I shall strike.

5. Future definite. Nguai^{2} cheu^{7} può^{8} pa^{8}, I at once will strike.

The following form is nearly intermediate between the two preceding, namely, Nguai^{2} chiong può^{8} pa^{8}, I am about to strike.

II.—*Subjunctive Mood.* The subjunctive is formed from the indicative, by placing ioh^{8}-sü^{2}, ka-sü^{2}, or kò-pe^{3}, signifying *if*, or, *supposing that*, before the nominative to the verb; as, ioh^{8}-sü^{2} Nguai^{6} pa^{8}, if I strike, &c.

III.—*Potential Mood.* Nguai^{2} è^{7} pa^{8}, I may, or can strike; Nguai^{2} tüò^{8} pa^{8}, I must strike; Nguai^{2} kai-tong pa^{8}, I ought to strike; Nguai^{2} òi^{3} pa^{8}, I wish to strike.

IV.—*Imperative Mood.* Nü^{2} pa^{8}, strike thou; Nü^{2} k'ò^{3} pa^{8}, proceed thou to strike; Nü^{2} tüò^{8} pa^{8}, do you strike at once.

V.—*Infinitive Mood.* Pa^{8}, to strike; Ing kai pa^{8}, it is proper to strike; Lè^{2} pa^{8}, to be striking; Pa^{8} lau^{9}, to have struck; Chiong può^{8} pa^{8}, about to strike.

VI.—*Participles.* Lè^{2} pa^{8}, striking; Pa^{8} lau^{5}, struck, or, having struck.

Passive Voice.

In the spoken language of Fuh Chau there is no proper passive form of verbs. Kieng^{3}, to see, or experience, placed before the verb, and after the auxiliary, if there is one, is sometimes used to form the passive voice, but it is seldom heard in conversation, and more properly belongs to the written language. It is even doubtful whether this form is understood by any except the educated, who have learned it in books. Sieu, to receive, or suffer, is more frequently used before the verb to denote action endured by the noun which precedes the verb. Both these forms may be used without naming the person or thing by which the action is performed. When either of these words is used before an active verb to give it a passive signification, it becomes the principal verb, and the words denoting the action or suffering received or endured, become verbal nouns in the accusative case.

There is another form sometimes used, namely, Nguai^{2} këüh^{4} i pa^{8}, I permitted him to strike; that is, I was struck by him. In some few cases this form has acquired, by usage, something like a passive signification; as, Nguai^{2} këüh^{4} lò-tia pa^{8}, I suffered the officer to strike; that is, I have been beaten by the officer. In this form it is always necessary to mention the person or thing by which the action has

been performed. This form is to be carefully distinguished from another which closely resembles it, but has a very different signification; as, Nguai^{2} këüng^{7} lò-tia pa^{8}, I with the officers fought, or, I struck the officers.

By these and other circumlocutions, the ideas of the passive voice can be tolerably well expressed, but they often appear very harsh. The awkwardness of these expressions is most apparent when it is desirable to give an exact colloquial translation, rather than a paraphrase, of portions of Scripture.

List of Verbs.

Aïh^{4}, to press.
Ang, to touch, to rest.
Ang^{7}, to solder, to cement.
Chia, to shade.
Chie^{3}, to sacrifice.
Chò^{3}, to make.
Ch'ah^{8}, to chop.
Chò^{3} hua^{3}, to create.
Ch'iang^{2}, to invite.
Chu, to rent.
Ch'oh^{4}, to go forth.
Ch'ëh^{8}, to mortise.
Eng^{3}, to reply.
Eng^{3}, to stamp, to seal, to print.
Eng^{3} sing, Ening, or, Eng^{3} ing, to consent.
Hai^{7}, to injure.
Hëng, to roast, to bake.
Hëüh^{4}, to be tired.
Hieng^{5}, to hate.
Ho^{3} chui^{3}, to sprinkle with water.
Hieu^{3} tih^{8}, to understand.
Hung, to seal up.
Hung ho^{3}, to direct.
Hui^{3} paung^{3}, to defame.
Ka^{3}, to teach.
Ka^{7}, to bite.
Ka^{3} hong^{3}, to teach [morals].
Ka^{3} tò^{7}, to preach.
K'ang^{7}, to see.
Kang^{3} kieng^{3}, to see.
K'ang^{2}, to lop off.
Kang^{3} tong^{7}, to be inspired.
Kaing^{3}, to cover.
(*Kaiu^{3}, a cover.*)
K'aih^{4}, to crowd.
K'aiu^{3}, to button.
K'aung^{3}, to conceal.
K'aung^{3}, to sleep.
Ke^{3}, to record, to remember.
Kè^{3}, to unfold.
Keng^{3}, to select.
Keng^{3}, to honour.
Keng^{5}, to lead.
Keu^{3}, to save.
Keu^{3}, to call.
Këü^{3}, to saw.
Këüh^{4}, to permit.
Kiang, to fear.
Kiang^{5}, to walk.
K'i^{2}, to begin, to build, to set up.
K'i^{2} li^{5}, to get up.
K'ie^{7}, to stand.
Kiu^{5}, to shrivel.
Kong, to carry.
Kong^{2}, to speak.
Kò^{5} laung^{7}, or, Kò^{5} taung^{7}, to gurgle.
K'ò^{3}, to depart.
Kò^{2} leng^{5}, to pity.
Laë^{3}, to rub, to file, to polish.
Li^{5}, to come.
Lò^{8}, to descend.
Lòi^{3}, to bore.
Mai, to carry on the back.
Mai chaung, to bury.
Mè^{2}, to buy.
Mè^{7}, to sell.
Meng^{7}, to command.
Muai, to grind.

Muh^{8}, to heal.
Muong^{7}, to inquire.
Muò, to touch, to stroke.
Neng^{5}, to nurse.
Neng^{7}, to recognise.
Neng king, to repeat prayers.
Nè, to smear.
O^{7}, there is, to have.
O^{3}, to learn.
Pa, to manufacture.
Pa^{8}, to strike.
Peh^{4}, to pull.
Puai, to split.
Pua^{8} tò, to stumble.
Pau, to envelope.
Sia^{5}, to eat.
Sia che^{3}, to write.
Sai, to use.
Sè, to wash.
Sè lè^{3}, to baptize.
Sieu, to burn.
Sieu, to receive.
Sing, to search.
Sing puang, to judge.
Süò^{5}, to cut in pieces.
Sëng, to put on [clothes.]
Tang, to row.
Tang, to carry burdens.
T'aung^{1}, to put off [clothes.]
Teng^{3}, to sew, to nail.
T'iang^{3}, to ache.
T'iang^{3}, to love.
T'ieu^{3}, to jump.
T'iang, to listen.
Toi, to plane.
Tòi^{3} ua^{8}, to answer.
T'ui^{5}, to hammer.
Uoh^{8}, to water.

Adverbs.

Adverbs are compared in the same manner as adjectives. They are in the same manner rendered intensive by reduplication; as, k'è^{3} k'è^{3}, very quick; maing^{7} maing^{7}, very slowly. This latter expression often means *hereafter*, or *wait a little*. Ng^{7} is a negative prefix, which may be joined either to adjectives or adverbs.

The following are adverbs in common use, namely:

Hieng^{7} chai^{7}, now.
Moe^{7}, not yet.
Po^{7}, again.
K'i^{2} seng, formerly.
Cha^{2}, early.
Chia^{2} si^{5} haiu^{7}, at this time.
Hia^{2} si^{5} haiu^{7}, at that time.
Na^{2}, only, simply.
Mò^{5} tang tong, impossible.
Këung^{7}, near.
Huong^{7}, distant.
Hò^{2}, well.
Chiang^{3} se^{7}, truly, yes.
Ng^{7} se^{7}, not so.
Chiong uang^{7}, thus.
Chia^{2} iong^{5}, after this fashion.
Cha poh^{4} tò^{7}, about so, or, not much different.
Chia^{4} chia^{4}, just now (past.)
Cha^{2} ki, early in the morning.
Mò^{5} ta^{2} king^{2}, no matter.
Tang, now, to-day.

Adverbial Phrases.

King nieng^{5}, this year.
K'ò^{3} nieng^{5}, last year.
Nieng^{5} t'au^{5}, first of the year.
Sò^{6} nieng^{5}, year before last.
Nò^{7} au^{7} nieng^{5}, three years hence.
Nguoh^{8} nguoh^{8}, monthly.
Mang^{8} nieng^{5}, next year.
Nieng^{5} nieng^{5}, yearly.
Nieng^{5} mue^{2}, the last of the year.
Au^{7} nieng^{5}, year after next.
Nò^{7} sò^{6} nieng^{5}, three years ago.
Chia^{2} nguoh^{8}, this month.

Puang ka^{2} nguoh^{8}, half a month.
Siong^{3} nguoh^{8}, last month.
Seng kui^{2} ka^{2} nguoh^{8}, several months ago.
Chiang^{7} nguoh^{8}, first month of the year.
Nih^{8} nih^{8}, daily.
Ming^{5} tang^{3}, or, ming^{5} nih^{8}, to-morrow.
Sò^{3} nih^{8}, day before yesterday.
Nò^{7} au^{7} nih^{8}, three days hence.
Sūò^{8} ka^{2} nguoh^{8}, one month.
A^{7} nguoh^{8}, next month.
Ti^{5} kui^{2} ka^{2} nguoh^{8}, several months hence.
Sang^{3} seh^{c} mang^{5} può, new year's eve.
King tang^{3}, to-day.
So^{3} mang^{5}, yesterday.
Au^{7} nih^{c}, day after to-morrow.
Nò^{7} sò^{3} nih^{8}, three days ago.

Può, night, or evening, affixed to either of the expressions denoting days, signifies the evening of that day; as, king può, (nih^{8} being omitted,) this evening; so^{3} mang^{5} può, last evening.

Connectives.

But few connecting particles are used in the dialect spoken at Fuh Chau, and the same is true of the Chinese language generally.

Conjunctions.

Këüng^{7}, and; ling^{5}, also; hëüh^{4}, or hëüh^{4}-ti, or, either; ka sü^{2}, or ioh^{8} sü^{2}, if; kò^{2} pe^{3}, supposing that; ing oi^{7}, because; ku chü, therefore.

Prepositions.

Meng^{3}-seng^{5}, before; a^{7}-lau^{2}, behind; kè-teng^{2}, above; a^{7}-tè^{3}, below; tie^{2}-tie^{3}, within; ngie lau^{2}, without, outside.

Interjections.

Hò^{2}! Well! It is well! Ai-ia^{5}! an expression of wonder, or surprise; this expression is also used in a drawling tone, denoting excessive grief. Ëü^{7}! So-ho! Ho there! used to call the attention of persons standing near. O^{5}! O^{5}! expressive of sudden pain.

Versification.*

The written language governs the style of poetry. The most ancient Chinese poetry was irregular, composed of an even number of lines, consisting of a nearly uniform number of monosyllabic words in a line, subject to rules of rhyme and alliteration; that is to say, to periodic return and cadence of certain articulations and terminations. Short pieces of this measured prose make up the Chu King, or Book of Records, and some other ancient books of the same class. The style of long poems, such as the Panegyric of Moukden, is very similar. Chinese poetry has advanced by degrees to the condition in which

* The rules of Chinese versification have been translated from the Chinese Grammar of Abel Remusat. Paris: A. D. 1822.

it is seen in at present. Modern poetry commonly consists of either five or seven words in a line. Of these two kinds, that of seven syllables (words) in a line is the more common. There are also verses of three, four, six, and nine words, or syllables, in a line; but the ordinary poetry is written in measures of either five or seven syllables.

In poetry there are recognised only two distinctions of tone, namely, the 平 ping, or smooth, and the 仄 cha^4, or harsh tones. The latter comprehends the 上 siong^2, or rising, the 去 k'ëü^3, or vanishing, and the 入 ih^8, or abrupt tones, these being all considered harsh tones.

In verses of five words (syllables) no attention is paid to the tones of the first and third. The second and fourth ought to alternate; that is, if the second is a *ping* tone, the fourth ought to be *cha*^{4}, and *vice versa*. The second and third lines ought to be the reverse of the first, and, by consequence, the fourth verse resembles the first. In verses of seven syllables, the tones of the first, third, and fifth may be selected at pleasure. The tones of the second and fourth words should alternate, and the sixth should correspond with the second. In verses of five, and also of seven syllables, the stanzas, consisting of four lines each, require three of the lines to terminate alike both in rhyme and tone, or accent. Usually the ending of the third line does not rhyme with the others, and frequently they dispense with the rhyme altogether.

The structure of Chinese poetry may be illustrated by diagrams, using the open circle to represent *smooth tones*, the shaded circle for *harsh tones*, and the circle with one half only shaded, to represent syllables which may be *smooth* or *harsh* at pleasure.

In this example the left hand column represents the first line, having the second syllable a *smooth tone*, and the fourth *harsh*. The second syllable of the second line is harsh, and the fourth smooth, and so on.

In the following example, the second syllable of the first line is *harsh*, and the fourth *smooth*, and so on. This example is the inversion of the first.

It is thus admissible to choose at pleasure the tone of the governing syllable, (the second of the first line,) but when that is chosen, the whole stanza must be made to correspond to the peculiar form which agrees with it; in the same manner as in music, the whole tune must preserve a certain relation to the key note. In some poems of five sylla-

bles in a measure, the third of the first line is the governing word: and the fifth sometimes holds the same relation in verses of seven syllables. This *key word* in Chinese poetry is the object of particular attention. It must not be a mere particle, but a word expressing some prominent idea in the sentence. It may rhyme with the key word in the following line, or it may alternate with it, according to the rule which is chosen in the poem. These different kinds of verses are variously combined, making as many as forty different poetical metres. There are six different metres in ancient poetry. The style of these poems is, in general, elevated, concise, full of allegorical, and metaphorical expressions, of words that are antique and little used, and references to events of history, deeds, usages, and opinions little known. This is what renders Chinese poetry so very difficult to be appreciated or described by Western scholars.

The great difference between the *smooth* and *harsh* tones, which are variable in different stanzas of Chinese poetry, some of which can be scarcely, if at all, enunciated in singing, renders it almost impossible to sing Chinese poetry with Western music, and a tune which was adapted to one stanza would not be appropriate for the next, though agreeing with it in the number and metrical arrangement of its syllables.

In the written language there are so many synonymous characters differing in pronunciation and tone, that there is little difficulty in adapting them to the strict rules of Chinese poetry. In the spoken language, however, the number, tones, and arrangement of words in a sentence, is so inflexible, that it is almost impossible to compose poetic measures in the spoken language. The popular songs of the empire, and hymns composed for Christian worship, are only approximations to the style of the spoken language, and, consequently, are but partially intelligible to the common people.

Art. III.—DANTE.

"*Dante et les Origines de la Litérature Italienne.*" Par M. Fouriel. 2 volumes. Paris: Durand, Libraire. New-York: Hector Bossange et Fils.

The French seem fast repairing their long neglect of Dante. For four centuries his great poem remained scarce known beyond the title, not only to the multitude, but even to the learned. There were, however, in the seventeenth century, some one or two trans-

lations, or rather parodies, which perhaps protracted the neglect; but they could not travesty the grim features and garish horrors of the Inferno; and so this portion was thenceforward somewhat valued, because understood. The author was admitted to have succeeded at the outset; but was pronounced to have, like Milton, become heavy as he advanced. The estimate was scarcely different at bottom in other countries. The poet's name might be more popular in England and even Germany; but what was here admired in Dante was not the poetry, but the politics, his supposed hatred of the papacy,* or his adhesion to the Germanic empire. Anything else was but a mere echo of the enthusiasm of Italy.

This enthusiasm too, we suspect, was not first excited by the poetry. No doubt the visions represented should, from their analogy to current belief, be deemed to have made deep impression on the popular imagination. But it is also to be remembered, that horrific visions of the future world were, about this time, become quite frequent in most of the monasteries of the continent, and that the popular imagination becomes soon familiar with even the terrible, to the extent of not distinguishing the tints of Dante from a monkish daub. It is accordingly a fact of history, that for a century after publication, and during over a dozen editions, the poem was read among the higher classes. Its main interest to these readers was political, only historical. Most of the personages located in the three regions of the dead were either parties still alive or who had recently died, and all were connected with the highest families of Italy and Europe. At a period, too, when faction raged with demonlike animosity, when every man and woman must be a partisan to the knife, this poetic distribution of compensation and of punishment must have been grateful, as a consolation to the defeated or the unavenged. To the triumphant its vain portraitures would also have the piquancy, the satire, and the scandal of a scurrilous party newspaper. In short, it would be viewed much as the fierce political comedies of Aristophanes, in similar times, at Athens, were viewed. And, by the way, this plain analogy appears to us to be the origin of the apparently eccentric title assigned by Dante to his poem, and on which the commentators have, for centuries, been losing themselves in conjectures, without once falling upon the conjecture which is thus submitted as the true one. For the epithet *divine* cannot be urged as qualifying the term *comedy;* it was not till a century later that it has been added by the public, as a tribute of admiration, much as was likewise paid to Plato.

* It was on this notion that Father Hardouin, of paradoxical celebrity, maintained the poem to be the forgery of some insidious Wiclifite.

About this distance of a century, it was, in fact, that the Divine Comedy attained to general and to intelligent appreciation in Italy. This was manifested in an emphatic and even singular fashion. Chairs of criticism were established in the universities and chief cities, expressly for the exposition of the lore and beauties of the great poet. Boccaccio, himself a man of eminent genius, was among the earliest to lend his talents to this patriotic and poetic task, and contributed particularly to the growing repute of Dante. This reputation was, in fine, exalted to the singular degree, that the very churches were, on festival days, surrendered by the clergy to public lecturers on a poem that placed some popes in the infernal regions. It is this species of veneration, we may remark, that explains also another fact that still continues to astonish the critics. How, they ask themselves, with all this rapturous admiration of Dante, has he been never taken as a model of style or subject by the Italians, whereas Petrarch, and other poets of inferior merit, have been common patterns? The answer is in part, no doubt, that imitation is here more easy. But the main cause has been the sort of reverence which removed Dante from all range of rivalry.

This admiration, though in a naturally mitigated form, has also passed, in course of time, to most of the other European nations; but last of all, perhaps, to the shy, shallow, systematic French genius. The oddity and exaggeration, however sublime, of the Tuscan visionary, shocked the French as long as the production was regarded only in the light of art. But in proportion as its philosophical and social import arose to view, with the advance of the intelligence and civilisation of the eighteenth century, the same people must, from another characteristic of its genius, be among the most assiduous in the study of the Divine Comedy.

Accordingly, within this century, and more especially of late years, there appear in France, as commentaries, translations, or dissertations, in some shape connected with Dante and his poem, no fewer than two or three publications, upon an average, annually. The work before us is (except the version by De la Mennais *) the latest, and appears to be the ablest in its line, upon the whole. M. Fouriel was a man (for the publication is posthumous) in every way adapted for the task. He was distinguished for the combination—remarked to be in all times rare—of fine critical tact and taste, with philological erudition. Acquainted critically with the mediæval idioms of Europe, he mounted also to the Basque puzzle, and the Celtic or Erse, and went back to even the Arabic and San-

* Another version has appeared in Paris at the moment we write, by M. Mesnard, Member of the Institute.

scrit; upon most of which he has, it seems, left manuscript grammars and vocabularies. His authority is, therefore, eminent in the great questions that are still unsolved respecting the transition of the ancient Latin to its modern dialects, no less than as to the *origines* of the Italian literature. On the former he has also left an excellent disquisition, with the discussion of which we shall probably regale our readers in a future number. This preparation was supported, further, by the indispensable aid of history, at once political, religious, and literary. We shall pay then some attention to a writer qualified so specially, in his expositions and explanations, not alone respecting Dante, but also the other interesting topics which the title indicates.

With the fall, or rather dissolution, of the empire of Charlemagne—that undigested agglomeration of barbarian nobles and civilized serfs—the vast area of its territory was partitioned into petty sovereignties, sometimes stayed upon one another, and known collectively as the feudal system. The general plan of the divisions, termed duchies, counties, baronies, embraced in each a principal city with a few square miles of territory. Even this was, sometimes, cut up between a rural and a city sovereign, the latter being quite usually a bishop. The incumbents, M. Fouriel says, were "almost all of the Germanic race;" a condition which we thought to have prevailed less commonly in Italy. M. Fouriel, however, comprises the descendants of the Lombards, although he owns they had become Italian as well in manners as in language. With this extension of the designation, he is, probably, quite right; as he is, also, in remarking the distinction of the two races, notwithstanding the apparent transformation of the earlier settlers. For it is, perhaps, that savage solitariness, (it cannot be called independence,) which at first constituted, and still constitutes, a well-known feature of the Gothic character, that has originated and entailed the anarchy which leaves poor Italy still in chains. It was these turbulent barbarians that, after ruining the Roman empire, again subverted the sort of substitute got up instead, by their own race, and then fell finally, as has been said, upon the spoils and upon one another. The clerical portion of the barons were, however, all Italians; a concession of the conjoint ignorance and superstition of the conquerors.

As to the residue of the population, the native peasantry were serfs, and lived in hamlets or open villages, extended usually at the foot of the hill, upon whose summit was perched the castle of their predatory master. The burghers, who were freemen, were in possession of the cities, overhung, however, upon their part, by the towering fortress of the city tyrant, and by the similar enclosures

of the minor aristocracy. The rude occupants of these stone strongholds would, so long as they received their tribute, take little notice of the peaceful exercise, by the tame burghers, of those civic forms which survived to them traditionally from the Roman municipality. Yet it was these fragmentary roots of the old stock, that shot forth anew the antique spirit, that, in half a century, transformed the cities into republics.

Then arose the popular factions, a sort of tyranny worse than feudal. With the accession of the population more or less predominantly to the government, the city was divided into two literally armed camps. The first escape from this predicament was the formation of a third party, composed, as usual, quite spontaneously from the conterminous extremes, that is to say, the poorer of the aristocracy and the richer of the democracy. This party of compromise held a monopoly of most of the governments for half a century, and gave the people both prosperity and peace. But it was finally overthrown by the conjoint frenzy of the extreme factions, who thus succeeded in again getting each other by the ears. The speedy result was a more decisive constitution of the governments, according to the party that prevailed in the different cities, into what may, on the one hand, be called aristocratic republics, and on the other, and the less numerous, pure democracies. Of both divisions, the republics of Venice and of Florence have been respectively the most illustrious as the most enduring types. The duration of most of the others was diversely much less long. They relapsed, although by different routes, into the original tyrannies; which constitutes the third act of the evolution.

In the cities ruled by aristocracies, it was the strife for the chief magistracy that occasioned the establishment of tyrannies. Men of passion will always rather choose the equality of being all excluded excepting one, to whose good fortune they cannot charge themselves with longer contributing, than to endure the possibility of being subjected to one another. In the democracies, whose pride or spirit is very fortunately less exalted, the revolution was brought about, not by a strife for power, but through a lack of justice. And this particular is too instructive not to command an explanation.

Originally the first magistrate of the freed cities was termed consul; a characteristic commemoration of the antique origin we have assigned them. The consul was selected uniformly, though by mere voluntary usage, from the class of the patricians, even by the people themselves; a fact on which our author dwells, to show the moderation of democracies. But he omits from the account, we fear, the burgess diffidence of those dark ages, and the dislike which

men of humble birth have, in all ages, to exalt their fellows. It is the counterpart of the alternative preferred by the aristocrats, in rather leaving the decision to the accident of birth. Be this, however, as it may, the course was wise in the Italian democrats; but the expedient did not suffice to avert the tendency of things.

The office of the consul was as well judicial as executive, as is the case in all primitive governments: for the most early, as well as urgent, of social requisites, is justice. But, as we have noted, in the furious conflicts of those half-barbarous republics, the judge-consul was, like every other man, obliged at length to take a side. This obligation is well disclosed in a certain passage of Dante's Purgatory, where the fierce Ghibelline, whose sad experience and sound philosophy should have corrected him, condemned to torments some fellow-citizens who had the prudence to stand aloof. The consul, who was annually to be elected, could not long do this; he became, forcibly, the instrument of the predominant of the two factions, the legal cover for proscription, confiscation, or banishment. But this was ruining the state too palpably, not to compel a change of course. The new expedient was original, and may seem curious, although really natural.

The chief magistrate was, thenceforth, not only to belong to neither party, but he was not to be even a citizen of the republic selecting him, nor to have lived within a certain distance of its territory. Like the consul, he must be a noble, and, besides, of known integrity, with, if obtainable, a reputation for either statesmanship or literature. This prime magistrate, or supreme judge, whose name of office was *podesta*, brought in his train, and at his own expense, not merely a body guard of cavalry, but even a band of jurisconsults to conduct the business of his court, and the very constables or bailiffs required to execute its mandates. In short, he wielded the whole government, and even the police. The only semblance of limitation was the annual term of his service, and a sort of popular examination which he was submitted to on leaving office. His recompense was, on the other hand, only honour and expenditure. And this cheap service may be suspected to have weighed with mercantile communities, in the resort to an expedient so extraordinary and plainly perilous. For some time, however, the podesta proved an improvement on the state abandoned. But at last it drifted with the fatal current, and ended everywhere in tyranny. Florence only, and another state or two, where the mere populace got fully uppermost, transferred the government, for cash down, to some wealthy merchants, like the Medici.

Yet all this was a beneficent progression toward Italian unity.

At the period we have now arrived at, that is to say, the fifteenth century, it had concentrated the scores of scuffling and petty states into four or five, namely: Florence, still a democratic republic, but under the Medici; the aristocratic republic of Venice; the feudal monarchy of Naples; the Papacy; and the tyranny of Milan. Such has been the closest approximation to Italian unity. The consummation was here obstructed by the unlucky French descent, on the pretence of the inheritance of Naples through the house of Anjou. This interference brings us to say a closing word on the great contest which pervaded and intertwined itself with the whole series of the foregoing struggles; we mean the famous altercation between the empire and the papacy.

From the moment of the division of the Roman empire into east and west, and the evident precipitation of the latter toward its fall, this leading portion of the great legacy of Greek and Roman civilisation was tending naturally to the spiritual theocracy of the Papacy. The popes were, however, not slow to see the opportunity; but how could they have seized it, by the means of moral power alone, from the barbarian aristocracy, who were by this time in possession? They had no other physical force to oppose to force, than the serfish multitude, whose impotency in the circumstances at least equalled their superstition. Resort was, therefore, had to fraud and to policy. The Church had tricked already some subordinate barbarian sovereigns. The restoration of the western empire in the name of one who had subdued the rest, would bring the whole, at one fell swoop, into the net of papal artifice. The rude emperors would be the arm to keep the nobles in subjection; the subtle popes would be the head, to rule and regulate the whole machine.

This new phase of the opportunity was first presented in Charlemagne, who was accordingly brought to Rome, and received the crown of the Cæsars. In return the grateful emperor bestowed upon the popes, or, to speak canonically, on St. Peter, a large extent of territory, in the centre and with the capital of the imperial possessions. Here were two enormous acquisitions made together. The paramount sovereignty of the papacy was recognized, however tacitly, in the acceptance by the Frankish monarch of the crown resuscitated by the pope. There would have been no need of pressing or parading this implication, till the succession of some weaker emperors, and till the witnesses had passed away. And then, accordingly, we hear it hinted to the feeble grandsons of Charlemagne, long in advance of its effective proclamation by the daring Hildebrand. The other point attained by the transaction with Charlemagne was, that the papacy obtained a foothold in a

kingdom of this world, and was thus enabled to form round itself a certain nucleus of physical force, which would be useful, upon occasion, to back the failure of its spiritual thunders. By this means, in fact, alone it has withstood the shocks of the middle ages; by this means it drags out an existence to the present day. Its fate were knelled, if once eradicated from this real rock of Peter, to which, accordingly, it clings, by instinct of self-preservation as well as policy.

The other portion of its project was, however, less successful. It was here thwarted, in the first place, by the main division of the empire among the three grandsons of Charlemagne, and further still, by the successful insurrection against these sovereigns of the baronial aristocracy in all directions throughout the empire. This event was the establishment above alluded to of the feudal system. It completed the frustration of the papal views upon the empire. It might be possible to keep one sovereign, or two, or three perhaps, in leading strings; but when these monarchs themselves lost all power of leading their barbarian nobles, the glittering phantom of the papal empire relapsed again into the pristine chaos.

With characteristic pertinacity the line of policy was now changed. The freemen of the cities were disposed to rise against the nobles. To constitute itself the centre of this mainly popular and national movement, might subserve the purpose of the papacy in one or other of the alternatives. Should it succeed, it was not doubted that the lower classes would be master, and might be managed, through their superstitions, like the single sovereign of the barbarians; and, in case of failure, the insurrection would be, at least, a powerful instrument to bring the emperor of Germany, the actual rival, to fresh concessions. With this profound policy the papacy then seconded the liberal movement; but catholic writers should not, therefore, argue that the papacy was liberal. It was the sort of liberality, we see, as that which leads the Russian despot to assist, as far as practicable, at this moment, the European radicals. What proves this positively is the fact, that while the Church was aiding, on the one hand, the liberation of the cities from the dominion of the nobles, she, on the other hand, sustained the nobles in their revolt against the empire; for the abhorrence of the German barons to being subordinate to the empire, was a second lever of the papacy against its temporal antagonist. It may be added, (as we are endeavouring, once for all, to present a complete outline of the everlasting *imbroglio* of Italian mediæval politics,) that this repugnance of the feudal barons, combined with the policy of the popes, explains the singular rapidity of the establishment of the republics. So

deeply true, in a certain sense, is the famous apothegm of Bossuet, *L'homme s'agite, mais Dieu le mêne.*

This leadership of the divinity soon, however, displeased the popes. Their wily policy had been discerned by a large number of the freed cities. The emperor, on the other hand, attacked "in Africa" itself, by a large portion of the German clergy and nobles, instigated by the popes, essayed to occupy the ground of confidence thus lately forfeited by the latter, in the good feelings of the republics of Italy. It was to countercheck this movement that the popes called in the French, by assuming to confer the kingdom of Naples on Charles of Anjou; and it was this event, in turn, that gave occasion, generations after, to the descent, already hinted, of the same nation, under Charles VIII., which had the result of defeating or deferring Italian unity.

Such, then, was the clear, though complicated system of Italian politics, or rather systems, for there were three, we see, revolving one within another. Uppermost was the papacy, pursuing its empire of theocracy, and playing off all the parties against its main obstacle, the temporal emperor. Next stood the aristocracy, who leaned by turns to pope or emperor, according as the one or the other was the weaker at the time, knowing that the prevalence of either would be alike their own subjection. Finally, in the lowest or inmost sphere, were the two factions of the free cities; who, as being more hearty in their mutual hatred, and less calculating in their politics, composed the staple of the great division that intersected all three of the systems into the celebrated parties of the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*. The papacy, the populace, the French pretenders to the throne of Naples, or its Spanish possessors, made up the body of Guelphs. The emperor, the aristocracy without pretensions to petty sovereignty, the more wealthy and better educated of the burgess class composed the Ghibellines. This party was, doubtless, as is usual with the middle order of society, the one nearest to the true policy of Italian unity and independence. Yet this was far from being its direct purpose as a party. The conception was too large for the times. There was only, perhaps, one man, who, through the inspiration of genius, could forsake the party of his youth and ancestors, resign his fortune, risk his life, and die in exile, to uphold the title of a single sovereign, although a foreigner, aware that he would prove an earnest of introduction to a native substitute. This melancholy voice, as of one crying in the wilderness of demagogues, and despots, and factions, and intriguers, for the revival of Roman greatness, was the voice of Dante Alighieri.

Passing now to the literary antecedents of the poet, our few remarks will keep much closer to the opinions of the author; for M. Fouriel can be made responsible for scarcely anything of the preceding, his dissertation on the free cities being confined to technical analysis.

It is notorious that the poem of Dante was the earliest written in the popular idiom, and had the honour of giving form to the "Tuscan's siren tongue." The suddenness of this transition from nonentity to high perfection, may, very reasonably, be suspected of exaggeration or of oversight. But it seems certain that preceding efforts must, if there were any, have been insignificant, from one particular of, perhaps, unprecedented singularity in any country. It is not only that its popular poetry was brought to Italy from abroad, by the Provençal troubadours, some two centuries before Dante; but, what seems stranger, that the native imitators, when at last they commenced rhyming, composed, not in the Italian idioms, but in the language of their French models. This curious fact, however singular, will not be doubted on reflection. In those primitive epochs the words and rhythm of a piece of poetry were so amalgamated, that to separate them is impracticable to the concrete fancy of even the poet. He, therefore, takes them in the lump, and his simple hearers accept them similarly, the significance of the expression going, in those times, scarce beyond the ear. Moreover, the Provençal dialect was closely kindred to the tongues of Italy, and differed mainly in a higher refinement of both abstraction and pronunciation. Its adoption, therefore, as is certain, by the troubadours of Italy, to the neglect of their own idioms, would go to countenance the paradox, that, in effect, the Tuscan tongue sprung forth, like Pallas, in the Divine Comedy.

Upon the poetry itself of Provence, its distinctive character and principles, M. Fouriel makes some fresh, intelligent, and quite suggestive observations. Essentially this famous poetry comprised two main divisions; the first and earliest was chiefly narrative, and represented warlike bravery engaged in battling for Christianity, humanity, or weakness. The other species, which was lyrical, was occupied with love. But the author remarks justly, that the style of love and heroism, which were celebrated in the poems of the troubadours of Provence, was deeply different from that encountered in the ancient epics and lyrics. The warrior bravery depicted by the mediæval poetry was more ideal, more generous, more spiritual than the ancient; the love had much more delicacy, more enthusiasm, less of sense; it was, in short, a "divinification of woman." The striking contrast does exist, no doubt; but it remains to be explained.

M. Fouriel, who makes no pretensions to go deep into philosophy, proceeds to note, with equal justice, that the same love and heroism are the vital principles and social sources of the institution of chivalry. His views are excellent on this mooted question, which a naive German usurpation pretends to settle to the credit of the coarse barbarians of the Black Forest. Says M. Fouriel:

"Chivalry was the result of several essays, both religious and political, made during the ruder of the middle ages, to convert the selfish and brutal force of the warrior classes into a force humane and generous as well as protective of society. But the transformation could be produced only by powerful motives of a moral nature; and moral forces are rare and feeble in times of barbarism; it is their absence that constitutes and characterizes barbarism.

"Among the sentiments creative and conservative of human society, there were then but two of sufficient influence to prevail with armed and ferocious men, so as to lead them to employ their force to the support of weakness and of right. These sentiments were religion and love—those great promoters of civilisation in the primitive epochs of society. It was, then, by the action, sometimes joint and sometimes separate, of those two sentiments, that there arose, amid the barbarism of the middle ages, men who set their pride and honour on protecting justice and weakness. Such is, when contracted to the most abridged expression, the whole history of chivalry and of chivalric institutions."—Vol. i, pp. 281, 282.

He does not deign to notice, we perceive, the German claim; and yet he lets us see the Germans to have some title, after all. The institution was made mainly *for* them, if not by them. But to pretend to derive honour from the institution upon such a principle would be, we fear, much as if criminals should boast of instituting courts of justice.

Chivalry, in fact, was natural, and normal, and universal; not exceptional or accidental, as is still so shallowly supposed. "The institution," proceeds our author, "was not special to Europe or the middle ages. It is a general phenomenon of civilisation, which would be met with among all nations, if their history was exact and complete, and which may still be observed among several communities at the epoch of their passage from barbarism to civilisation. There may be noted in the heroïc epoch of Greece several traits characteristic of the chivalric period of the middle ages. The same phenomenon makes its appearance with a much closer resemblance, and in a form more complete, among the Arabs, in the ages which immediately preceded Islamism." We will add, "to point the moral," that such is also the real origin of the preëminent *politeness* toward the fair sex of our own countrymen. This great law of the *vis medicatrix civitatis* would, by the way, make curious havoc among most of the varieties of nations.

War, religion, and love, in their direction to social ends from the brutalities of ancient times, were, then, the themes of the Proven-

çal poetry. This poetry and those principles, imported into Italy by wandering minstrels from the south of France, were long repeated in the foreign dialect. It was only by slow degrees, and toward the close of the twelfth century, that feeble essays were attempted in a few of the principal local idioms. The vast number of these idioms, in addition to the causes mentioned, appears, much rather than their relative rudeness, to have contributed to this neglect. Dante, in his treatise *De Vulgari Eloquio*, counts fourteen principal provincial dialects, besides the minor subdivisions, which he rates conjecturally at a thousand. And M. Fouriel, who has resided in and is well acquainted with Italy, affirms that the number of *patois* is still as great, although, no doubt, less widely different than in the time of Dante. The consequence, as is but natural, continues with the cause. That cause is the political dispersion above delineated. Language can, no more than other things, emerge from local barbarism into cultivation, civilisation, organization, without a centre. This organic necessity was felt instinctively by Dante, when he regrets that some one dialect is not invested with a general precedence. It is a phase of the same sentiment of the sublime and the universal, which made him Ghibelline, and left him sighing for the restoration of the Roman empire. But, fortunately, in language he was able to do more than sigh. He merely sung, and the "imperial" dialect which he desired sat enthroned forever.

We hasten now to the poet himself and his works. M. Fouriel introduces them with some judicious observations. It is common, even among persons who can conceive poetry philosophically, to suppose the middle ages to present a complete parallel with times of primitive simplicity and naïve spontaneity. They assume that then, as in the infancy of ancient civilisations, imagination must have reigned unlimited, and poets have sung, like birds, from impulse. The author notes that this is obviously incorrect. In a literary sense, especially, the epoch of Dante was one already of a very complicate civilisation. The new civilisation, to be sure, was in its infancy; but it acquired a prematurity from the traditions of the old. The poets, to be considered of the first order in their line, must, at the same time, be jurisconsults, theologians, men of science. They must know more of Plato and Aristotle than of Homer. The middle ages might be compared, in fact, in this respect, to modern youth, in whom the natural simplicity is superseded by education. In consequence of this complexity in the social situation, which must be naturally represented by a poet of the first order, M. Fouriel thinks the Divine Comedy should not be judged by

vulgar standards. He might have added, that it yields no argument against the famous Homeric heresy which holds the Iliad and the Odyssey to be but compilations of popular ballads. In truth, at bottom it would rather do the contrary; for the main story of the poem of Dante, the descent and vision of the world of spirits, had been familiar, it is known, for ages in popular narratives all over Europe. The arguments were likewise offered, in theology, by Aquinas; in philosophy, morals, and politics, especially by Aristotle. The incidents themselves he scarcely drew from imagination; he found the horrors of the *Inferno* in the factions of the Free Cities.

But, on the other hand, it was the energy that fused and fashioned these discordant elements, that proved the true poetic genius of the author. It is even the remote and miscellaneous character of the materials that best attest, perhaps, the inspiration of the poet. For such inspiration is nothing else than the convergence of a wide experience—the traditional experience of ages and of nations—into a focus of intense foresight of the future. It is required of men of science, that their procedures of induction shall be laid upon the broadest practicable basis. But the true poet cannot proceed otherwise than does the true philosopher. Both advance in the same direction, through the same phenomena, to the same end, save that the former moves on the wing, and sees more dimly, but also further. It is the growing realization, the rational interpretation of the socialistic phases of these provisions of the Divine Comedy, that is extending yearly, as before remarked, the fame of Dante in foreign countries.

But this is not precisely what M. Fouriel is going to show us in the character and composition of Dante. Of the former he gives the following quite discriminating outline: "Dante was the most complicated genius of his complex times. He combined with the most vivid and enthusiastic imagination, a curiosity the most ardent and investigating; with the most eminent poetic faculties, the most decided scientific tastes; with a yearning for depicting all that he witnessed, all that impressed him, he combined an eagerness to learn all that passed in remote times and places. Saturated with the various inspirations of the middle ages, he sought for others, and he found them in antiquity. Dante's genius, in a word, presents us two distinct phases, between which are nearly equally divided the shades that separate them; namely, a phase of science and one of poetry."—P. 372. Toward the conclusion of the portraiture, which is too long to cite entire, the author adds, that what especially characterizes the mind of Dante, among all the first class poets of all times, is a sort of struggle between the multitude of his

diversified endowments. This contention is the point of view in which he proceeds, freshly, to comment on his works.

The works of Dante, besides the Divine Comedy, which is the latest as well as greatest, are the *Vita Nuova*, the *Il Convito*, both in Italian; the treatise above mentioned, *De Vulgari Eloquio*, and another, *De Monarchia*, both in poor Latin. His minor poetry, of a lyric nature, odes, sonnets, etc., although now printed also separately, as it was, in fact, composed, was amalgamated by the author with the two former of those prose treatises, by one of the peculiar oddities in question. The prose works, in short, are set commentaries written afterward upon the poems, with all the system and the subtlety of the schools. And what could be the poems that might admit of such dissection? The most aërial, unsubstantial, enthusiastic common-places of crazed love. A portion of them were written on the famous Beatrice; it is that which forms the shadowy groundwork of the *Vita Nuova*. The rest, consisting of fourteen, sung several other "lady loves," before being served up in the *Il Convito*, or Banquet. The youth of Dante, at the composition of the former treatise, might be some excuse, although a man of twenty-six should have attained to some discretion. But the Banquet, though composed at a much riper stage of life, adopts expressly the youthful folly, and repeats a number of its extravagances. What is equally characteristic (but in this case creditably so) of his countrymen, is that the Banquet was avowedly written to incline them to revoke his exile by a parade of his scholastic subtlety and antique learning. Though he was then quite famous for his poetry, reputation for classical learning would doubtless serve him far better with the republicans of Florence. And for an object so important, on an occasion so deeply solemn, the austere Dante, the most serious and most dignified of men, did not provide a fitter subject on which to ground this erudition than the silly, sentimental love rhymes of his youth! Can anything depict the middle ages and the poet better? And how much every man, however great, must be the creature of his times! Or, rather, it is only the greater men who are so, strictly; the small ones and the mediocrities are more or less behind the age.

The reader may desire a sample of this queer embroidery of philosophical and theological excogitation on a *billet doux*. We shall transcribe it from the earlier treatise, to show that Dante did not *seek* for the occasion which gave rise to the Convito; but that his tendency to speculation was scarce less congenial than to love, and that he would have been, in other times perhaps, as great a philosopher as he was a poet. He is bewailing, at twenty-six,

the death, then recent, of Beatrice, with whom he mentions, in a dozen places, the mysterious concert of the number *nine;* a number which, it may be added, plays, throughout his other writings, the poem included, an all-controlling and even a constitutive part:

"I will first say how the number nine figures in the death of Beatrice, and then attempt an explanation why it was so signally connected with her.

"I say, then, that, according to the calendar of Arabia, the noble soul of Beatrice passed away at the ninth hour of the ninth day of the month. According to the Syriac calendar, the event took place in the ninth month of the year; for there the first month corresponds to our October, and is called *Sirim*. According to our calendar, she died in that year of the incarnation, wherein the *perfect* number nine had revolved nine times in the century that gave her birth. Now, why is it that this number nine was so affected to her? The following may well be the reason.

"According to Ptolemy, and also the Christians, it is a well-established truth that the movable spheres of heaven are in number exactly nine; and the astronomers are of opinion that all these spheres exert on earth the same respective influences which they possess on high. Thus, then, would the number nine have had occasion to recur so frequently in the current of the destinies of Beatrice, as if to signify that all the spheres had met in concert at her birth.

"This is one of the many reasons that might be given for the fact itself. But, looking deeper, and appealing to infallible truth, Beatrice was herself the number nine. I mean figuratively; and the following is my proof of this assertion. The number three is the root of nine; for it may, by itself, and without any other number, produce nine, it being evident that three times three make nine. If, therefore, on the one side, three be by itself the factor of nine, and if, on the other, the Triad, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be the factor of miracles, Beatrice must have been under the influence of the number, to signify that she was a *nine*, that is to say, a prodigy, of which the marvellous Triad is the veritable root. There are, perhaps, (he adds,) subtler reasons to be given for the point in question; but that which I have last presented is what best pleases me, and I understand it."

If this disquisition has all the vagueness or the vacuity of a sick man's dream, it will be marked that it has nothing of its incoherence. Is there anything more systematic, both in statement and in argument, more succinct in expression, or more sequential in arrangement; to say nothing of the erudition about Oriental calendars and Greek speculations, or the philosophy of numbers? This, undoubtedly, in a mediæval youth of twenty-six, is a phenomenon almost as singular as the ineffable puerility of his persuasion of the flimsy object of the application; yet both are graphically representative of Dante's times as well as genius. What may seem strange is, that those times should take no umbrage at the queer comparison of Dante's lover with the Divine persons of the Trinity; and that there was none, may be concluded from the repetition of it, more than once, in his later and maturer publications.

For example, in the *Il Convito*, after distributing the heavenly

choirs (which choirs are also *nine* in number,) into a triad of hierarchies, he goes on to adjust them to the Trinity as follows: The first hierarchy chants the all-pervading *power* of the Father; the second, the consummate *wisdom* of the Son; the third, the fervent *charity* of the Holy Ghost, "which, being placed nearer to us, transmits the gifts that it has received for us."* It may be doubted that this distribution of the official attributes of the Trinity could be received as strictly orthodox at Rome. But Dante is still bolder in another passage of the same treatise, where he speaks as follows of the Trinity, as he "*himself* understands it." The first person, says he, is the Father, who represents *existence*, and corresponds to the choir of Seraphim, which are the spirits of *contemplation;* the second is "the Father in *relation* to the Son, as part of him, and conjoint with him," to which corresponds the choir of Cherubim, the spirits of *knowledge;* the third is the Father still, in the like *relation* to the Holy Ghost, who presides over the choir of the Principalities, the spirits of *action* and society. This analysis, which it was requisite to clarify somewhat in the translation, contains, if we mistake not, more philosophy than theology. But how, then, has it been accepted, and its author lectured on, in Churches in the ages of the persecution of the Albigenses? or have we a correct conception of the religious spirit of those ages? The latter is a point on which these works of Dante throw serious doubt.

In fine, he elsewhere casts off completely the religious veil from the choirs and spheres, and says that they are to him nothing but mere symbols of the "*nine* sciences." These nine sciences also figure in the third division of his great poem. This poem itself, besides the principal partition into a triad, prepared in this case, it is true, spontaneously by the traditions of his religion, has each locality, as is well known, divided off into *nine* circles. Whence came the singular inhesion, so to say, of these triad and novade numbers, in the texture of this universal and original intelligence? It is a point which we must leave unsettled, like the strange indulgence of the middle ages, to hasten to the poem itself, to which we find ourselves conducted.

Here, again, will be encountered the same contrast, yet without collision, of the ancient and the infant civilisations. M. Fouriel surveys the *Inferno* in the point of view of "religious unity;" but in pursuit of his original and deeply interesting line of comment. Nothing, verily, can be more striking than the jarring medley, when remarked in detail; and yet, we dare say, it arrests the notice of

* The sole edition at hand, that of Buonocorsi, 1490, is destitute of all sectioning, and even paging; so that we cannot indicate a more specific reference.

but few, if any, of general readers. Might not this peculiarity of inadvertence, or of art, suggest a reason, *à fortiori*, for the toleration of the dark ages? But let us cite a few examples of the contrast; they will serve the studious reader to pursue the criticism through the whole poem.

After passing the outer portal of the Inferno, with its dread inscription, so awfully, so unmistakably Christian, the first encounter of the poet is with a river and a boatman, which are no other than the heathen Acheron and Charon. This obstacle got over, we reach the first of the infernal circles, where sits a judge who is to try the sinner—the Christian sinner—and assign his punishment; and this high personage is also, simply, the pagan Minos, of classic fame. The guardian of the third circle is a monster with three heads, and bearing also the appellation of Cerberus. The fourth circle, which winds its fires around the misers and the prodigals, has for its sentinel the god of riches, which would be proper were the name not Plutus. Descending deeper the painful pyramid, we meet a crowd of pagan monsters, the Harpies, the Centaurs, the three Furies, with the head of Gorgon, the triple-bodied monster Geryon, &c. Thus, the reader finds himself perplexed with a variety of curious questions.

And first, as to the main principle of religious unity, How did the poet hope to be indulged in this undistinguished mixture of the two creeds? Or if he may have thought the heathen part was not believed in by his readers, how should he not have seen the consequence of blending fictions with sacred truth—namely, his liability to the suspicion of insincerity? Then, again, in point of taste, or of the unity of art, did he imagine that the simplest readers would not be shocked at those unheard-of personages, while the learned must perceive the grotesque incongruity? What hope could there be of æsthetical illusion in a Christian vision, which at every moment must be interrupted by pagan personages, times, and places? How should he make, in fine, the strange selection of a heathen poet to be his guide and teacher, to whom he pays the veneration of a saint? and a poet, too, who had himself described the hell of polytheism, and would be naturally thought to have inoculated him with heresy? Or if it was because on this account he might be deemed to know the region better, did not this notion imply identity between the heathen and the Christian hells? And, moreover, why not choose St. Paul, who likewise added this experience to all the other qualifications of probability as well as orthodoxy?

Did Dante, then, confound these things through ignorance of his religion? No; for there were few more erudite, and no more subtle

theologians among even the ecclesiastics of his age. Are we to think him, then, a heretic or an infidel, as has been urged, who thus insidiously would cast discredit on the Christian tenets by this impious jumble? No; for although no fanatic, (as real genius can never be,) he was too grave in even trifles not to be serious and sincere in religion. Again; suppose the religious perplexity got over, are we warranted in thinking him so destitute of preparation as not to know the first condition of poetic composition? No, evidently; for although the Latin version of Aristotle, made from the Arabic, did not as yet present that author's Poetics to Western Europe, yet Dante surely must have been acquainted with the Art of Poetry of Horace, whom he encounters in the realm of Shades, in the august company of Homer. But, more than this, he had a philosophic system of his own, upon the forms and the principles of poetry in general, as is attested by the earlier treatise, *de Vulgari Eloquio.* It is true that he does not discuss the question of the three unities. With his habitual predilection to pierce in all things to the bottom, he builds the edifice of his poetic art upon the physiology of the Peripatetics, in its three vitabilities, or souls—irascible, concupiscible, and rational. Having dropped the work alluded to before applying these rather remote principles, it is not known that he had brought the theory to any practical consistency; but, at all events, the mere fact of speculation upon his art, would prove that he must have availed himself of all accessible instruction. And, in fine, if he did *not*, would it not transcend all the wonders how he yet produced a master-piece?

The general result of this series of exclusive interrogatories, leaves behind but one of two suppositions. Either Dante was unconscious or regardless of those objections, from a profound sympathy with the condition of his epoch, (and thus they would be none, in fact, to the reception of his work,) or else he braved them with deliberation, and upon system.

The latter is the theory preferred by M. Fouriel. He notes, in detail, that most of the mythological characters employed by Dante are deeply modified in shape or attribute, to suit the spirit of the Christian poem; and thinks that this should serve to obviate both the religious and æsthetic difficulties. That, however, it could remove neither, appears to us to be quite evident. In the religious point of view, the palliation would be aggravation; it would disclose not a mere accidental jumble of the two creeds, such as existed in the vague fancy of the community, but a deliberate disposition to graft the one upon the other, by a transformation the novelty of which must rouse the public suspicion. Æsthetically, the con-

clusion would be still less tenable, if possible. The very reason of the well-known rule, in all the masters of the art, by which the epic of a dramatic poet should take his characters from history, is but in order that they may be popularly recognised. The alteration, then, which M. Fouriel imputes to Dante as a system, goes directly in the face of the first principle of composition. The heathen characters, as far as changed from the traditional conceptions, must, on the one hand, fail of public recognition; while, on the other, to retain the *names*, would give the same offence to religious jealousy, which would pay small attention to the alteration in the things. Thus the plan which M. Fouriel attributes to the poet, would have the awkwardness of taking only the disadvantages in both respects! It is unnecessary to pursue the refutation of such a position.

There remains, then, the alternative, which is accordingly our own opinion. Dante had no settled system of exclusion or of alteration, but obeyed the instinct of his genius in its profound harmony with the times. It was this harmony that veiled the blemish of the composition from his contemporaries, while the real causes of their admiration were entirely foreign to effects of art. This latent character of Dante's poem, that won, despite its faults of art, the veneration of the middle ages, and the meditations of the present, it is quite impossible that we could offer, on the verge of closing, to examine. We confine the point to the conclusion of Dante's complete spontaneity; that is to say, the absence of a scheme of artifice he nowhere hints, and which, if deemed to be itself expedient, he would be careful to make known explicitly. In confirmation, it will be briefest to cite a few of the concessions wrung by truth from the reluctant reasoning of M. Fouriel to the contrary. They will confirm our refutation of his own thesis, and do a little toward the illustration of what we submit to be the true solution.

M. Fouriel, in the middle of the argument, in which he labours to show that Dante *designed* the medley of his poem, says:

"The Italy of the times of Dante had not broken fully with the Roman Italy. The reminiscences of the traditions of the latter maintained still over the former, not only a real authority, but a sort of vital control. This influence of classic antiquity over mediæval Italy was manifest, especially in point of literature and of lore. . . . These circumstances had assuredly not the effect on Dante which they exerted on the other learned persons of the epoch. At the same time they had their effects; they entered into his theories, and exercised a certain influence on his imagination and his ideas. Full of enthusiasm for ancient poetry, he studied it without much caring to *distinguish between the substance and the form; nor between the genius of the pagan poets and that of the pagan system.* He tried to conceive this poetry in its primitive meaning and integrity: he did his best to transport himself ideally into the epochs in which it had flourished in its living reality. Dante had, in this way,

formed to himself, exteriorly to his Italian creeds, an antique creed and taste of paganism. In fine, there was—and this, perhaps, *unknown to himself*—there was, in his imagination, a pagan side, (*côté païen*,) upon which he was in *contradiction with himself, as far as Christian*, and as principally developed *under the influences of the middle ages*."—P. 427.

This, we see, is pretty pertinent to both the terms of the alleged harmony, to the condition of the poet's epoch, as well as that of his intelligence. But lest these statements may be thought objections self-proposed, and answered fully, we do not fear to let the reader see the very conclusion of the author's argument, since he presents it in the condensed compass of a single summary fact:

"This fact is, that the employment which Dante makes, in his poem, of mythological elements, and of a pagan guide, does not really affect its unity, *in as far, at least, as this unity depended on the religious conviction of the author*. It is that Dante is *almost* equally, although *diversely*, Christian, in all the parts of his poem, in those even where he *may be admitted to have had pagan distractions*. It is that, taken all together, the Inferno *is the true, serious, and profound expression of the Italian middle ages*, and that the reminiscences of antiquity have there no more nor less effect *than that which they had also on those middle ages themselves*."—P. 446.

It is, the reader sees, in even terms, the proposition we have been maintaining against the theory which M. Fouriel must have thus forgotten in the winding up.

This general conception of Dante's method, and his principles—we mean the absence of all method, and the inspiration of the principles—would also cut another knot of vexed celebrity in the Divine Comedy, and which M. Fouriel, too, discusses incidentally in the ensuing section. His main topic is the end and the motive of Dante's poem. The decision, in which we agree with him, is that the motive was the love, and the end, the apotheosis of Beatrice. There were, doubtless, in a mind so prolific, a life so tried, and a work so various, a vast multitude of adventitious, or subordinate considerations. There were gratitudes to be expressed, there were vengeances to be executed, factions to be execrated, parties to be propitiated, passions to be vented, doctrines to be expounded. All these things went for much, no doubt, in giving character and compass to the original programme of the author. But what may be said is, that if Beatrice had never lived, or been known to Dante, the Divine Comedy would never have been written.

And this is not at all at variance with the *social* import we assign the poem; on the contrary, it is its emphatic confirmation. The great distinction of the mediæval sociability from the ancient, was the elevation or emancipation of woman. The ancient civilisation was one of force, of materiality, and so continued to the last

despite the gloss of mental culture; for the intellect applies itself quite indifferently to physics or to morals, as its business is with *truth*, which is encountered in both alike. The mediæval civilisation was mystically moral; mystically, because then at its commencement. The spiritual development, which was to triumph over the material, was felt instinctively, and without a notion of the principles; but in the absence of the principles that guide the tendencies of the age, the public mind endeavours to give body to its aspirations in substantial objects. It sets up symbols of as close analogy as possible to its emotions. Hence, in days of heathenism, before the light of Christian truth, the rise and character of all the systems of idolatry. Hence, in the middle ages, the semi-worship of the fair sex, as the living symbols of the rank of spirit, and the right of weakness above force and matter. And this is the great principle of modern civilisation which Dante, although quite unconsciously, has nearly deified in Beatrice.

From this we may conceive the pedantry of the dissertations of most of his commentators, to determine if the heroine was not an allegory for theology; for this is the dispute to which we meant to call attention, and of which, while seeming to digress from it, we were preparing the decision. Such is also the decision, we are pleased to see, of M. Fouriel, so far as denying Beatrice to be a symbol of theology. But, on the other hand, he has no notion that she was a symbol of any sort; and ranks, in *motive*, the poem of Dante with the silly sonnet of a troubadour. If there was pedantry on the one side, there is puerility on the other. Those who made Dante a cold allegorist, did him, certainly, more mental honour, and thus were nearer to a just estimate than those who think him a love-sick visionary; for if the conduct of this strange being were to be construed by the literal standard, he would be worthier of a "strait waistcoat" than of the purple of imperial genius.

These reflections apply also to, and are illustrated in turn by, a shrewd notice of M. Fouriel, on a famous episode of Dante's poem. Everybody who has heard of, not to say read, the Divine Comedy, must be acquainted with the touching story of Francesca di Rimini. The real facts were, it is known, the murder of this lady and her lover by her husband, who was also a brother of the male victim. Both the parties were among the highest families of Italy; Francesca's father being Lord of Ravenna, and the husband Lord of Rimini. Hence a train of family wars, that threw all Italy into commotion, and augmented the disposition to poetize the tragic incident. It was also in Dante's lifetime, and his earlier years, that the event took place; so that he might have made himself histori-

cally accurate in the particulars. Yet in the notice of it in the poem, as M. Fouriel complains, he goes upon the vaguest version of it by the popular imagination. But the main grievance of the critic is the mode of introducing it. He lays down rightly, that it is a maxim in the composition of epic poetry, that every episode and new character must present something in self-explanation; must put the reader in possession of some antecedents of the scene exhibited. He might have added that the obligation prevails in even dramatic poetry, of which the specific distinction is the interdiction of all narration. But what does Dante, in the celebrated incident in question?

After passing with his guide, Virgil, the first circle of hell, he comes upon a murky region, swept in all directions by contending whirlwinds, on which are whiffed about the souls of the voluptuous in this life. His companion names him several of the most famous among the number—Semiramis, Cleopatra, Dido, Paris, &c.; but Dante's notice is attracted particularly to two of the shades who go together, and whom the conflict of storm cannot separate. These are Francesca di Rimini and her brother-in-law, Malatesta. But how Dante came to know this—that is to say, how he considered that his readers were to come to know it—is the question.

Intimating to his guide that he would like to speak to those two shades, at the contemplation of whose companionship he feels a natural tenderness, he is told to ask them to approach him, in the name of the love they bear each other. At this potent invitation, they descend athwart the tempest, "like a pair of doves, called by their young, on sailing pinions toward the tender nest." Francesca addresses Dante as a "benevolent creature," and professes her disposition to answer his inquiries. The celebrated sequel, however touchingly sublime, would here be rather out of place, and is not necessary to the purpose. Suffice it that Francesca, in neither her preface nor responses, gives the slightest indication of her identity, except the following: "The city that beheld my birth is seated on the shore where the Po conceals its waters from the cortege of its tributaries." And this intimation of mere locality would, besides, answer to the other cities that lie along the western coast of the Adriatic. On the other hand, the poet afterward addresses Francesca by name, without a word to show the intermediate recognition.

On this queer narrative, M. Fouriel makes, among others, the following strictures:

"Once again; if, in reading this passage of Dante, we did not already know the event on which it rests, it would be impossible to recognise it. The

passage is not, properly speaking, a recital; it is rather merely an allusion, and a quite lyrical one, to a fact. The poet glides rapidly over the really historical portion of the adventure, *supposing it known and present to all his readers*, and dwells but upon the secret and mysterious portion, that of which popular tradition could know nothing for certain, and upon which his imagination might embroider at ease, without incurring the risk of contradiction. *This manner of treating historic subjects is generally that of Dante; what he forgets most willingly is the recital of an adventure, the most immediate particulars of its occurrence, and what people would remark of it, and be most eager to know. The side on which he loves to take it, is the side of the marvellous; that whereby* HE MAY ATTACH IT TO THE FATAL DESTINIES OF MAN*; it is this aspect that he developes, where he finds it in existence, and creates where it does not exist.* It is not in this manner that an epic poet narrates, or at least it is not by conducting his narrative in this fashion, that he fulfils his vocation and attains his end."—P. 485.

Not the vocation or the manner, it may be, of an epic poet; but they are those, if we mistake not, of the prophet and the philosopher. We close with two remarks upon the phrases italicised. The ascription to the poet of the simplicity of supposing all his readers, like himself, in full possession of the story, is discriminating as an observation, but injudicious as an imputation. M. Fouriel before insisted, as we said, that Dante had *art* in all things, not excepting his amalgamation of the pagan mythology. Again; the charge that he evades the detail of particulars and recitals—although an excellent characterization, not alone of Dante, but of all high genius—betrays once more, we fear, the insufficiency of this critic for his task. *Dante* does not dwell, forsooth, on those circumstances of a story which *tout le monde* would be apt to notice, and most eager to know; and he avoids it, quite prudentially, for fear of getting into contradiction. It is thus that common intellects, however candid, must interpret genius. When the Divine Comedy comes to be viewed as the most artlessly inspired of poems, then, and not sooner, will there be a just apprehension of its real nature and progressive fame.

Art. IV.—SYDNEY SMITH.

A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith, by his Daughter, Lady Holland; with a Selection from his Letters. Edited by Mrs. Austin. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 1855.

No recent book has attracted a larger share of public attention than has Lady Holland's memoir of her father. Tried by a general standard, it has proved a most acceptable and welcome contribution to our current literature. The critics have enjoyed a revel over its brilliant pages; and the fine talkers, who minister to the intellect of dinner tables, and cheer the closing hours of the day by racy speech and flowing humour, have exulted as if a new possession had been added to their stores of wealth. Within the last six months Sydney Smith has, probably, been named more frequently than he was during any twenty years of his life. What an instance, this, of the power of literature! What a significance does it give to pen and press! A few sheets of paper, growing into a volume beneath the gentle hand of woman; a widow's love collecting worthy materials, and a daughter's affection arranging and combining them into order and beauty; then the mechanical service of types, and Sydney Smith is an inmate of thousands of homes, living his life over again; talking in the same gushing and exhaustless strain of thought and humour; writing, reviewing, reforming, and preaching; a struggling man, a brave man, a hearty man; a kind, generous, philanthropic man, whose moral qualities honoured a genius that rendered most valuable and praiseworthy services to the truth, wisdom, and heroism of the age. The new Sydney Smith, we incline to believe, is better than the old; or, to speak more exactly, he has a better position before the world. It is the same man—the distinct, unmistakable Sydney Smith—the broad-chested, round-built Englishman, with just enough of French blood to quicken his nerves without any injury to his substantial muscles. Here he is, with all his instant-telling, sharp-pointed faculties; with all his learning in ready obedience; with clear, vigorous, accurate language for the despatch of ideas as fast as a teeming brain could originate them: here he is, the full-freighted man, with more diversity of intellect, and more adaptedness to this many-sided world than any one of his day; here he is, busy at all imaginable things, from inventing horse-scratchers to the manufacture of a grotesque wardrobe for rheumatism, from training stupid servants to the management of official revenues, from a tender oversight of the

sick of his parish to the most formidable sort of surgery on some cancerous affection of the body politic. Here he is—curate, joker, satirist, Utilitarian, Whig, Canon of St. Paul's—with all his versatile endowments, each as fresh, as spirited, as demonstrative, as if the great soul had to diffuse itself into its action alone.

Apart from its subject, every book has a "natural history" peculiar to itself; and, if followed out in its details, it would deeply enlist attention and sympathy. No book ever reaches its precise mark; none ever accomplishes just the object, in just the manner, and under just the circumstances, that an author expected. It always, in some particulars, disappoints calculations. The state of the public mind, the accidental prominence of certain topics, the abeyance of ancient prejudices, the caprices of popular passions, the whims of the newspaper press, and a thousand other contingencies, may essentially modify its influence. No doubt, if the secret anticipations of writers themselves could be known, the reading world would often be amazed at the difference between their thoughts and hopes before and after the appearance of their works.

The present memoir suggests and illustrates these sentiments. It has, probably, done as much for the permanent reputation of Sydney Smith as Sydney Smith himself did for it; and, moreover, it has made him favourably known to thousands, who otherwise would never have associated his name with anything great and good. The world derived its impressions of the man either from the report of his famous criticisms in the Edinburgh Review, or from his brilliant conversations. Although he was most cordially and honourably appreciated by the leaders of fashion and the oracles of taste, yet, during his lifetime, his talents were more a matter of notoriety than of desirable reputation. Outside of his own circle he was feared rather than loved; and what Sydney Smith could do, by means of his trenchant pen, always took precedence in men's thoughts of what Sydney Smith was. But these volumes have created new sympathies with him. Aristocratic families, lords and ladies, can give a man of talent and sprightliness no small share of distinction in English society; and luxurious dinners, at which refinement and elegance crown the board, and every one, by the terms of common politeness, is under obligations to be pleased, may easily afford a passport to a certain sort of intellectual position. But all the Holland houses of England could not confer such lustre on the name of Sydney Smith as these volumes. We have in them the real, genuine, earnest man—the domestic heart, the sacrificing life, the broad and massive foundations, on which influence and fame can only be built.

The present memoir gives us a distinct, palpable idea of the man; unfolds his life in all its struggles and achievements; presents its varied and striking aspects; enters minutely into his characteristics of mind and manner; and leaves us, at the close of the book, with a complete realization of what Sydney Smith was at the fire-side, on the farm, among his parishioners, in London, or wherever else inclination or duty took him. Sydney himself is the central figure in every scene. Whether the hour is serious or comical; whether he is dining with lords and ladies, or preaching to "West-Endians;" whether tugging through the mud of Yorkshire, or walking in the magnificent saloons that welcomed him as their favourite guest; whether practising "Bunch," "Annie Kay," or "Jack Robinson," or driving thunderbolts at gigantic abuses, Sydney Smith is up in full proportions before you. The image of the man is soon caught, and never afterward have you to correct it. Now and then it has a passing shadow; now and then, a little brighter hue; but it keeps its form and lineaments most distinctly in your eye. The man's uniformity was remarkable; and the memoir is remarkable in its portraiture. Once possessed of the key-note of his character, you are thenceforth exempt from any liability to surprise. The strange combinations of his acute intellect; its marvellous waywardness, that seems to be as much reduced to rule as if it were a logical power; its unannounced descent on some luckless archbishop; its facile swiftness in probing a pompous speculation; all these will come upon you unawares, and delight you by the endless recurrence of novelty. But the man himself never moves an inch from the position where nature has put him; and throughout the memoir, Sydney Smith means exactly the same measure of intelligence, wit, and heartiness.

Nothing could be further from the romantic than Sydney Smith's life. It had none of those startling incidents and exciting events that strike the imagination, and that so frequently disguise the real interests of human existence beneath an artificial drapery; and yet, his career appeals to the imagination, and awakens feelings above the common level of experience. His boyhood opens at Woodford, in Essex, England; and your first glance at his home touches a cord of merriment. The father, Mr. Robert Smith, is odd enough for the frontispiece of a comic almanac; and he holds fast to his oddities with such delightful pertinacity, that you suspect him of enjoying them much more than did his family. By way of contrast, he dresses in professional drab, and surmounts his head with a hat that isolates this Mr. Smith from all other Smiths in the land of the living. What was left of his inventive genius after its efforts on

dress, seems to have been expended on architecture, considered as a wasteful art; for we are informed that, in this particular, he was successful in "buying, altering, spoiling, and then selling, about nineteen different places in England." House-building and house-changing being costly whims, Mr. Smith lost a small fortune in their gratification. Despite of these crotchets, he must have been a sensible man in some things, as he married a noble girl, Miss Olier, daughter of M. Olier, a French emigrant from Languedoc. The few glimpses that we have of the Woodford household, as it was three quarters of a century since, show the stalwart man in his Quaker dress, and beside him a fair and beautiful woman, whose bright face lit up the walls, and kept sunshine always in the dwelling. The graces of womanhood, that are lovelier than form or feature, were preserved in their freshness; and the home never wanted charm of mind and manner so long as she lived. Around this eccentric Englishman and his interesting French wife—the vivacity and sweetness of the one, framed in the grotesque carving of the other's temperament and habits—are four boys and a girl, who evince decided symptoms of strong, sturdy, brilliant character. The father called the four sons "an intolerable and overbearing set of boys;" but the mother read prophecies in them that one day were to be fulfilled. She toiled with them as well as for them; striving sincerely and faithfully to infuse a salutary, moral sentiment into their hearts. Her letters to them at school must have been unusually attractive; for we are told that their school-fellows would gather around them when they had a letter from their mother, and beg to have it read aloud. The best traits of the Huguenot mother descended to Sydney: and our only regret is, that more of her character and history is not recorded. The few hints are sufficient, however, to indicate that she was a charming person; and, amid the dim outlining of her intellectual and moral qualities, her social gentleness and domestic sweetness, it is more than a pastime of fancy to follow the career of her distinguished son, and attribute this virtue, or that brave endeavour to befriend oppressed innocence, to the impress which she stamped upon him. All through his life, we think that we can trace her presence. His regard for women was one of his strongest characteristics; and, delighting in their society, he yielded the richest treasures of his mind to them. Never was he more himself than when he had them as a group of listeners; and if ever his rapid play of cross-lights was carried on more dazzlingly than usual, and his wit was more winning and sportive, it was when some of his favourites among the sex ministered a pleasant provocation to his

elastic spirit. One of the earliest and foremost champions of female education, he contributed greatly to form a liberal and noble public sentiment on this subject; and still faithful to the stirrings of his Huguenot blood, he touched the hidden nerves of England's heart by Peter Plymley's Letters. Thus, at intervals, the noble mother reappears in the noble son; and thus the childhood, which she lived long enough—happily for the world—to train and bless, bore her simplicity and beauty onward, through manhood and age, to the grave.

Sydney was sent to Winchester College, where he distinguished himself for Latin verses, and gained a captainship. Thence he was removed to New College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow. His industry, scholarship, and popularity were, at this early age, sufficient to attract attention. Economical and prudent in whatever related to his own expenses, he was generous and kind to others, stinting himself to save means for their assistance. On leaving Oxford, he was inclined to study law; but he was overruled by his father, and consigned to the Church. It was a business arrangement, a movement for professional position. There is nothing to indicate that he was conscious of any particular call to preach the Gospel, or that Providence prompted his step in this direction; but it is not for us to pronounce a judgment. All that we dare speak of is what appears on the surface: and beneath that surface the Holy Spirit may have wrought its work. The footsteps of charity must tread lightly on ground sacred to God.

The scenes of his clerical life open in the midst of Salisbury Plain. There is a religious poem in the words—Salisbury Plain; and there rise before us at the instant, beckoned from the past, the saintly images of one who made Barley Wood a shrine for pious pilgrims; and of another—the trusting, loving, heavenward-looking "Shepherd"—who saw the darkest cloud lie serenely in the hollow of the same firmament, that had the day before irradiated its snow-like mass, and found a benediction ever present in the thoughts of reconciliation and peace, that Christianity had written on every object around him. But to Sydney Smith it was simple Salisbury Plain. It was a dreary place, forlorn enough to try the stout heart of the hero; for the inventory, all told, consisted of a village, most humble in pretension—people, who had inherited poverty, and preserved their inheritance far better than is common among heirs—and potatoes, denied the luxury of catchup. Imagine the curate in this new world; and surely it is no fanciful chain of circumstances, that binds the experience of the half-starved Winchester boy to the experience of the "Pauper Pastor" of Salisbury Plain. Fortunately

for the curate, he had a stomach that rejoiced in a sense of better days in reserve; and, still more fortunately, Salisbury Plain had a squire, that enacted, in real life, some of the gracious deeds that cluster, in English literature, around this noted personage. The squire engaged him as tutor to his son; and forthwith he set out for Germany with his charge. The misfortunes of Salisbury Plain seemed to follow their steps; the continent was disturbed by war, and thus, driven home again, he put into Edinburgh "in stress of politics."

It was an event in his life; it was, indeed, an era, from which he dated a new history. "1797; twenty-six years of age; arrived in modern Athens with young Mr. Beach;" are worthy of capitals in his diary. So it proved to be. If a momentary episode were allowable, one can imagine how he would have fared, intellectually, in that region of the world, bordering on "Cloud-Land." But the companionship of Kant's countrymen was denied him; and, instead of the realm of "pure reason," he trod the firm soil of Scotland. It was just the place and the time for him. The surge of the French Revolution was then rolling over Europe, and men everywhere, if they were, happily, beyond its fury, felt the swell of its billows.

About half a century before this eventful period, Wesley and Whitefield, reading the signs of the times, though not yet written in blood, and feeling their hearts strangely stirred to preach the Gospel of the Crucified, went forth to rouse the conscience and animate the life of their country. Viewed with reference to subsequent facts, a more remarkable instance of Providence has never been witnessed. It was Providence, as an agency of interposition. It was Providence, directing the great Christian thought of the day to the precise point where the volcanic elements of England were concentrated; and teaching Christian philanthropy how their frightful explosion might be avoided. The working masses, that in France had upheaved the foundations of social and political order, had in England been, to a certain extent, brought under religious influence. Wesley and Whitefield, the chosen pioneers of this wonderful reformation, had been successful in awakening others to realize the magnitude of the work; and, apart from their immediate adherents, men and women of prominence in the Established Church had participated in the movement. The position of the lower and middle classes of society in England, toward the close of the last century, was favourable to the permanence of her institutions; and while it presents a striking contrast to the condition of similar classes in France, it shows the simple power of the Gospel to provide

a barrier against the desolating tide of barbarism. How many guardian angels were then abroad in that fair isle! The songs of Cowper and Newton were sung in many a wayside cottage; the touching narratives of Leigh Richmond and Hannah More were instructing the body of the people in the conservative principles of social and political life; Bunyan and Baxter had returned to the homes and hearts of men; open-air preaching had diffused the knowledge of Christ; neglected poverty had been cheered and comforted; gloomy coal-pits had been converted into sanctuaries; and, for the first time since the restoration of Charles II., England was penetrated with the spirit of earnest and sincere piety. Owing to these causes and others it was that England, while she could not but feel the tremendous shock that then reverberated throughout the civilized world, was yet, happily, able to stand firm on her ancient foundations. The relation that her intellect, no less than her national authority, sustained to the dreadful contest, was sufficient to intensify her interest in the result. Grave men were made graver; and philosophers suddenly outgrew the cherished theories of a lifetime. Never but once, in the history of modern civilisation, had mind been so quickly and profoundly moved; and never had circumstances so singularly conspired to bring under solemn review all that mankind had been accustomed to venerate.

It was at this critical period that Sydney Smith began his career in Edinburgh, then the most intellectual city in Europe. Intellect and power—such intellect and power as Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, and Playfair had—were gathered there; and, behind them, impulse was in waiting for the auspicious moment when it could project them upon the world. That moment came. Smith proposed a Review; Jeffrey and Brougham acceded; and ere long, the first number, prepared under Sydney's oversight, made its appearance. It soon made its mark. Fresh in topics and forcible in style, resolute in purpose and daring in spirit, it went to work, as if work were enthusiasm and grandeur as well as labour and duty; and commanding all the resources within reach, and disciplining them into most admirable and efficient service, the new comer grasped the public mind with an energy and completeness that have rarely been known in literature. The intelligent, aspiring, advancing intellect of the day, and especially the political and social representatives of that intellect, made it their organ. Corruptions were attacked when corruption was respectable; false and pernicious usages were exposed; bad laws were assailed, and bad men unmasked; reform was thundered from Dan to Beersheba; English rule and English polity were laid bare for inspection; and cancerous sores were held up under

men's eyes until they shrank from the loathsome sight. One by one, its objects were attained. Public opinion was thoroughly aroused; and Parliament addressed itself, in good earnest, to the removal of abuses and the correction of errors. No Review ever exerted such influence, and contributed so many important benefits to the political and social interests of the community on which it acted. It was a form of statesmanship that the world had not previously known, and to it England is largely indebted for its present degree of freedom and prosperity. Whatever were its imperfections and evils, the Edinburgh Review deserves the credit of having made the power of the press more of a practical thing than it had before been; and of infusing a direct, pungent, courageous spirit into learning, scholarship, and genius. A great part of its success is due to Sydney Smith. Aside from his own contributions, in which the bold and telling qualities of his mind had such masterly scope, he was of peculiar service to the men who were connected with its pages. He restrained their erratic tendencies; he neutralized many of their objectionable elements. Fearless and hearty, he was still considerate, self-balanced, and temperate. The temper of the day could not betray him into excessive rashness, nor could he be diverted into romantic speculations. If he loved principle, he had no patience with the philosophic humours that would strain it to attenuated feebleness. By his watchfulness the Review was guarded against infidel doctrines; by his sustained earnestness, it was kept steady on the path marked out for its line of movement; by his strong English tone of thought—his athletic style, his muscular soul, living and bounding in all he wrote—he commended it to England's reflective, administrative mind, and secured it a hearing where, otherwise, it might have gone unheeded.

Another field now opened. Edinburgh had brought him into notice, and laid the foundation of a great reputation. Here, too, he had attracted attention, as an occasional preacher at Bishop Sanford's chapel; and also formed those associations, which, in after-life, were so faithfully appreciated and honoured. Meanwhile, he had married Miss Pybus, of England. His functions as a tutor had ceased, and his income terminated.

"It was lucky," remarks Lady Holland, "that Miss Pybus had some fortune; for my father's only contribution toward their future *ménage* (save his own talents and character) were six small silver tea-spoons, which, from much wear, had become the ghosts of their former selves. One day, in the madness of his joy, he came running into the room, and flung these into her lap, saying, 'There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune!'"

The devoted wife was a clear-sighted woman. She saw the capacity of her husband, and urged him to settle in London. Yielding to her urgent wishes, he left Edinburgh, and commenced house-keeping in the capital. His wife's costly necklace was sold, and the proceeds furnished a house. The pressure of circumstances was heavy; but keeping his heart light and hands active, cheered by the smile of a noble and tender wife, and never ceasing to trust the fortunes of the future, he struggled steadily and bravely to provide for the wants of an increasing household, and discharge the growing responsibilities of life. It was a fierce battle with poverty, and all that poverty means to a sensitive, honourable nature. His brother Robert assisted him; and he became morning preacher at John-street, Berkley Square. Then followed the chaplaincy to the Foundling Hospital, with a salary of £50 per annum. Friends now began to multiply. Holland House recognised his merits, and welcomed him among its chosen guests. Lords and ladies listened to charming stories of the versatile gifts of the man; and Whig leaders lavished on him the cheap patronage of kind words and fine dinners. A short time after, he delivered his Lectures on Moral Philosophy at the Royal Institution, which were most favourably received. The circumstances, the audience, the subjects, were such as suited the varied powers of Sydney Smith; and feeling, doubtless, that he had reached a turning-point in his career, no pains were spared, no tact left inactive, that could assist impression. It was not an occasion to slip through his fingers. He made the best of the opportunity; and the joint product of the man and his chances were money enough to furnish a new house in Orchard-street, and reputation sufficient to satisfy a moderate ambition. Speaking of these lectures, Mr. Horner said: "Nobody else, to be sure, could have executed such an undertaking with the least chance of success; for who could make such a mixture of odd paradox, quaint fun, manly sense, liberal opinions, and striking language?" Few lectures will compare with them. We have read productions of this class more profound in abstractions, and with more breadth of thought; but none that measure so exactly to the true standard of the lecture. There is originality to stimulate; and deep, searching reflectiveness attends it. There are quick, sharp glances; and there are calm, fixed contemplations. A vital newness, that one would never look for in the topics of moral philosophy; a total absence of the buckram and mannerisms of the schools; a delicate appreciation of dignity, without its slavish stiffnesses; a cordial homage to beauty, truth, and goodness, with no taint of modish affectation; sparkling wit and flowing humour; warm feelings and energetic intel-

lect, have secured for these pages a just claim on that much-abused title, Lectures for the People. It would be well, if at this time of lecture-mania, the true idea of lectures, as Sydney Smith embodied it, could be studied and apprehended. A lecture has its own standpoint, and surely it ought to be maintained. It is not an essay, nor a disquisition; it is not a sermon, disrobed of its pulpit dress, nor a pamphlet without printer's ink and paper binding. Books have their province; so have lectures. Outside of colleges and universities, people attend lectures to gain instant benefit; to enjoy ready-made instruction; to get thoughts that strike the nerves of the brain, and thrill inspiration all through them. If popular lectures are to have position and influence, they ought to become auxiliary to the growth of mind, in the direction that mind moves, whenever it seeks oral knowledge; and hence, nothing is clearer than that they should obey the instincts of the speaking intellect, and consult the relation of their audience simply as *hearers*. They must be more than talking editors, handling the topics of the day with prompt despatch; and more than stump-orators, touching great principles as if logic and rhetoric had no other end than applause. There is a heart in the wisdom of the age, that literature cannot give to the world, and it is this, that lecturers, as living men, ought to throb into the souls of the listening crowd. What has eloquence yet done for many of the grandest topics of the day? What has it effected for the higher interests of men, in connexion with Labour, Business, Commerce, Art, Brotherhood, and International Polity? If the eloquence of the pulpit, of the bar, and of statesmanship excepted, the noblest thoughts of mankind, its latest and richest culture, its ripest and mellowest fruitage, are awaiting that full and forcible expression, which the best speech, under the best circumstances, alone can give.

But where is Sydney Smith? We left him in the enjoyment of his laurels, as a lecturer in the Royal Institution; and, forsooth, as these laurels were well-earned, and well-worn, a little retirement, to receive congratulations, may not have been unwelcome. Moral Philosophy had carpeted, seated, and adorned a new house. Moral Philosophy had brightened a domestic fireside, and cheered a struggling household. Moral Philosophy had demonstrated to London that Sydney Smith was something more than a brilliant conversationist and a sharp reviewer. It was a season for a quiet festival of sentiment and hope, but, nevertheless, there was no regular employment; the whole land had not a furrow in which seed for future harvests were germinating; each day rose over the horizon with a suspicious face; and it was more than doubtful if Moral

Philosophy would furnish bread and clothing for wife and children. The king read his reviews, and said, "he was a very clever fellow, but he would never be a bishop." The statement and the prophecy were both true. The "very clever fellow" went light-footed on, braving his circumstances, waiting patiently, practising no pretence, despising shams, giving dinners to the wealthy, who were his friends, on a single dish; and rising triumphantly above the social embarrassments that torture men of pride and poverty. It was now the year 1806, and he was thirty-five years of age. Preferment came in the shape of a living at Foston le Clay, in Yorkshire. It was not an attractive place; it had suffered from ecclesiastical neglect for a century and a half; but Sydney Smith took hold of it, as his habit was, in downright earnestness, determined to draw from it all the joy that it contained. "Master Smith," said the superannuated clerk of Foston, "it often stroikes my moind, that people as comes from London is such *fools*." That shot missed the mark. "Master Smith" was no fool, either in Yorkshire or London. Despite of all manner of unpromising circumstances, he dedicated himself to the work in hand; and wherever ingenuity could find or make an opening for any sort of usefulness, there he was, in stirring activity and generous enterprise. He had studied medicine in Edinburgh, thinking it would render him more serviceable as a pastor; and his foresight was now confirmed. A droll doctor was he, original in terms as well as in practice; but overflowing with kindness, forbearance, and gentleness for his poor parishioners.

Foston le Clay, as any common man would have literalized its homely scenes, and Foston le Clay, as Sydney Smith conferred the charms of his own radiant temper on it, were about as opposite places as one could well imagine. The poetic power, by which we spread an illusory interest over objects, is rarely able to maintain its glow; and the heart, weary of a visionary ideal, pants for something more substantial. It is otherwise with that cheerfulness of disposition, the gift of nature improved by culture, which reflects its own image on everything, and creates a world of blessedness out of the most scanty materials. Happiness, like wealth, comes from little things, and swells its stores, by steady contributions, from a thousand sources. Why should we specify its resemblance, in this particular, to wealth? Wisdom follows the same law; and even character, the highest attainment of our inward being, is dependent on the same principle. The insignificant wears divine honours, and fulfils the grandest purposes of Providence. Few men, in this respect, have been as finely constituted as Sydney Smith. "I am not leading precisely the life I should choose,"

wrote he to Lady Holland, "but I am resolved to like it; which is more manly than to feign myself above it, and to send up complaints by the post of being thrown away, and being desolate, and such like trash." These words utter a manly nature; and, in their spirit, he strove to make the best of the circumstances surrounding his lot. The pictures of his home life, at Foston le Clay, are exceedingly interesting. All his pleasantness and drollery appear in the arrangements of his farm, and the management of domestic incidents. Everything is done after the style of Sydney Smith. Emergencies provoked strange devices, and common matters were thrown into a grotesque shape. The architecture of his house abounded in laughable peculiarities; and then the endless inventions! It was a miniature patent-office, in which skill and humour vied with each other. His green chariot, known as the "Immortal," was the wonder of the neighbourhood; and the horse, "Calamity," was a still greater marvel. The servants, "Bunch," and "Jack Robinson," afforded constant amusement; and whenever Sydney wanted a domestic comedy, "Bunch was always ready to give an entertainment." But his gayety was not insensibility. No man had a kinder, warmer heart; and whenever misery was to be relieved, or any other duty discharged, he was faithful to the obligations of his clerical post. Subsequently to this time his circumstances improved; an aunt left him a legacy, and the living of Londesborough was added to his income. Lord Lyndhurst presented him with a vacant stall at Bristol; and here he preached a sermon on November 5th, 1828, so "intolerably tolerant," that the mayor and corporation "could scarcely keep the turtle on their stomachs." Foston was soon after exchanged for Combe Florey, in Somersetshire. A change in politics now brought the Whigs into power, and none had a better claim to be remembered than Sydney Smith; for none had rendered greater services than he to the liberal party. Standing alone in his profession, he had been loyal to principle, when principle was but another name for sacrifice and neglect; giving his great powers, in simple integrity and a martyr-like devotion, to the struggling interests of freedom, and seeking no recompense but the approbation of his own heart. But merit is sure of final victory. Lord Grey gave him a prebendal stall at St. Paul's in 1831; a few years after his brother bequeathes his property to him; and he settles down in comfort for life. While canon of St. Paul's, he distinguished himself by his attention to business no less than by literary efforts. The resolute steward attended personally and closely to his duties, familiarized himself with every minute matter, checked extravagance, resisted and overpowered corruption. "I find traces

of him," remarks the Dean of St. Paul's, "in every particular of chapter affairs; and on every occasion, where his hand appears, I find stronger reason for respecting his sound judgment, knowledge of business, and activity of mind; above all, the perfect fidelity of his stewardship." It was at this stage of his ecclesiastical life that he wrote his Letters to Archdeacon Singleton, and the Pamphlet on the Ballot. Age was now upon him. Amid the delightful scenes of the Somersetshire parsonage, where his exuberant good-nature was ever active in some office of hospitality, or in responding to some plea of philanthropy, his life drew toward its end. "Thank God for Combe Florey!" was his frequent exclamation. And well might he be thankful; for no English home had more serene joyousness within its walls, or a more sunny landscape around. In 1844 he began to fail. He declined rapidly in the autumn; and in the following year his career on earth closed.

Reviewing the history of this remarkable man, we find it difficult to give a just degree of prominence to the various and peculiar qualities that characterized him. At one moment, he appears the soundest, shrewdest, and most sensible of all his contemporaries. We see his sagacity instructing, and his courage inspiring them; and, in the glow of admiration which such a strongly-nerved intellect awakens, we pause to contemplate Sydney Smith as worthy to sustain the leadership of the liberal intellect of the day. At another moment, he passes before us intent on some wondrous exploit in the way of demolishing a gigantic sham, or hurling his Ithuriel's spear into the heart of a huge imposition. Another glance, and he is probing dignitaries to the core, and fiercely assailing the evils of his own Church. Then follows an outburst of indignation, that scarcely moves you to scorn before your muscles relax in irresistible laughter. The rapid transitions go on as if he were a miracle of moods; but, as you watch him more narrowly, a mind of prodigious force—a common sense that rose almost to the heights of genius; a capacity to invest an object on all sides, and grasp it in its wholeness; a wit, that redeemed the name from its low or trifling associations, and exalted it into a power of benignant action—all these stand out in your presence with such undisputable originality, that you are at a loss how to delineate his marvellous individuality.

Sydney Smith had a fine physical organization; his animal spirits were buoyant and vigorous. If not body-proof against murky skies and oppressive airs, or the more certain depressions of heavy dinners and late hours, he had elasticity enough to reduce their effects to a more fortunate minimum than most persons experience.

Then, too, he was careful of his health, never straining his mind or exhausting his strength. No one ever had a greater facility in the art of unbending the bow. The fascination of study was perfectly controlled; and in an instant, he could wind up an argument, point a paragraph, drop his pen, and turn the fulness of himself to the most commonplace business. His nerves never came nearer to the surface than nature had prescribed. They were not delicately strung like Cowper's, nor tortured in long agony like Robert Hall's.

One is continually reminded, in the memoir, of the advantages which Smith derived from his constitutional vigour; and, if Christopher North be excepted, no man, in recent literature, shows so much of the "*mens sana in corpore sano.*" He could be brilliant any where, on any subject, without the aid of wine, and he could endure hard effort without artificial appliances. Such bodily health and vitality are entitled to consideration, if we would form a correct estimate of a man like Sydney Smith. Animal qualities are not the cause of intellectual power, or of social adaptations; and yet, where God has given a mind and heart of greatness, they are important adjuncts to their full development.

The intellect of Sydney Smith does not impress us as an intellect of the loftiest and noblest type. Compared with men of his own country—Shakspeare, Milton, Barrow, and Burke—his inferiority is palpable. The abstract power was defective; he could not trace a principle, like Coleridge, through any labyrinth, nor follow it to its source like Foster; but if the principle were outside of the region assigned by German thinkers to reason, and in the open field of the understanding, he could seize it as potently, and use it as successfully, as any man of his age. His feet were firmly planted on the earth, and if an effort to overcome gravitation were a sin, he could not have obeyed its law more rigidly. The bright eyes that were so near his brain, might range abroad, glancing from mountain to cloud, from cloud to zenith, but the man himself could not soar. Sufficient was around him to arouse, occupy, and refresh. Nor had he that form of intellect displayed so strikingly in De Quincey, which hovers on the border-line of the supernatural, and elicits, even from common impulses, a mystery and a glory that add significance to daily life. He asked no anxious questions of the mighty nature that works in us all, and sought no clue to those problems which have perplexed and confounded the intellect of all ages. The interpretative mind, reading a future world in the instinctive emotions of childhood, or listening to the prophecies of immortality in the frantic cries of grief and agony never intensified his sensibilities or exalted his contemplations. There was no foundation for any

sort of mysticism in him. So far from this, we doubt if any kind of remote or intangible thought had the slightest toleration at his hands. Hints, that spiritual philosophy suggest to profound thinkers; musings, that are often born of our happiest and truest moments; ideals, that charm and captivate the best men in their best condition, were too much removed from his sphere of reality to gain any hold upon him. His faith was eyesight by another name. The poetic faculty, as the reader may readily suppose, was utterly wanting; not that he was destitute of a certain order of fancy, but imagination, the foremost power of the mind, the earnest searcher in realms beyond the scope of the senses and the understanding; the unsatisfied seeker of still another image to embody a cherished sentiment, or a new fact to illustrate an old truth—such imagination as, even when not creative, is yet capable of regal intercourse with the magnificence of the universe, and carries a most loving heart into the presence of Supreme Beauty and Infinite Glory—such imagination never endowed him with its priceless gifts, nor crowned him with its matchless honours. But these defects are comparative only. Men may be great without them; and it is surprising to look over the roll of distinguished personages, and see how few of them approached the standard of splendid abilities, which we thus erect in our impassioned hours. Providence seldom sets its seal on the most resplendent intellects, and incorporates them into the grand system of agencies by which the world is urged forward. They are majestic spectacles—sublime assurances of what we are, or may be; but not by them are laws made more humane, society more fraternal, patriotism less selfish, philanthropy more benevolent, and practical Christianity more reformatory. Such men exist by themselves. They mourn over their loneliness, and not without reason; for they belong to a higher economy of utility, and to a more refined and beautiful life than now encircles us.

The greatness of Sydney Smith's mind consisted not merely in the possession of extraordinary powers of thought and expression, but in the admirable facility with which the different faculties worked together, the common cause they made in every argument, the hearty unanimity with which they brought themselves in a solid column to resist an attack or sustain an onset. Any one of them, had it been singly practised, would have signalized his career. Mr. Everett well remarked that, "If he had not been known as the wittiest man of his day, he would have been accounted one of the wisest." If we analyze his productions, we are struck with his intuitive perception of the real points of a subject, his quick sagacity, his large comprehensiveness, his apportionment of strength to this

or that division of the topic, his unflagging vigour from the first to the last sentence, and, above all, his wonderful ability to translate ideas into life-like forms, and to commune with them as if they were real personalities. Everything took this palpable shape. The abstract instantly turned into the concrete, and he could scarcely elaborate a principle for a moment, without its sudden appearance in the flesh and blood of Mrs. Plymley, Mrs. Partington, or "John, Walter, Honoria, and Arabella Wiggins." His logic was clear, acute, forcible. and when he chose to argue, he deserved the title, which Mr. Macaulay gave him, of "a great reasoner." His main distinction lay in the ease and thoroughness with which he could divest a theme of all its incumbrances, and take hold directly of its legitimate proportions. And in one respect, namely, thinking for the people, he was a model of adaptive intellect. Instead of detaining his thoughts as if he loved their company, for his own sake, or tracing their development as if he were to be the party benefitted, he hurried them into a presentable and companionable form, and sent them forth into society. Each of them went out into the great world, a Sydney Smith in look and language; talking, rubbing, joking, laughing; seizing the heart of one, and conquering the prejudices of another; disturbing the gravity of the House of Lords, and making rare sport among commoners; fastening a descriptive joke on Lord Russell, and fitting it so well as that ever after it was remembered as a daguerreotype biography of the thin little man, "reduced by excessive anxiety about the people;" dealing with bishops in such a Spartan-like manner, as that neither they nor any body else required any future refreshing as to the thing said, and, withal, these miniature Sydney Smiths were so well-behaved, that most persons enjoyed a stout rap or a jovial reminder, even at their own expense, and felt complimented by the attention. "You have been laughing at me for fifteen years, Sydney," said one; "but this I will own, that you never said a word that I could wish had not been spoken."

The wit of the man was proverbial. It was a tropical luxuriance, in which soil and sunshine did their utmost in the way of growth and flowering. The pages of the memoir are full of his peculiar sayings, and we suspect that the daughter has collected only a small proportion. Jean Paul says, that the current of thought, in some men, cannot run steadily on, but is ever leaping up in jets. Sydney Smith's wit was perfectly spontaneous. There was no effort to invent resemblances, or to force a thought into a grotesque shape. Others have been famous for wit, but Sydney Smith had it as an intellectual power, and it assumed a more dignified rank in him than in any one whose name is associated with it. Not often does it

stand by itself, a freak of the mind apart from its usual exhibitions; nor does it save itself for great occasions, as if it were a state wardrobe for magnificent display. A portion of the texture of his intellect, it was a natural outgrowth of active, energetic, versatile thought, and it blends harmoniously and effectively with his discussions and descriptions. Proof of this is found in the fact that, while he uttered many strikingly humorous remarks in a sort of detached manner, yet his best things are closely intertwined with weighty reasoning and earnest appeal. It was the flavour of his mind, not a sauce that the epicureanism of Gore House can furnish to a dish, but the genuine juice of the fruit. No one was less of an adept in the arbitrary collocation of words and images. Wit manufacture was not to his taste; he was too serious and direct for that laborious amusement. Play with his thoughts, and play with exuberant sportiveness, he would; but the thoughts themselves always maintained their inherent force, and the dalliance was only a pleasant accompaniment to their progress. It was not the wit of South, that needed controversy to give it edge, or some mark, like Jeremy Taylor, to make it keen and probing; it was not the wit of Fuller, bubbling up through every open crevice, and quivering, like a gentle gas-flame, that has been ignited by contact with the air; nor was it the quaint wit of Charles Lamb, leading off his intellect into hidden by-paths, and holding a strange monologue over the most eccentric, antiquated, obsolete specimens of humanity that his search could exhume. Free from the savage vices of Swift's, and too healthy and ruddy to need the champagne that convivialized Theodore Hook's into the revelry of the dinner-table, the wit of Sydney Smith may well serve as a practical comment on the remark of the great theologian, Isaac Barrow: "Allowable pleasantry may be expedient to put the world out of conceit that all sober and good men are a sort of lumpish or sour people; that they can utter nothing but flat and drowsy stuff;" and, to his praise it may be said, that so dangerous a weapon has rarely been used with more discretion and delicacy.

The religious character of Sydney Smith, so far as delineated in the memoir, will probably be viewed in different lights by different persons. That he was a sincere believer in the great doctrines of Christianity, and, to a certain extent, appreciated their distinctive bearings on man's fallen condition and guilty nature, cannot be doubted. Such points, in the Gospel system, as forbearance, compassion, sympathy, charity, and good works, and other peculiarities of Christianity, regarded as a law between man and man, were prominent in his creed; and to his credit it must be said, that his life abounded in beautiful illustrations of his attachment to them. To befriend the

poor, to watch beside the destitute sick, to bear the light of cheerful hope into lonely and distressed hovels, to give his substance as well as his kind attentions wherever needed, and often, too, where he was the only good Samaritan; these noble and blessed offices were his delight, and for them he was ever prompt to resign any pleasure and endure any inconvenience. So far as we can see, these cardinal duties were discharged for Christ's sake. There is something in his simple-heartedness, in his generous sacrifices, in his persistent earnestness, in his fruitful ingenuity in devising ways to do good, that impresses us as a different sentiment from worldly philanthropy. Vice was sternly rebuked; corruption in high places was vehemently assailed; sceptical writings and irreligious books were indignantly condemned; and, in some instances, men, through his instrumentality, were brought to a knowledge of the truth. Then, too, he laid bare the weakness and worldliness of the established Church, and challenged its zeal to practical efforts for the regeneration of neglected multitudes. It was near "dying of dignity," and he urged a more effective and aggressive style of preaching. Puseyism had none of his sympathies, and mummery was his contempt; ecclesiastical abuses had no mercy at his hands, and bishops, if their measures or actions were obnoxious, were made to feel his sharpest logic and his most scathing wit. Such courage as this brought its penalties, and no man knew better than Sydney Smith that he was paying a dear price for his advocacy of correct principles; but no expostulations from time-servers, no forfeiture of honours, no contumely, could stifle his voice or abate his earnestness. Looking at the man in this connexion, he assumes the dignity of moral heroism. There is breadth, as well as power, in his movements. There is no sudden pause in the midst of his career to ponder over prudential calculations, and to examine if measures were not strained too hard for his own advantage. Sydney Smith never put himself in one scale and duty in the other, but, with facts on one side of the beam, he weighed obligations in the other, and determined his course. But the errors of a false system were around him, and, viewing the circumstances about him, the associations of his position, and the sphere of life in which he acted, it is not surprising that he should have been injuriously affected.

Tried by an evangelical standard, Sydney Smith certainly does not satisfy us. If not worldly-minded, he was too much in an atmosphere of worldliness. There was nothing wrong in his intimacy at Holland House, nor is he to be blamed for enjoying a good dinner whenever it came in his way. His wit and humour were God's gifts, and he generally used them in an amiable and unobjectionable

manner. Exhilarating as his spirits were, they never transcended the bounds of refined and cultivated taste. The effervescence was not the froth of poisonous liquor, but the white foam of a stream, that irrigated and refreshed the landscape through which it flowed. Table-pleasures were valued more for the mind than the body, and his wonderful powers of conversation were not wasted on trifles. All his friends represent him as most charming in his serious moods, and even fashionable women, who courted his acquaintance for the zest of his lighter talk, bear testimony to the edifying and ennobling qualities of the man. And yet it is sad to think that one so richly endowed; one so frank, cordial, truthful, exemplary; one of so much purpose, ability, and rectitude, should have fallen short of the measure of a thoroughly devout Christian, and missed the mark of an humble, godly, useful minister of Christ.

Let us not be misunderstood. Critics are morally responsible for their reviews of character, as well as amenable to the laws of taste and culture for the spirit in which they treat the sanctity of human reputation. Far from us be the hard and callous insensibility that would regard the talents and virtues of great and noble men as if they were mere contributions to the science and surgery of the dissecting-table. But errors of false kindness are often as mischievous as the vices of savage tempers. If any one, after reading these volumes, will calmly close them, and then summon before his mind a distinct, full-formed image of Sydney Smith, we are greatly mistaken if he do not feel that something is wanting to give that image moral and spiritual completeness. Beautiful does that image appear in all the gentler and tenderer relations of home and fireside, and abroad, in the manly pursuits of life, in the field, in the parish, in the city, brave as the bravest; but is it not the light of a near firmament that illumines its features? and if, in serener and holier hours, the beams of a more distant orb fall upon it, is it not a halo that soon vanishes?

Sydney Smith seems never to have sounded the depths of spiritual experience. Religion, as a moral and practical routine; religion, as a social system to educate and elevate mankind; religion, as a state instrument; religion, as a revealed, Divine authority, armed with God's omnipotence, and hallowed by God's compassionate love; religion, as a theory of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, he comprehended and taught. A step beyond, and he reaches "purity of heart," and dwells on it as the "ark of God;" "it is God's, and to God it will return." But, admitting gladly all this, it is very obvious that Sydney Smith had no fellowship with the profounder aspects of experimental religion. The agonies of repentance; the terrible convic-

tion that cleaves the universe, and opens heaven and hell before the startled eye; the strong cries and tears, that utter a language unknown, where the cross is unfelt; the vast interests of the soul, when God lets down the burden of eternity on its keenest sensibilities; the reconciling sight of Jesus, as redeemer, intercessor, friend, and brother; the triumph of faith, hope, and love, in their answering joy to Father, Son, and Spirit; the sore conflicts of Christian life; the alternations of fear and confidence; the oft-repeated prayer, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner;" the yearning for rest in Paradise; the growth into the full stature of Christ; all this was beyond his grasp. To his mind, a person showing an acute sense of God's violated law, or an exultant feeling of God's forgiving mercy, was a sheer enthusiast. Perhaps the enthusiast needed medical treatment; perhaps the stomach had usurped the dominion of the brain, and a bad liver was secreting unhealthy ideas; at best, he was the fool of others, or the dupe of himself. For all such cases he had a most summary treatment; and, seizing the most exceptionable of their peculiarities, and drawing no line whatever between the incidents of a principle and the principle itself, he branded them as fanatics, whose rantings, superstition, and severities, were the offspring of distempered heads or hollow hearts. A grosser instance of injustice, a more humiliating exhibition of ignorance and moral inappreciativeness, we do not know, than this phase of Sydney Smith's character. He saw and felt the evils of the established Church; he admitted that its disease was chronic; he was an unflinching supporter of liberality and charity in all things; he loved to witness the progress of society, and no one laboured harder, in certain ways, to contribute to it; and yet, while evangelical Christians were accomplishing, under his own eyes, and at his very door, what he so much coveted to have done; while they were sending a new stream of life into the decaying vitals of the Church, and quickening the lower classes of England into the consciousness of manhood; while literature, commerce, and legislation, all bore marks of their energetic presence, and showed that Christianity was advancing toward its enthronement, in intellect and life; he must deliberately plant himself, fathoms deep, against these movements, and hurl the sharpest shafts of wit, and the barbed arrows of ridicule, into the hearts of many of England's worthiest and purest men. We say nothing of the taste that could select the most pervertible passages from evangelical works, and hold them up to public derision. It had been done before. Infidels had made a similar use of the Bible. Satan himself is a master-hand at apt quotations. A few withered leaves, crumpled, blackened, mouldy, from the boughs of an oak,

do not convict it of death; nor do ugly worms on flowers disgust a botanist with the vegetable beauty of nature. The man talked of bigotry; but what bigotry is as blinding as that which shuts up one to his own little loop-hole, and never permits him to move a hair's breadth toward a more commanding point of observation? And he talked, too, of delusion; alas! there is no delusion so silly as that which consists in mistaking a manikin for a living being; and of this was he guilty, when he turned scornfully from evangelical Christianity, and rested his hopes on the counterfeit institutions of the day.

In the same spirit he vehemently opposed Methodism. Selecting his points of attack, and keeping them only before his eye, he repudiates the entire system, by virtue of his dislike for what offends his taste and irritates his sense of refinement. The strange narrations of inward experience and outward trials, which Methodists had published, are either insufferably stupid or shockingly profane; while the introduction of supernatural things, in which some of them indulged, is quite an overmatch for his charity. Roman Catholics appeal to his sympathies and enlist his forbearance; but preaching cobblers and shouting colliers are too much for his temper. The people must necessarily run to ruin, if they follow the lead of such raving madmen. What will the doctrine of Providence prove in their hands? The depths in him move, and the shoal spots, lashed by the waters, are thick with strife, and clouded by dense Newfoundland fogs. Providence was not to be brought down from its high, scientific, unapproachable dignity. It was to be let alone in its sublime embodiment in the general laws of the universe, and it was downright sacrilege in Methodist prayer-meetings and love-feasts, to claim its present action in their results. Not then had the "Natural Vestiges" ascertained that Providence was a lottery system, nor had a presumptuous "spiritualism" degraded it into an affair of sullen raps and moving tables. But Providence was quietly generalized out of the reach of common things, and religious philosophy, as Sydney Smith held it, was content, if it would be good enough to manage the machinery of the solar system, and keep comets from using their tails too furiously. Nor had he any more patience with the style of thought and the bold manner which they employed in speaking of the Holy Ghost. To think of those unwashed, uncombed masses, as tabernacles of the Spirit, was beyond endurance. His nostrils settled the question; the dirty, greasy creatures, smelled of subterranean odours, and it would take Gabriel and the resurrection to make them decent enough to be entered on the list of Adam's descendants. The fanatical herd claimed to

know their sins forgiven, and to live in the daily consciousness of an approving God; they believed in fasting and prayer; they thought that sackcloth and ashes were as necessary in England as in ancient Judea; they reproved worldly fashions, and counted all things but loss, for the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus; and this was sufficient to demonstrate that a morbid and heretical enthusiasm had taken possession of them. A man must be deplorably ignorant of the Bible, who has not seen the disclosures of this vivid experience all through its pages. Judaism abounds with them, and Christianity presents them as common facts in the New Testament; but, apart from that, it is certainly amazing that any one, who has ever had a single religious thought to penetrate his brain, or a solitary religious emotion to enter into his heart, has not instantly and clearly recognised the power of Christianity to awaken intense conviction and profound feeling. Such a one cannot forget that the very approach of Christianity, as if a mysterious agency moved in advance of its footsteps, transferred him suddenly to a new position, and created a sense of relationships to the invisible and eternal, that he had not before imagined. It does not act on the senses, nor does it seize the imagination half as potently as a thousand objects around us; and yet, with a thrill that the nerves of sense never felt, and with a living realization that imagination never approximated, it impresses, at the same moment, and in equal fulness, our whole nature, and changes it into a being of infinite fears and hopes. The slightest contact with Christianity, if it is nothing more than an intellectual exercise, is assuredly sufficient to indicate its *line of movement*, and to convince one that awe, dread, anxiety, terror, as they operate in common minds, by reason of common sensibilities, and through the announced agency of God's special Spirit, are the inseparable attendants of its presence. Methodism did nothing more than express these vast and momentous facts. It took its tone and language from the Bible; it was untaught of man; its original institutions grew out of its prominent thoughts; its bond of union was simple brotherhood in Christ; its usages shaped themselves out from its instincts; and in all its relations it showed, to right-minded men, that it bore the stamp of God.

If Sydney Smith's discernment had not utterly failed him, it would have satisfied his judgment, that those things in Methodism, which he found so much cause to condemn, were striking illustrations of its Divine origin. Could any exhibition of pungent thought, deep conviction, poignant sorrow, truthful confidence, inspiring rapture, be more natural, taken in connexion with the circumstances then existing? Consider the parties the time, the occasion; view

all the antecedents; and these peculiarities, if such they can be called, are a most significant, reliable, and impressive testimony in its favour. Had they been absent; had these occasional hyperboles, extravagant attitudes, and wild outbursts, never appeared, the evidence would not have been so strong and convincing, that Christianity was working mightily on the hearts of the people. There were no irreconcilable phenomena in these manifestations. If they had never run into excess; never transgressed the bounds of sober propriety; never provoked a smile, or suggested an apprehension, *that* would have been an unaccountable phenomenon.

Any great emotion, if its power is adequately expressed, may appear extravagant, and even insane, if we have not the key to its comprehension. It may be the most truthful feeling in the world, such as maternal grief over the death of a tenderly-loved child; and yet, if the cause of that vehement passion is unknown, the mind is not prepared to appreciate the tremendous agitation. And precisely here lay the difficulty with Sydney Smith. Methodism was a wonder; it was a new exhibition of Divine energy; it was a fresh baptism from the Holy Ghost; men's thoughts were driven out of their old channels; men's eyes were opened on singular scenes; men's hearts were convulsed by unwonted excitements; and hence, such minds as Sydney Smith's, looking on its surface, and spiritually incompetent to penetrate deeper, yielded to their prejudices, and denounced it with the freedom which ignorance gives to its chieftains. It was only on such subjects as Methodism, missions, and collateral topics, that he ever resigned the liberality and generousness of his nature; but here, "his nobler self is gone," and he suddenly shrinks to the smallest dimensions of a man. Had he been freed from false associations; had he known the full power of Christianity; had he been himself in all his relations; working out, in his own simple, straightforward, manly ways, the grand ideas within him, and allowing himself to be seduced into no illusions, Sydney Smith had, perchance, been saved from the unenviable distinction of a decided antagonism to evangelical religion. Such defects are peculiarly painful to contemplate. It is the nature of great merit to awaken high admiration, and the spectacle of fine abilities, enriched by those munificent treasures, which the growth of centuries has provided for scholarship and taste, and dedicated to the advancement of freedom, brotherhood, and piety, never rises before the mind without enlarging its ideas, stimulating its aspirations, and exalting its aims. Where our best sympathies have thus been excited, and the heart glows in the presence of commanding worth, it is sad to be reminded that so much of earthliness belongs to the

brightest forms of humanity. A wrong is committed against us when men, such men as we are proud to honour, abate our esteem and restrain our praise. The spots on the sun neither shade its splendours nor chill its heat; not a blade of grass is less green; not a flower lacks its perfume; not a forest is less stately, because of their existence. The magnificent orb, holding his fulness unwasted, and nightly replenishing the effulgence of moon and stars, is as much the royal ruler of the firmament, as though his disc were without its shadows. But it is not so with men. The light of God is darkened by evil and discoloured by prejudice; and every ray thus diverted or destroyed, leaves us so much less of goodness and greatness to love and venerate.

Whatever fault may be found with Sydney Smith's course in those connexions which have been mentioned, and whatever failures he may have made in measuring up to the standard that his office and position pledged him to meet, it is delightful to dwell on what he did, and the means by which he accomplished so much for his age and country. Commencing life with almost everything against him, he augmented the difficulties in his way by advocating principles that drew upon him neglect and suffering. The peculiar talents which nature had lavishly given, and study, with its associate arts, had most effectively trained, were serious drawbacks to preferment and honour. The traditions of England, as England then was; the patronage of the aristocracy; the favourite privileges of place and prerogative; the decisions of courts, and the verdict of public opinion, were against his principles. A young man, without fortune, and destitute of available friends, he projected the Edinburgh Review, and gathering a select group of sturdy spirits around him, breathed a soul into its pages, that finally made it the fountain of a new life, and a new hope to England. The great measures that are associated with his genius and fame, emancipation acts, game laws, relief of debtors, and other parliamentary movements, are mainly indebted for their success to his fine sense, cutting irony, unyielding purpose, and laborious exertion. Never, perhaps, did a literary man, all things considered, effect more direct political good. A most liberal utilitarian, advancing far beyond mere pecuniary calculations, and aiming at much more than physical improvement, he infused a generous, high-minded, elevated philosophy into the practical reforms that he toiled so hard to carry through. He made literature a most valuable auxiliary to the cause of human progress; whatever he wrote was sure to suggest important thoughts; the most of his discussions were a positive gain to the treasury of public wisdom, and rarely did he present an argument, or point an appeal, that was

not so much intellectual and moral pabulum for the world to absorb.

One of the most interesting features of this memoir, is the prominence which it gives to the domestic and social character of Sydney Smith. He never appeared to better advantage than in private life, and, aware of this, the affectionate biographer, with womanly skill and grace, has very admirably brought out this phase of his nature. Any analysis of the man would be incomplete, if it were to fail in this part of its task. One who wishes to know where that mighty reservoir lay, that fed so many streams, and, while it supplied their waters, kept them within regular channels, and preserved them from overflow, must search for it in retirement. Many distinguished men have been so detached from the fireside, that it is never necessary to follow them in their occasional retreat from the eye of the world, to perfect acquaintance with them. Others live at home, and among friends; they simply visit the public to deliver a message, or execute a trust. To neither of these classes did Sydney Smith belong. Filling a large space before the world, he was yet, in an eminent degree, a private gentleman, devoted to his own pursuits, and discharging, as well as receiving, the refined and elegant offices of hospitality. It was this that contributed so much to freshen his intellect, regulate its action, and elevate its tone. How often, how severely, has literature suffered from the absence of these salutary checks! How many bitter hearts, distilling their gall and wormwood through the pen, would have been sweetened, had they been blessed with these advantages!

The intimate friends who came to his domestic circle, blended with it as their own; and once within its magical enclosure, the spirit of free and glad companionship ruled their hearts. Thither resorted Mackintosh; and when Bunch would announce "Lord and Lady Mackincrush," in her richest Yorkshire brogue, the humour of the moment, by laughable recollections of the definition of Pepper, or the imaginary speech to the hackney coachman, in which Sydney Smith had so successfully parodied the indiscriminate praise and stately diction of Sir James's oratory; thither came Jeffrey, to be joked in doggerel, as he bestrode the donkey Bitty; and thither Mrs. Marcet, Horner, Lord and Lady Holland, and others of mark and prominence, in different walks of life. But such occasions were not spent in the mere enjoyment of gay and lively intercourse. Wit and humour only enlivened the hour. Sydney Smith excelled in serious conversation; and, at these seasons, when a group of favourite listeners was around him, none was more ready to use his great gifts for edification. Thinking and writing for the

public soon vitiate the best-organized man, if he is deprived of that kind of living intercourse, with its corrective and disciplinary agencies, which such society fails to give. The constant tendency to magnify the importance of our favourite trains of thought; the fondling, caressing, maudlin ways, into which even robust minds are always liable to fall, where the solitude of the library is rigidly maintained; the absolute necessity, which exists by virtue of inward laws, for men to balance themselves one against another, and so learn both their weakness and strength; and, above all, that airing of the brain, which is never experienced away from this cordial and inspiriting companionship, are reasons why a high estimate should be put on this goodly fellowship, simply considered as a means of intellectual and moral training. No intellectual man can afford to dispense with this sort of society. Better far be without books than without it; for cultivated men and women always communicate enough to stimulate an appreciative spirit. and urge it forward in quest of something better. It is an insensible censorship, that seldom offends, and never disheartens; it steals upon the pride and selfishness of human nature, with so much bland politeness and gentle affection, that men are made humbler and stronger, without knowing the process by which it has been effected; it is a gymnasium, to which one resorts for amusement, and finds health and vigour in the midst of delight. There cannot be a doubt that this species of intellectual life in England has been of inestimable value to its thinkers and writers. For two centuries it has been their good fortune to enjoy this pleasure, and we apprehend that, if the gain to the world's stock of thought and resources of power, derived from the groves and porticoes of classical philosophy, were placed beside the enlargement of knowledge, and the augmentation of strength, which have sprung from this source, there would not be much cause for the fireside and the social board to be ashamed of the comparison.

The highest praise of English literature is this presence of home sentiments among its largest and best class of writers, and the peculiar kind of culture, style of thought, and general attitude of mind, which such a social spirit has developed. We do not mean the introduction of domestic life into works of fiction—a department of writing in which the ideas and experience of the tender relations of human existence must necessarily have large play—but the effect on literary character of the activity and prominence of that sort of social intercourse which has been experienced in England. It does not appear so much in any special direction of intellect, as in the fine, delicate colouring, that runs through its productions.

English literature is characterized, above all other literature, by

these domestic pictures of exquisite enjoyment. From the time of Addison to the present day, English hearths have imparted warmth to books, that one keeps closely by him; and how many faces, that never depart from the image-chamber of the mind, have caught their familiar radiance from its serene glow! No other country has anything like this to show in its literature. Across the channel there have been brilliantly lighted saloons and picturesque chateaux, where intellect and beauty, the learning of savans, the accomplishments of courtiers, and the fantasies of wit, had their tournaments, and vainly strove to keep alive the romance that was relaxing its hold on the imaginations of men. But these strike only the eye; the heart answers to another call, when the songs that breathe forth from the rural homes of England, or the great works that are permanently associated with its sequestered lakes and beautiful hills, utter the inspiration which never descends upon man or woman, except amid the sacredness of their abode.

One would soon be sensible of the loss to his imagination if English literature were deprived of the multitude of images which it has gathered from English landscapes; and yet this would be insignificant, compared with the immense blank which would be left in it, were its household scenes to be obliterated. The language itself is a testimony to the strength and fulness of its domestic heart. What other language has so many vigorous and impressive terms, so many genuine, idiomatic expressions, to represent the home feelings? Wedded love, parental ties, fireside joys and griefs, the bliss of early marriage, the pathos of early sorrow, the old homestead amid still more venerable oaks, and the green graves of the churchyard; these have created words that have enriched the thoughts of the world, and brought the Anglo-Saxon language nearer to the standard of a perfect medium for the communication of Christianity, than any other tongue. Viewed in this aspect, English civilisation is entitled to a pre-eminence that cannot be disputed. If one will go through its literature, the literature especially that gives the best insight into England's best homes, he will find more to suggest ideas of domestic life, as narrated in the Bible, than in all the other literature of the world.

The period in which Sydney Smith lived, taken in all its aspects, will be remembered, in future days, as one of the most memorable in English history. If, indeed, its entire connexions and bearings be considered, we doubt whether any portion of time, extending through no more than three quarters of a century, is worthy of comparison with it. No age can show so much solid work, so substantially and thoroughly done; none so many abuses corrected, so many

obstacles in the pathway of progress removed; none can boast of such impulses applied to the popular mind, and such general action in behalf of humanity. Among those master-spirits that, by earnest thought and patient toil, laboured to redeem the age from slothfulness, and infuse a new spirit into the traditions and hopes of England, Sydney Smith will have his place; and, though we lay down this memoir, with a heart sad at the thought that he was not more signally useful in the highest and grandest sphere of Christian action, yet we rejoice to know that he has left a name which men will not "willingly let die."

Art. V.—EARLY METHODISM IN MARYLAND, ESPECIALLY IN BALTIMORE.

The labours and trials of good men as seen in humble life, though often despised and neglected by the world, should always be cherished and held in grateful remembrance by the Church. At this time, when Methodism maintains so conspicuous a place in our country, it may be of some interest to the present generation to look back and trace its first introduction and consequent progress.

Those who were first in laying the foundations of our spiritual superstructure in this ancient commonwealth, were not of that class of instruments which the Church, in the ordinary exercise of her functions, would likely have chosen for so great a work. They had no out-going commission to preach the Gospel to every creature. They were not appointed and sent into this new world with instructions as to where they should labor and how they should act. They were not *sent* here, but *came* on their own account; they came here as others did at the time, poor and humble emigrants, to share the common toil and reap the common bounty of this promised land. But they were here as Christian men, to whom the honours and emoluments of this world were as nothing in comparison to the obligations and enjoyments of a better life. They were here as strangers, strangers in more than one sense; they were *Methodists*, a by-word and a hissing in the country from whence they came, and not less so in this. They were here like Joseph in Egypt, like Lot in Sodom, to be swallowed up by the engrossing artifices for getting money and the pleasures of spending it, or to confess that they were pilgrims on the earth, looking for a city which hath foundations,

whose maker and builder is God. By wisely choosing the latter, and keeping within the compass of their real interest, they were saved themselves, and made the means of saving others.

As true sons of Wesley, they were not afraid nor ashamed to own their paternity, but were always ready to give an answer to every one that asked them of the reason of the hope that was within, with meekness and fear; and enforcing by an upright walk and godly conversation, the simple story of their experiences, they were made the instruments of sowing the first seeds of Methodism in Maryland, which in their development produced that glorious harvest which we now see, and which we justly esteem as the most valuable of our possessions.

When we reflect what the Methodist Episcopal Church in Maryland now is, and how much of her present prosperity she owes to men of other times, it is somewhat reproachful to us that her history is still unwritten; that among so many able ministers and laymen, no one has considered it to be his duty to rescue from oblivion the facts connected with her early existence. To supply this want of forethought and guardianship, (now almost too late,) a few local ministers and laymen associated themselves together in October last as a Historical Society, calling to their aid as many of the itinerant ministers as it was thought would take an interest in collecting information in connexion with the rise and progress of Methodism within the bounds of the Baltimore Annual Conference, and elsewhere. With a view of enlisting the sympathies of our ministers generally, it was agreed that a discourse should be delivered at the first annual meeting of the society in the presence of the conference on some one of the topics embraced in the plan of operation. Through the kindness and partiality of the association that task devolved on the writer of this article; and though conscious of his inability to do justice to the subject, he could not feel altogether at liberty to decline the offer.

The theme of the address, which forms the substance of this paper, is the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Baltimore. A subject so entirely local, and necessarily connected with so much minute detail, can scarcely hope to excite more than a mere local interest. Historical and antiquarian researches differ essentially from works of taste and genius. In the latter, imagination and fancy may display their creative energies, but in the former, invention must be suspended, and the only hope of the toiling labourer is, that he may find amid heaps of rubbish which others had repeatedly sifted, some pearls and diamonds which they had overlooked; and even these, when examined by the hypercritical, may be pronounced of little worth, things to be gazed

at, but of no practical use. For of what importance, it may be asked, is it to any present interest to be groping through devious and dark passages, looking after the dead; to be gathering up for safe keeping the few and scanty memorials of "olden days," whose chief excellence consists in giving utterance to private friendships, or the recital of joys and sorrows now passed and covered by the waters of oblivion; thus subscribing to the remark of Goldsmith, "that volumes of antiquity, like medals, may very well serve to amuse the curious; but the works of the moderns, like the current coin of a kingdom, are much better for immediate use; the former are often prized beyond their value and kept with care, while the latter seldom pass for more than their intrinsic worth." It is no purpose of mine to draw any invidious comparisons between our young antiquity and the present condition of Methodism, by running into the extremes here complained of by the immortal author of the Deserted Village. Nor does it necessarily follow by any means that men, though antique in their tastes and habits, may not form a correct estimate of what is in the present, valuable.

He that sets out, however, to collect the scattered fragments of the early annals of our forefathers, need not expect to meet with any general plaudits; it may seem too great an effort of mind for the generality of those who are "clothed in soft raiment, and dwell in kings' houses," to conceive of a state of things altogether different from that in which they live; to others it is too great an effort of humility to stoop to converse with their plain and unsophisticated ancestors, and hear the tale of other years. But as children are supposed to have a knowledge of their parentage, and may take pleasure in retracing the scenes of their early days, and in fond memory living them over again, so communities and Churches may reasonably desire to ascertain the rock whence they are hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they are digged.

This fair city of "monuments," the centre of so much social and religious enjoyment to many an annual gathering of the Baltimore Conference, which has now a population of two hundred thousand souls—a little upward of a century ago was marked by a solitary hamlet, and known, in the language of the times, as the place where one "John Fleming now lives." On the first of December, 1729, Richard Gist, William Hamilton, Dr. Buchanan, and Dr. Walker, commissioners chosen for the purpose, purchased of Councillor Carroll sixty acres of land, to be paid for at forty shillings each in money, or in tobacco at one cent per pound, and on the twelfth day of the following month, assisted by Philip Jones, the county surveyor, the commissioners laid off Baltimore town. At the very time the lines

were being run, which then bounded the emporium of Maryland, Methodism in England had an existence that was hardly visible, and for twenty years after there was not one disciple of Wesley in all North America.

That every great and noble result must arise from and originate in a simple and oftentimes unpretending cause is, as a mere matter of fact, too evident to be questioned by any one. The lofty oak may be traced to the insignificant and humble acorn; the mighty river to various streams, and springs, and marshes, which put forth unseen and unheeded their scanty supplies. The wandering and despised Galilean, with his humble band of fishermen, once symbolized the kingdom of God by a grain of mustard seed, and by leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, and by the handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountain; so of the rise of Methodism in Maryland, particularly in Baltimore, it may be said,

> "When He first the work begun,
> Small and feeble was His day."

The most obvious feature in Baltimore, at the time the Methodists first came here, was *diversity* in its religious persuasions; already, in a population of a few thousand inhabitants, five congregations had been gathered, and churches erected, no two of which were of the same denomination. Of these St. Paul's, (Episcopal,) built in 1744, and paid for out of the public treasury, was the oldest and wealthiest, as well as the most numerous, and the only one in the place that was lawful, all others being made tributary to its support and aggrandisement. This unequal and anomalous state of things, which had always existed as an element in the state and Church religions of the Old World, was brought about here by the revolution in England of 1688, which placed William, Prince of Orange, on the throne. Soon after that great event, and growing out of it, the provincial assembly at Annapolis passed an act of recognition, wherein they declared William and Mary to be sovereigns of England and all its dominions, repealing all other laws except those relating to individual rights. The royal governor and the assembly, three years after, prayed, in the style of British statutes, that an act might be passed for establishing the Protestant religion. In pursuance of this statute, and with the assistance of a commissioner expressly appointed for the purpose by the Bishop of London, the province was divided into parishes, and provided with vestrymen. Forty pounds of tobacco per poll in lieu of tithes was allotted for the support of the clergymen, of whom there were but sixteen in the first instance. As these were

not sufficient to supply all the parishes erected, certain fees were appointed, besides the usual compensations in tobacco, and magistrates were prohibited, by an express clause of the statute, from performing marriage rites.

The principal portion of the first settlers of Baltimore county were of the Society of Friends or Quakers, who resorted to Maryland for protection, before a refuge was prepared for them in Jersey or Pennsylvania. They were better received here than either in South or North Virginia. From the time of the establishment of the Church of England in the province, the right of affirmation and other privileges were extended to them and their meetings; that of worship, they and other Christian sects enjoyed from the first planting of the province. The German Reformed Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, each had churches and stated pastors as early as 1759. Thus we have seen, that down to 1770 the Methodists had not made the first effort for an existence here, or to see whether they might have permission to live at all!

The men whom God was pleased to signalize as the instruments of introducing Methodism into Maryland were three local preachers, Robert Strawbridge, Robert Williams, and John King. Of this trio, Mr. Strawbridge stands preëminently the first. He preached the first sermon, formed the first society, and built the first preaching-house for the Methodists in Maryland and in America, being three years, perhaps, earlier than Wesley Chapel, John-street, New-York. As Mr. Strawbridge was the instrument, under God, of founding our spiritual house in this country, and as there are many misapprehensions abroad respecting his claim to this honour, a more particular account of him than is found in our various publications cannot but be acceptable to the Methodist reader.

Mr. Strawbridge was a native of Drummer's Nave, near Carrick-on-Shannon, county Leitrim, Ireland. He emigrated to this country in 1759 or 1760, and settled on Sam's Creek, Frederick county, Maryland. His principal aim in leaving his native land was to procure a more ample subsistence for his family; which object, however, he never accomplished, for he died a poor man. Frederick, at the time Mr. Strawbridge settled there, was strictly a backwoods county, embracing all the country west and south now included in Montgomery, Washington, and Alleghany counties. As late as 1755 the Indians had passed the Forts Cumberland and Frederick, and got within eighty or ninety miles of Baltimore, in parties of plunder and murder, and the defenceless inhabitants were greatly alarmed lest they should reach the town, and the women and children were put on board of vessels in the harbour, to be

rescued by flight down the bay if necessary, while the inhabitants of the adjacent country were flying to town for safety.

The treaty of peace concluded in 1758, by Sir William Johnston, with the Six Nations, and with some other Indians who had voluntarily gone from Maryland, and the termination of the war five years after by the expulsion of the French and Spanish from all their colonies on the continent north of the Gulf of Mexico and Mississippi, laid open all western Maryland to the whites for safe and peaceable settlement. It was among those hardy frontier settlers, many of whom had gone from the neighbourhood of Baltimore, while others had come from Pennsylvania, that Mr. Strawbridge fixed his home, and opened his house for preaching. God gave him favour in the sight of the people, so that a great door and effectual was opened to him at once for usefulness. A society, consisting of twelve or fifteen persons, was formed as early as 1763 or 1764, and soon after a place of worship was erected, called the "Log Meeting-house," about a mile from the residence of Mr. Strawbridge.

As great mistakes exist respecting the exact date of Methodism in America, it is proper to correct them so far as the proofs in our possession will enable us to do it. It has been a general impression, and the histories of our Church so represent it, that Methodism in this country originated in New-York; that *Philip Embury*, a local preacher from Ireland, formed the first Methodist society and preached the first Methodist sermon in that city in the year 1766. This is undoubtedly an error, so far as priority is concerned. Methodism unquestionably had its origin in Frederick county, Maryland, and the *first* Methodist society was formed there by ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE. Bishop Asbury says, (vol. iii, p. 27 of his Journal,) in speaking of the settlement of Pipe Creek, "Here Mr. Strawbridge formed the first society in Maryland—*and America;*" the words in italics being his own. Bishop Asbury's early acquaintance with Mr. Strawbridge, as well as the information which he necessarily had of all his movements, gives to his emphatic remark, in settling a matter of fact, great weight and importance.

A statement now before us, written by David Evans, son of John Evans, one of Strawbridge's first converts, settles, we think, the true origin of Methodism in America. The paper has the stamp of age upon it, and also the appearance of being torn from the fly-sheet of a Bible, or from some old record book; the writing is quite legible, and in the style which obtained sixty years ago. It runs as follows:

"John Evans, born 30th November, 1734, about five miles from

Baltimore. When about fourteen years of age his father moved to the upper part of Baltimore county, near the neighbourhood of Pipe and Sam's Creek, where he resided until his death. In his 25th year he married; he had nine children, and six are now living. His parents were members of the Church of England. About the year 1764, he embraced the Methodist religion under Mr. Strawbridge; his wife also, and four others. From that time his house became a preaching and prayer-meeting house, and when the first circuit was formed in Baltimore county he offered his house, and it was accepted, about the year 1768, and continued a preaching-house for upward of forty years; which time he was a regular class-leader, and continued class-leader between two or three years after preaching was removed from his house, when he requested to resign by reason of weakness and infirmity of body.

"The above was written by my father David Evans.

"SAMUEL EVANS."

Samuel Evans, grandson of John Evans, is still living, and a worthy member of the Pipe Creek Methodist Society. Mrs. Bennett, now in the eighty-ninth year of her age, and daughter of John Evans, states that the society was first formed at Strawbridge's house, and was afterward removed to the "log meeting-house;" the class had been formed for some time. She remembers Strawbridge. He was of medium size, dark complexion, black hair, had a very sweet voice, and was an excellent singer. He came to this country with his wife, nephew, and niece. Our informant states, also, that Mr. Strawbridge had six children, Robert, George, Theophilus, Jesse, Betsey, and Jane. George died, and also two of the other children, who were buried under the *pulpit* of the "log meeting-house." George and Jesse grew up and became carpenters. Mrs. Strawbridge died in Baltimore. During his life Mr. Strawbridge was poor, and the family were often straitened for food; but he was a man of strong faith, and would say to his family on leaving them, "Meat will be sent here to-day." On account of administering the ordinances, he was much opposed by the preachers when they began to circulate through the neighbourhood.

The calls upon Mr. Strawbridge to go to distant parts of the country to preach, became, in course of time, so frequent and pressing that his family were likely to suffer in his absence, so that it became a question with him, "Who will keep the wolf from *my* door while I am abroad looking after the lost sheep?" Meanwhile, his friendly neighbours agreed to cultivate his little farm without charge, and to see that his wife and children wanted for nothing

during his absence. In this way this zealous servant of Christ continued to labour in different parts of Frederick, and throughout the length and breadth of Baltimore county, breaking up new ground, forming new societies, and establishing permanent places for preaching; God working through him by the word which he preached. It is delightful to look back, after a lapse of ninety years and upward, and recount one by one the long list of those who could claim this primitive missionary as the instrument of their salvation, many of them persons of intelligence and of influence in the communities in which they lived, giving themselves first to Christ, and then devoting their substance to build up a godly seed for generations following, and of these we recur with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction to the sainted parents of the late distinguished and able editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Dr. Bond.

Mr. Strawbridge continued to reside at Sam's Creek about sixteen years, and then removed to the upper part of Long Green, Baltimore county, to a farm given him (for life) by the wealthy Captain Charles Ridgely, by whom he was greatly esteemed, and who often attended his preaching. It was while living here under the shadow of "Hampton," (Col. Ridgely's seat,) that in one of his visiting rounds to his spiritual children, he was taken sick at the house of Mr. Joseph Wheeler, and died, in great peace, in the summer or fall of 1781.

His funeral sermon was preached to a vast concourse of people, by the Rev. Richard Owings,* under a large walnut-tree, at the north-west corner of the house. The text was Rev. xiv, 13: "And I heard a voice from heaven." A number of his Christian friends from a distance, who had known him first on Sam's Creek, were now here to see the last, and sung, as they mournfully and slowly walked to the place of burial,

> "How blest is our brother, bereft
> Of all that could burden his mind!
> How easy the soul that has left
> The wearisome body behind!"

His grave, and also the grave of Mrs. Strawbridge, are in the small burying-ground in the orchard south of the house, perhaps some hundred yards. The graves are together, about the centre of the ground, and as if nature were reproving the neglect of the Church, she has raised up a large poplar-tree between them, as a *living* monument of their worth. Standing on the spot, and looking southward a distance of six or seven miles, the eye rests on Balti-

* Mr. Owings was one of his converts, and the *first American* Methodist preacher raised up on the continent.

more, where the preachers are holding, perhaps for the last time, at this writing, (March, 1856,) the session of the "Old Baltimore Conference."

Having examined the stream at its source, let us follow it a short distance as it widens, and hastens on to the ocean. The first effort to introduce Methodism into Baltimore, by means of preaching, was made by Mr. John King, the friend and fellow-labourer of Strawbridge. It was in the winter or spring of 1770. The place selected for opening his mission to the people of Baltimore town, was at the intersection of Front-street and the great eastern road, (now French-street.) Mr. King stood upon a blacksmith's block, and addressed an audience as discordant and undecided as to what this babbler had to say, as those of Ephesus to whom St. Paul preached for the first time. A Mr. James Baker, deputy surveyor of the county, who was one of his hearers, was deeply convinced of sin, and afterward converted. This was the first fruit gathered to Methodism in Baltimore. Mr. Baker's father lived on Gunpowder Falls, and his house was a preaching place for Mr. Strawbridge, where a flourishing society was formed by him, and met there for many years. Some of his descendants are still living in the city and county, and are influential and pious members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Encouraged by this indication of good, and believing that he was acting in the line of his duty to God and to the souls of men, Mr. King ventured into the heart of the citadel. Here the effect of his preaching was different and somewhat disagreeable to himself. The preacher stood on a table at the corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets, where the Museum now is. It being a day of general muster of the volunteers and militia, some young men of the "higher class," who considered it manly to get drunk on such occasions, determined to interrupt the services and break up the meeting. In the confusion which followed, the table was overturned and the preacher thrown to the ground. The captain of the company, grieved at the rude treatment of a stranger, and perceiving that Mr. King was a countryman of his, interfered and protected him from further molestation.

A circumstance occurred with Mr. King soon after, which, if it were not fully authenticated, might be placed among the "seven wonders of the world;" and considering, also, that he was but a mere lay-preacher, reminds one of Byron's remark, that "truth is stranger than fiction." It was no less than an invitation to preach in *St. Paul's Church.* By whom this civility was extended to the humble preacher, lately of the block and of the table, we have never

been able to learn; but one effect of the discourse was that some offence was given to the worthy rector; whether it was in the manner or in the matter of the preacher (perhaps both) is not quite clear. One who was present, and from whom we received the information many years ago, said "that Mr. King made the dust fly from the old velvet cushion." He was given to understand very plainly that hereafter the cannon should not be spiked for his benefit.

Early in the summer of 1770 Mr. Pilmore, one of the first missionaries sent over by Mr. Wesley, arrived in Maryland, and after spending some time with Mr. Strawbridge, visiting the societies in Frederick and Baltimore counties, and preaching with much satisfaction to himself and others, came to Baltimore, and addressed the people once or twice, standing on the sidewalk, as they came out of St. Paul's Church after morning service. Being a man of commanding appearance, and withal an able and convincing preacher, he was listened to with much interest. But the happiest event which could have occurred to Methodism in Baltimore, as well as to the cause of religion generally, was the arrival of Mr. Asbury in the fall of 1772, when he preached for the first time, in the morning at the Point, and in town at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six o'clock in the evening.

Down to this period there had been no disposition shown, on the part of the people, to open their houses for Methodist preaching, or to extend to the preachers those hospitalities which are now so characteristic of Baltimore. It is true those preachers who had preceded Mr. Asbury were allowed the freedom of the place, but it was only to preach in the market-house, or at the corners of the streets, and to take lodgings at an inn, or retire to the country, which was their usual practice. But it was far otherwise in 1772; the good seed which had been sown by Strawbridge, Williams, and others, in the surrounding country, had been productive; while that scattered by King, Pilmore, and Boardman was beginning to spring up in Baltimore, so that Mr. Asbury found a people prepared to his hands. Captain Patton, a friendly Irishman on the Point, was the first to offer his house for preaching, and soon after Mr. William Moore, in town, at the southeast corner of Water and South streets, and also Mrs. Triplett, a pious lady of the German Reformed Church, opened her three story brick dwelling, corner of Baltimore-street and Triplett's Alley. These were soon filled with attentive hearers, that on the Point taking the lead. In a short time the place was found insufficient to accommodate the people who were anxious to receive the bread of life. A sail-loft, at the corner of Mills and Block streets, was provided free of charge, which

was soon filled to overflowing, many coming from the country a distance of six miles, before some of the people of the town had risen from their beds.

Something like a permanent arrangement being made for perpetuating Methodism in Baltimore, Mr. Asbury set about in good earnest to regulate the societies by *settling*, as he says, the classes, and thereby giving to Methodism that form and consistency which it had in England; and no man knew better how to do this than he did. He had received a good training under the eye of Mr. Wesley, heartily sympathized with him in all his views in raising up a spiritual people, nor was he inferior to him in zeal, activity, and perseverance.

Hitherto the Methodists in Baltimore had no responsible head, but met together for prayer and mutual instructions without reference to numbers or time; having no one in particular to lead their devotions, and to give advice or reproof when needed. Mr. Asbury wanted *order* and *certainty;* and he knew full well that nothing could secure these but Methodist *rule.* Hence on the 3d of January, 1773, he says, after meeting the society, "I settled a class of men," and on the following evening, after preaching with comfort, "I formed a class of women." Mr. Asbury found it difficult at first to procure a suitable leader for the men, but not so for the women, and being partial to the Wesleyan plan in England, he appointed one of their own number over them as leader. The formation of these two classes, and the addition of others soon after, together with the difficulty of finding room for those who were willing to hear the word of God preached, made it necessary to provide other than mere private accommodation; and, accordingly, in November following, Mr. Asbury, assisted by Jesse Hollingsworth, George Wells, Richard Moale, George Robinson, and John Woodward, purchased (at five shillings) the lot, sixty feet on Strawberry Alley, and seventy-five feet on Fleet-street, for a house of worship, where the church now stands—the only *original edifice* of the kind of religious denomination in Baltimore. The following year Mr. Wm. Moore and Mr. Philip Rogers* took up two lots, and erected a church in Lovely Lane; Mr. Moore collecting £100 to assist in paying for it. Which of these two churches was first finished is not quite certain; tradition says the latter. The one in Strawberry Alley was commenced in November, 1773; that in Lovely Lane, the 18th of April, 1774. Mr. Asbury, speaking of the latter, remarks, "This day the foundation of our house in Baltimore was laid." "Who could have expected that two men, one among the

* Both converted by Mr. Asbury's ministry.

chief of sinners, would ever have thus engaged in so great an undertaking for the cause of the blessed Jesus? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. He hath moved them to this acceptable undertaking; and he will surely complete it, and raise up a people to serve him in this place!" Captain Webb, in writing to Mr. Asbury, then in New-York, said that the church in Lovely Lane was so far finished by the middle of October that he preached in it. It is of this remarkable man, who was the first to introduce Methodism into Philadelphia, and to build up the cause in New-York, that the elder Adams remarks, while attending the continental Congress of 1774, in Philadelphia, "In the evening I went to the Methodist meeting and heard Mr. Webb, the old soldier, who first came to America in the character of quarter-master, under General Braddock. He is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard; he reaches the imagination and touches the passions very well, and expresses himself with great propriety."

Mr. Asbury, on his return from New-York to Baltimore, had the satisfaction of seeing the new house in Lovely Lane, (now complete,) and many of his old friends, with some new ones added to their number. Thus we see that in the short space of five years from the time when Mr. King first preached to the people, standing upon a blacksmith's block in old town, Methodism had grown to sufficient importance to command public respect, and to be able to entertain the conference which met in Baltimore, the 21st of May, 1776, the first three conferences having previously been held in Philadelphia.

It would be a pleasant task at any time, and more especially when so large a body of Methodist preachers are met near the spot where the first conference was held in our city, to speak of those twenty-three itinerants, who seventy-nine years ago sat in Lovely Lane to give an account of their past labours and trials, and receive new orders for "spreading Scriptural holiness all over these lands;" to call up the names of those pious laymen, Hollingsworth, Rogers, Owings, M'Cannon, Hawkins, men of mark and of might; and those godly women, Rogers, Owens, Huling, Chamberlin, Fornerden, and many others, all prayer-leaders and class-leaders, and true helpers of those preachers who remained at their posts while others had fled, leaving the cause of Methodism to shift for itself, pouring from the heart warm and free the life-blood of Methodism, and sending it forward through the community in which they lived, keeping up their watch-fires in the dark and gloomy time of the Revolutionary war, which was now upon them; four of these noblest preachers in prison,* because they preferred saving men's souls to taking their lives; the

* Garrison, Hartley, Forest, and Scott.

great Asbury in exile, not being allowed to preach, complaining, "silence breaks my heart;" so that at the peace which was proclaimed in eighty-three, that found the strongest church in the land wasted and almost destroyed, there were more Methodists in Baltimore than in any city or town on the continent.

We have now come within seeing distance of that great event in Methodism which took place in Lovely Lane Chapel, Baltimore, in the winter of 1784, when the Methodist *Societies* in America became an independent Episcopal Church. It would be tedious to give all the details of the cause which led to this change in the relative situation of the Methodist societies in this country to the Church of England, as well as all other religious denominations. Circumstances threatened the dissolution of Methodism in America, unless some remedy could be applied to prevent the evil. Before the Revolutionary war, the prevailing religion in Maryland had been that of the Church of England; but as most of the clergy had been loyalists, they left the country during the trouble. The Methodists had hitherto been members of the Church of England, but being deprived of their clergy, they found themselves destitute of the ordinances of religion, which they were accustomed to receive at their hands. For years they could not obtain baptism for their children, or the Lord's Supper for themselves, even in those cases in which they were willing to accept of it from any of the ministers of other Churches, unless they would leave the society to which they belonged. From time to time the preachers had earnestly importuned Mr. Asbury to take some measure, that the people might no longer be deprived of those privileges which they believed they ought to enjoy as members of Christ's Church. The case was laid before Mr. Wesley, who considered the subject, and formed a design of drawing up a plan of Church government, and of establishing a system of ordinations for the societies in America. Having, therefore, resolved on the line of conduct he would pursue, at the conference held in Leeds in the year 1784, Mr. Wesley set apart Dr. Coke, as a superintendent or bishop, giving him letters of ordination under his hand and seal to that effect. Dr. Coke arrived in New York, and on his way southward met Mr. Asbury in Delaware, and after consultation it was agreed that a general conference of the preachers should be convoked; and, accordingly, out of eighty-one American preachers, sixty assembled on Christmas Eve in Lovely Lane Chapel, Baltimore, where the form of government, and the manner of worship for the Methodists in America, which Mr. Wesley had arranged, were accepted and established. The name of superintendent was laid aside, and that of bishop was substituted in its place; and, in

pursuance of Mr. Wesley's instructions, and by virtue of the authority derived from him, Dr. Coke consecrated Mr. Asbury a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. It is pleasing to perceive with what readiness and unanimity the preachers and people adjusted themselves to the new state of things in which they found themselves placed; adopting such measures as were deemed best for their future welfare and prosperity. No time was taken up by the conference in useless debate, in splitting hairs, in trying to determine points which had divided the world for a thousand years, and are no nearer a settlement now than at first.

The religious exercises of the conference, which continued ten days, were of the most interesting kind. At six every morning one of the preachers gave the people a sermon. Dr. Coke preached every day at noon, except on Sundays and ordination days, when the service began at ten o'clock. It generally lasted on those occasions four hours, and the chapel was full all the time. At six in the evening, preaching was kept up in the town chapel and in the Point, and also in the Dutch Church. By this means the congregations were divided; otherwise there would not have been half room enough for the people who attended in the evening. The Methodists of that day were not very particular as to their bodily comforts in church, as they worshipped in the dead of winter without fire, and sat on seats without backs. Nor were they singular in this respect. Dr. Heiner, in his centenary sermon of the German Reformed Church of this city, says, quoting from a letter of an old member of his congregation: "Our Church was located up North Charles-street, and was approached with difficulty, especially by the aged and infirm, on account of the steep hill of sand they were obliged to climb every Sabbath, in order to reach their humble place of worship. At that time we had no cushioned seats; no carpeted aisles; no, not even a stove to *warm the body.* The cold, northwest wind would pierce through the tender weather-boarding, and almost blow the light fabric off." The most pleasing effect of this *first general council* of Methodist preachers was a great revival of religion in Baltimore. Dr. Coke, on his return from New-York, February 26th, says: "There is certainly a considerable revival here; the preaching-house will not hold even my week-day congregations, and at *five* in the morning the chapel is about half-full. I think I have prevailed on our friends in this place to build a new church. They have already subscribed about five hundred pounds sterling."

The *first* Light-street Church was built on the lot on the northwest corner of Light-street and Wine Alley, the alley dividing it from the present church; and described by Bishop Asbury "as seventy by

forty-six feet; it is well fixed for entrances and light." It was commenced in August, 1785, but was not finished until the following spring, when it was opened by Bishop Asbury, Sunday, May 21st, preaching from Psalm lxxxiv, 10: "I had rather be a door-keeper," &c.; and in the evening from 1 Kings ix, 6–9; and on the Tuesday night following the bishop, assisted by Mr. Whatcoat, held a watch-meeting, and speaks of it as a "moving time."

Among the many "liberal things" devised by Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury, and which received the sanction of the General Conference of 1784, was a plan for establishing a school or college, like that of Kingswood, England, which was to be called Cokesbury, after the two bishops. The college was located at Abingdon, eighteen miles east of Baltimore, Harford county, Maryland, on four acres of ground, purchased from Mr. J. Dallam for sixty pounds. The building, together with the philosophical apparatus and library, cost upward of ten thousand pounds. The institution was opened on the 10th of December, 1787, by an instructive sermon from Bishop Asbury, founded on 2 Kings iv, 40: "O thou man of God, there is death in the pot." "When the college was built, it was well understood," says Mr. Lee, "that the whole management of it was to be under the conference. But, after some years, Bishop Asbury consented for it to be incorporated, which was done without the consent of all the conferences; and the trustees who were named in the act of incorporation had the management of the institution among themselves, and the conference was deprived of all the power of making rules or giving orders for the future welfare of the children. This step was disliked by many of the friends of the college, who from that time concluded that the institution would not prosper, and the business was not well conducted afterward." On the 4th of December, 1795, ten years after it was opened, the college was set on fire by design and burned down. The governor of the state offered a thousand dollars reward for the discovery of the person or persons who perpetrated the deed, but without effect. No ways discouraged by this severe calamity, seventeen of the principal Methodists of Baltimore met together, and believing that the honour and credit of the Church demanded exertion to supply the place of Cokesbury, they immediately subscribed one hundred and twenty pounds toward the erection of a new college. The proprietor of the Fountain Inn, in Baltimore, had built a large and elegant assembly-room for balls, concerts, card-parties, &c. The building, which stood on the lot where the present Light-street Church is, was the handsomest edifice in the city, and was purchased for one thousand five hundred and thirty pounds. The members of

the Church at large subscribed seven hundred pounds, and the inhabitants of the city, upon application from house to house, six hundred pounds; and the above-mentioned seventeen went security for the remaining two hundred and thirty pounds. The college, or academy, was accordingly fitted up, five masters appointed, and the whole city seemed to take pleasure in sending their children to this academy, which soon flourished beyond what Cokesbury had ever done, having as many at one time as two hundred pupils.

This assembly-room has a history which should not be forgotten by the Methodists. While its professed object was to furnish amusement for the sons and daughters of fashion, it was also built in part to grieve the Methodists by interrupting their meetings, in the church adjacent, the balls and concerts being generally held, and of set purpose, on the same nights. "It was a strange sight to look upon," as one said who participated in these scenes, "at the same time for fiddling and dancing to be going on in one room, and singing and praying in the other, and within hearing of each other." In the midst of these dissimilar movements the loud Amen would be heard, and the shout of one or more brought from darkness to light would fall upon the ears of the giddy dancers, who would break ranks and run to the windows to ascertain the cause. Wearied out at length by these repeated interruptions, and finding the Methodists were not to be put down by the united force of heels and fiddle-strings, they began to think of capitulating; moreover, such conduct was opposed to the spirit into which the nation had been lately baptized by the war of independence, securing to every man the privilege of worshipping God, "sitting under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid." One thing more hastened the consummation of this folly. A Mr. Brydon, who kept the Fountain Inn, was the principal promoter of this opposition to the Methodists. He had been barber to some of the English officers during the Revolutionary war, but had settled in Baltimore after peace was proclaimed, and affected to be a great gentleman, dressing like a lord, with powdered wig, as for some state occasion. It was the aristocratic house; merchants, officers of the army, and even General Washington, in passing through Baltimore, would put up with him. This inflamed his vanity, and, besides, he was a deadly foe in religious matters to any one who was not a staunch Church of England man; accordingly, to show his contempt for the Methodists, he hired three Scotchmen one night to go over to Light-street Church to interrupt a meeting of business then going on. Two of them took a station outside to watch, while one went in and seated himself in a defiant attitude. The sexton went to him and requested him to retire, alleging that

the meeting was one of business. To this civil treatment he received nothing but insolence and bravado. Mr. William Hawkins, one of the leaders, and a man six feet in height, came forward to put him out, when his two comrades came to his assistance, and a considerable battle ensued; but the belligerents were beaten off, and next day taken before a magistrate and fined one hundred dollars each. Brydon, the knight of the Razor, was made to feel at another point. The merchants and other boarders took up the subject next morning at breakfast, and discussed it freely, alleging that such conduct was an insult to the American people, and that no *Tory* should disturb any religious denomination with impunity, whereupon they agreed to leave his house in a body. Poor Othello's occupation being gone, he left the place, and the assembly-room was vacated, when the Methodists purchased it for an academy.

How vain are human wishes! One year from the time that Cokesbury College at Abingdon was burned, a fire broke out in a carpenter's shop adjoining the academy, burning it to the ground; thence extending to the church, and consuming it also, together with several valuable private dwellings. The fire occurred at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while Rev. Henry Willis was preaching the funeral sermon of Mr. Colvin, father of the late Miss Rachel Colvin, of Baltimore. The congregation had barely time to escape, and it was with difficulty the corpse could be rescued from the flames. The foundation of the assembly-room was chosen for the present Light-street Church, which was erected in the year 1797, and was opened for religious services October 29th, by Bishop Asbury, with reading 2 Chron. vii; xii; Psalm cxxxii; Haggai ii; Mark ii. The subject was Eph. ii, 19–22. Many have been the thrilling scenes and touching incidents which have occurred during the last sixty years within the walls of this venerable house of God; the mention of which would shed new lustre upon the memory of those men who preached here, and who so well and successfully prepared the way of the Lord for us who have fallen upon these last days; days when Methodism is co-extensive with the civilisation of the world. There is one circumstance of recent occurrence in connection with this house which not to speak of would be unjust to the Methodists of Baltimore. It was the arrival among them, a short time since, of two distinguished strangers as a deputation, asking for aid to spread the light of a pure Christianity through Roman Catholic Ireland; the country from whence we first received the word of life ourselves. The response to the call was by no means equal to the justice of the demand, and was far, very far below our expectations and wishes; but we lacked the best opportunity. May we not hope, therefore,

that what was done is but the first-fruits of an abundant harvest which will be gathered hereafter? Let the news go then back to London and to Dublin, as we know it will, and to the banks of the lovely Shannon, where Strawbridge drew his natal breath, that we never can be ungrateful for Ireland's first, best gift, and for Maryland's first missionary.

Art. VI.—AKERS'S BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

Introduction to Biblical Chronology, from Adam to the Resurrection of Christ: comprising 5573 Years of the World, synchronized with Julian Time. With such Calendars, Cycles, Tables, and Explanations, as to render the whole Subject easy of Comprehension to every Bible Student. By Rev. Peter Akers, D. D., President of M'Kendree College. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern, for the Author. 1855. 8vo., pp. 411.

The mode in which the author of the treatise before us arrives at the chronological sum announced in the title-page, is, as we have sifted it from his pages, briefly this: The Septuagint is relied upon to furnish the patriarchal chronology throughout; the only correction represented (p. 13) as necessary in that period, being the addition (usual with all chronologers) of 60 years to the apparent age of Terah (70) before the birth of Abram, as obviously required by Gen. xi, 32, compared with xii, 4. Thus a period of 2394 years is made out, from Adam to Abraham. Now at this point, we beg leave to say, in passing, that we totally dissent from this view of the relative authority of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament, and, consequently, of the authenticity of the numbers contained in them respectively; and had we room, we think we could show the fallacy of every argument urged in favor of the "longer chronology," by its several advocates, from Jackson to Russell and Hales, and their echo, the author of the "Sacred Annals." But we do not deem it important to our present purpose to discuss this issue, although we thus enter our protest against a preference, which, we are free to confess, however, is growing rather fashionable with popular chronologers. We will merely remark here, that, aside from Josephus, (whose numbers, after all, are not followed, where they differ from the Septuagint and agree with the Hebrew,) the only collateral authorities adduced by Dr. Akers (p. 16) in support of his version of the longer chronology, are two or three general

statements of early writers, who follow the Septuagint apparently because they were unacquainted with the Hebrew.*

Passing this point, therefore, the author's line of *Biblical* chronology proceeds as follows. The interval of 430 years assigned in Exod. xiii, 40, 41, is allowed by all to cover the space between the call of Abraham (when he was 75 years old) and the Exode. From this point we are not at liberty to reckon 480 years at once to the founding of the temple, in the fourth of Solomon, (as in 1 Kings vi, 1,) but we must make up the period by putting together the items composing it. These, according to Dr. Akers, are as follows: Moses governed, 40 years; Joshua's conquest of Canaan, 5 years; judges, 450 years; Eli's last years, 10; servitude to Philistines, 20 years; Samuel governed, 12 years; Saul, 40 years; David,

* The Hebrew chronological numbers of the patriarchal period are adopted in the table at the close of this article, not only as being more convenient and better known—and it really matters little for practical purposes which theory be true, with reference to these isolated and far-distant dates—but also from a settled conviction of their superior authority. There is not adequate room for the discussion of this question here. The following leading points of the argument, however, may be suggested: (1) The Hebrew, as being the undoubted original, ought to be presumed to be more authentic than any version; the Septuagint, the Samaritan, and Josephus cannot justly be placed on a level with it: (2) These latter differ as irreconcilably from each other as from the Hebrew; if, therefore, we abandon this, we are left to an arbitrary and conjectural selection between the others: (3) The assumption that the Masorites corrupted the Jewish Scriptures in these passages, is not only wholly gratuitous and ungenerous, but opposed to all that we know of their character and conduct in the matter; moreover, no adequate motive can be assigned for such a wholesale and systematic alteration of these texts, whereas they had strong inducements to corrupt other passages, which they have nevertheless left unaltered, *e. g.*, the Messianic prophecy of the "seventy weeks;" on the other hand, the inextricable state of corruption into which the other versions have fallen, is well known to every critic: (4) Every argument drawn from the alleged coincidences, improbabilities, and inconsistencies of the Hebrew dates, may with equal and even greater force be retorted upon the other schemes; the Hebrew text at least exhibits no impossibilities, and whatever difficulties it presents at first sight, are rather evidences of honesty than otherwise, for in an artificial arrangement they would be sure to have been avoided: (5) The fact that the other chronologies agree in being of greater length, and therefore approach more nearly those compiled from heathen sources, so far from being an argument in their favour, is of itself the highest proof of collusion between them, a suspicion to which they are eminently liable from their historical origin; but all these profane chronologies are themselves of very doubtful character, resting on the most uncertain data, many of them being, in fact, the mere legends of mythology, and others made up of fabulous eras and preposterous dynasties; and, after all, the most protracted chronology that can be compiled from among these rival versions of the Bible, falls far short, in point of duration, of the least extravagant among these widely variant calculations of profane history.

40 years; beginning of Solomon's reign, 4 years; making a total of 621 years, (p. 240,) which, the author maintains in a long and intricate discussion, (p. 229, *et seq.*,) is the true number recorded by Josephus. Whether this last be the case or not, matters very little to us, since we have most of the items expressly given us in the Scriptures, and the totals found at the titles of chapters and sections of Josephus, and even in the text itself, are palpably inaccurate and contradictory; it is only his individual statements of dates that do not occur in the Bible, that are valuable in making out the chronology. The passage in 1 Kings above cited, is generally admitted to be hopelessly corrupt, if not altogether an interpolation. Indeed, its computation cannot be conformed to the sum of the items included in that period, without the most violent shortening and parallelizing of these items; and is, moreover, absolutely irreconcilable with the 450 years assigned by Paul (in Acts xiii, 20) to the judges alone. But we think Dr. Akers has fallen into several serious errors in the foregoing distribution of this period, and hence has assigned it an incorrect length.

In the first place, the conquest of Canaan occupied 6 years, instead of 5, as is clear from the comparative statement of Caleb's age in Josh. xiv, 7, 10. The time from which the years there mentioned are enumerated, was one year after the Exode; and it is this discrepancy that has insinuated itself into Josephus and all who have followed him. (See Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 275.)

The second error which we have to point out in this part of the calculation, is a more important one, and involves several subordinate inaccuracies. It is in the computation of Paul's 450 years of the judges. Dr. Akers makes these begin immediately after the conquest of Canaan, and the text in Acts xiii, 20, appears at first sight to favour that view; but the narrative in the Old Testament itself forbids such a computation. We are there expressly told that Joshua governed the people many years after that event, and that the elders who survived him succeeded for some years still longer in the government, (Josh. xxiv, 31; Judg. ii, 6.) How long this period was can only be approximately determined, so far as sacred authority goes, from the length of Joshua's life, and the indefinite connected statements. As he was 110 years old when he died, and was probably about Caleb's age at the Exode, his government after the war of extermination may have lasted about 25 years; and we may conjecture about 20 years more for the survivorship of the "elders," and of the other influential men of that generation, during whose lifetime the people were restrained from that idolatry for which they were immediately afterward punished by the first sub-

jugation, (Judg. ii, 10.) It was evidently during this latter period of anarchy, that the events related in the first two and last five chapters of the book of Judges took place. It is desirable to fix the length of these two intervals more precisely. This can only be done by the help of Josephus. He states positively that Joshua survived Moses, in the government, 25 years, (*Antiq.* V, i, 29,) which will leave 19 years after the extermination of the Canaanites. He probably derived his information from tradition, and there is no reason to question its accuracy. He also states, (*ib.* 28,) that Joshua's death occurred in the 20th year after the end of his wars; which agrees with the above. As to the interval of anarchy immediately following, Josephus does not mention its length in recounting the incidents during its continuance, (*Antiq.* V, ii,) and he also omits it in the total of the years at the title of the book, as we shall more particularly see presently. Hence chronologers have been greatly at fault here, and have usually resorted to conjecture, when they have taken account of this interval at all. Dr. Akers includes it in the 450 years of the judges, but in his table (p. 330) he assigns 10 years as its duration. Had he consulted his favourite author a little more carefully, however, he would not have committed this mistake, for a little further on Josephus states in the most explicit manner that it continued 18 years, (*Antiq.* VI, v, 4.)* Thus we

* Jackson (*Chronological Antiquities*, London, 1752, vol. i, p. 136) endeavours to fritter away this interval to two years, and Russell (in his *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, London, 1827, p. 127) includes in it the eight years of oppression by the Mesopotamians. This latter period, however, is distinguished by Josephus from the anarchy, as appears from the table given below. It is not a little remarkable how universally chronologers have overlooked this important passage of Josephus, (for we have not met with more than two or three who even allude to it,) although they differ widely in their conjectures respecting the length of the interval itself. Yet there it stands, plain and positive, in the text of Josephus. We translate literally from Hudson's edition, (Oxford, 1720, vol. i, 236,) "And thus the government of the Hebrews changed to a monarchy. For under Moses and his disciple Joshua, who was general, they continued to be governed by an aristocracy; but after his [other copies read, *their*] death, for the whole ten and, in addition to these, eight years, an anarchy prevailed among their community (*μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου* [*ἐκείνων*, Havercamp, 322] *τελευτήν, ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτώ, τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε.*) But after this they returned to their former government, allowing him that appeared to have been best in war and for courage, to decide respecting the whole, [or, as some copies read, *the rest;*] and, accordingly, they called this period of their government, that of Judges." Vignoles (*Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*, Berlin, 1738, vol. i, p. 16) refers to this passage, and expresses his surprise that it should be so little noticed by chronologers, of whose computations on this period he gives a full recapitulation: among all these Vossius alone has 18 years.

The assignment of 18 years by Josephus to this anarchy, as a specific period,

have a clear interval, if we may rely upon Josephus, (and we have no other numbers in the case,) of 43 years between the death of Moses and the beginning of the era of the judges.

It remains to identify the period of 450 years mentioned by Paul. To us it seems perfectly clear that the apostle obtained that number in the most natural manner, namely, by simply adding together the years of the alternate subjugations and judgeships, as given in the Old Testament. We have only to do the same, and the result at once clears up the whole subject, and also shows how Josephus computed this entire period.

Bible.	Yrs.	Ruler.	Yrs.	Josephus.
Josh. xxiv, 29	—	Joshua	25	Antiq. V, i, 29
Judg. i, ii	—	Anarchy	—	" " ii
" iii, 8	8	Mesopotamians	8	" " iii, 2
" " 10	40	Othniel	40	" " " 3 and title
" " 14	18	Moabites	18	" " iv, 1 " "
" " 30	80	Ehud	80	" " " 3 " "
" " 31	0	Shamgar	1	" " " "
" iv, 3	20	Canaanites	20	" " v, 2 " "
" v, 31	40	Barak	40	" " " 4 " "
" vi, 1	7	Midianites	7	" " vi " "
" viii, 28	40	Gideon	40	" " " 7
" ix, 22	3	Abimelech	3	" " vii, 2
" x, 2	23	Tola	[23]	
" " 3	22	Jair	22	" " " 6
" " 8	18	Ammonites	18	" " " 10
" xii, 7	6	Jephthah	6	" " " 12
" " 9	7	Ibzan	7	" " " 13
" " 11	10	Elon	10	" " " 14
" " 14	8	Abdon	[8]	" " " 15
" xiii, 1	40	Philistines	40	" " viii, 1
" xvi, 31	20	Samson	20	" " " 12
1 Sam. iv, 18	40	Eli	40	" " xi, 3
Acts xiii, 20	450	Total	476	" " title

Dr. Akers therefore falls into three other errors in the latter part of this list; for he makes the rule of Eli extend 10 years beyond this period; he also includes Samson's 20 years of judgeship in the 40 years of the Philistine supremacy, (table, p. 344;) and he

is also confirmed by his statement, (*Antiq.* XI, v, 8,) that the monocratic judges were a "form of government that continued for more than 500 years," between Joshua and Saul; and we accordingly find that by taking his numbers of the several portions of this interval we have just 501 years in all; namely, 18 years of anarchy + 451 years of judges (*i. e.*, 476 as below—25 of Joshua) + 20 of the Ark at Kirjath-jearim + 12 of Samuel. That he intends in that passage to indicate the interval with such exactness, is evident from his giving, in immediate connexion, the precise period during which the regal government lasted, namely, 532 years, 6 months, and 10 days; which, however, is (by 27 years) too long,

finally makes Eli's 40 years include the first 10 of Samuel, (table, p. 345.) Of all the methods of adjusting Paul's 450 years of the judges, that we have ever seen, this is certainly the most inconsistent. Chronologers, in consequence of the prevalent idea that the apostle's period is intended to cover explicitly the whole interval between the dispossession of the Canaanites and the accession of Saul, or at least of Samuel as judge, have been compelled to do violence to the numbers and order of the sacred narrative somewhere, (usually by making Samson and Eli contemporary with the 40 years of the Philistine servitude,) in order to dispose of the surplus years which their interpretation gave them. This practice appears to be a relic of the old attempt to crowd the entire period within the space required by the 480 years of 1 Kings. On the contrary, Paul is speaking of the proper period of the judges only, yet of the whole of them; and is careful to insert the note of indefiniteness, "*about*," evidently for the purpose of covering the interval of anarchy between the death of Eli, the last proper judge, and the establishment of Samuel the prophet as a link between the judgeship and monarchy. Josephus evidently understood the judges and servitudes as following one another in regular succession, just as the narrative spontaneously suggests; for he not only enumerates them thus in his history and computations, but he says expressly that Samson's 20 years began with the deliverance from the Philistines when it had lasted 40 years, (*Antiq.* V, viii, 1, 12,) that Eli immediately succeeded Samson, (*ib.* ix, 1,) and that an interval of 20 years elapsed between the capture of the ark, at Eli's death, and Samuel's assumption of power, (*ib.* VI, 1, 4.) We think the

as elsewhere (but by a different excess) in his summaries of the reigns, owing to his inaccurate computation of some of them, or perhaps the corruption of his text. Again, precisely this anarchy of 18 years is evidently omitted in his sum of the years of the high priests between the Exode and the founding of Solomon's temple, (*Antiq.* XX, x, 1,) which he states as being an interval of 612 years, (*i. e.*, 40 of the wandering + the 476 of Joshua and the judges below + 20 of the Ark at Kirjath-jearim + 12 of Samuel + 20 of Saul + 40 of David + 4 of Solomon;) adding likewise the precise time thence to the destruction of the city, namely, 466 years, 6 months, and 10 days, (in this instance too long by 45 years: the intervening reigns, as given by himself in detail, make up 469 years, including the extra 40 years allotted by him to Solomon; the intervals stated in the titles to books VIII and IX, with the 125 years of book X, x, 5, amount to 441 years, for the same period, which, however, is estimated in book X, viii, 4 and 5, as having continued 470½ years.) The same computation, 612, again occurs in his treatise *against Apion*, ii, 2. In the 592 years of the same period, in *Antiq.* VIII, iii, 1; X, viii, 5, (which are evidently but the sum of the numbers in the titles of the books,) the 20 years of the Ark at Kirjath-jearim are also omitted. The numbers in *Antiq.* IX, xiv, 1, are evidently corrupt.

sanction of the apostle ought to settle this as the true method of enumeration.

The interim between Eli's death and the deliverance by Samuel at Mizpeh, Dr. Akers correctly admits, namely, 20 years, (1 Sam. vii, 2, and Josephus as above,) including the 7 months' detention of the sacred ark among the Philistines, (1 Sam. vi, 1.) The administration of Samuel alone as judge after this, he also correctly assigns as continuing 12 years: the length of this period is nowhere given in Scripture, although it is stated to have lasted "all the days of Samuel's life," and till "Samuel was old," (1 Sam. vii, 15; viii, 1;) but it is expressly said by Josephus to have continued 12 years, (*Antiq.* VI, xiii, 5; the 20 years of Samuel's private life preceding being there overlooked, as well as in the title to the book.) To the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, Dr. Akers assigns the usual length of 40 years each; the first on the authority of the above-mentioned passage of Paul, (Acts xiii, 21,) although that would seem a long time for the events of the history, and Josephus appears to give but 20 years; (title to *Antiq.* VI; more explicit is *Antiq.* X, viii, 4; the correct numbers in *Antiq.* VI, xiv, 9, are doubtless 18 + 2;) and the latter two on the express testimony of the history, (1 Kings ii, 11; xi, 42. Josephus erroneously puts down Solomon's reign at 80 years, *Antiq.* VIII, vii, 9.)

We come now to the most intricate portion of the Biblical history, rendered so by the very abundance of its dates, that serve as a mutual check and confirmation; and which we propose, therefore, to use as our main test of Dr. Akers's chronology. We refer to the parallel lines of the kings of Judah and Israel, which are so dove-tailed and interlaced into each other, and the details withal given with so much minuteness and precision, that all we have to do is to adjust and harmonize them with one another. On this important part of the history, we remark, therefore, in the outset, that Dr. Akers virtually abandons the true field of the chronologer altogether, by the plump assertion, that "it is impossible to harmonize the length and commencement of the several reigns, in each line, with their Scriptural dates," (p. 241.) Pray then, we naturally ask, to what authority shall we appeal, in determining these items, since this is the only authentic evidence in the matter? Josephus, in almost every instance, confirms the numbers as they stand in the Bible, and conjecture is surely a presumptuous resort in the face of explicit records. If the chronologer finds himself unable to reconcile the statements of his authorities, his acknowledged failure in the task he has assumed, is at least no reason why others should not make the attempt. For our own part, we do not admit

any such irreconcilable discrepancies in the inspired volume, and we certainly can perceive no such impossibility in the clear and ample archives of this period. Indeed, we flatter ourselves that we have actually succeeded in crossing securely this "pons asinorum" of chronologers, and we offer the benefit of our researches, in the table appended to this paper, to any who, like our author, in despair of the Scriptural structure, have set to work to span the chasm by their own ingenuity. Of the adjustment which we thus propose, we will merely say here, that it meets, so far as we have been able to discover—after diligent examination of the Bible itself, and comparison with numerous chronological schemes—every requirement of the sacred text, explaining all apparent contradictions by a comparison between them alone. The result, thus braced and confirmed by a combination of definite particulars, cannot, we believe, be successfully impugned; because an alteration of a single year at almost any point, would make it fail to tally with some explicit note of time found in the history. We will not say, with the positiveness of Dr. Akers, "it is proved," (opening clause of the preface,) "it is demonstrated," (pp. 79, 289, and often,) so and so; but, since we (as doubtless also he) are simply seeking the truth, we do not reject one system, without proposing another that we deem more accurate; and we shall feel obliged to Dr. Akers, or to any one else, if he will point out any error that he may discover in it. We have no ulterior theory to support by these computations, and therefore we can cheerfully afford to make any requisite correction in them. Brevity compels us to refer to the table for many details; we propose here to notice only those points where Dr. Akers, as we conceive, has materially erred in his attempt to adjust these reigns.

Dr. Akers contends (p. 242) that Nadab must have reigned his two years (1 Kings xv, 25) principally as associate with his father, since he began to reign in the 2d year of Asa, (1 Kings, just cited,) and was succeeded by Baasha in Asa's 3d year, (ver. 28, 33.) But there is no necessity for such a supposition; for, as Jeroboam I. evidently reigned only 22 *current* years, so these 2 years are likewise current, namely, from the middle of Asa's 2d to the latter part of his 3d year. (See our Table.)

Dr. Akers arbitrarily extends (p. 243) the reign of Jehoram I. (of Israel) to 17 years, instead of 12, (2 Kings iii, 1,) in order to allow the 8 years of Jehoram II. (of Judah) from the 5th year of Jehoram I., (2 Kings viii, 16, 17,) to end in his simultaneous assassination by Jehu with that of Ahaziah, who succeeded Jehoram II, for 1 year, (2 Kings viii, 26.) But in the above passage,

(2 Kings viii, 16,) where the 8 (current) years of Jehoram II. are said to begin in the 5th of Jehoram I., it is expressly stated that the former's father, Jehoshaphat, was still king of Judah; this is evidently, therefore, nothing more than his association in the government. How any one could overlook so palpable a fact, is surprising. This is corroborated by the notice (2 Kings i, 17) of a former association of Jehoram II. with Jehoshaphat, one year prior to the accession of Jehoram I. This also is the only supposition that corresponds with the ages of his father and son at their respective accessions. (See our Table.) The occasion of this earlier association in the home government, appears to have been Jehoshaphat's absence in the joint campaign with Ahab against Ramoth-gilead, (2 Chron. xviii,) in which the latter was slain; and the time agrees with the date assigned in the passage under consideration. Thus arranged, the whole narrative is consistent. (See our Table.)

Dr. Akers supposes (p. 244) that Jeroboam II. was associated with his father Jehoash II. one year before the latter died; because the former began to reign in the 15th year of Amaziah, (2 Kings xiv, 23,) who outlived the latter 15 years, (ver. 17;) but this is unnecessary; for 15 full years added to 15 current (i. e., 14 full) years, make just the 29 full years required for Amaziah's reign, (ver. 2.)

This last erroneous calculation of Dr. Akers also causes him (p. 244) to insert arbitrarily 11 years for a supposed minority of Uzziah, between the end of his father Amaziah's 29 years and his own accession in the 27th year of Jeroboam II., (2 Kings xv, 1,) evidently meaning the associate reign of the last mentioned. These 27 associate years of Jeroboam II., on the contrary, would begin much earlier, namely, on occasion of the absence of his father Jehoash II., at the Syrian wars in the early part of his reign, (2 Kings xiii, 25.) Josephus places Uzziah's accession in the 14th year of Jeroboam II., (*Antiq.* ix, x, 3;) an error, however, of one year, but in the opposite direction from that of Dr. Akers.

Again, as a consequence of bringing down Uzziah's reign so late in that of Jeroboam II., Dr. Akers is compelled (p. 245) to insert 22 years of anarchy between the death of the latter (after a reign of 41 years, 2 Kings xiv, 23) and the accession of his son Zachariah, in Uzziah's 38th year, (2 Kings xv, 8;) instead of the 11 years usually allowed this interregnum. He also erroneously adds (*ibid.*) another year to this anarchy, in order to bring the commencement of Menahem's 10 years to the beginning of Uzziah's 40th year, as required by Pekahiah's accession in Uzziah's 50th year, (ver.

16, 23,) and yet allows the short intervening reign of Shallum to stand in Uzziah's 39th year, (ver. 13.) But as Menahem's reign is expressly stated, in ver. 16, to have begun likewise in Uzziah's 39th year, the only just conclusion is, that Zachariah's reign is assigned to Uzziah's 38th year, Shallum's to his 39th, and Menahem's to his 40th, *in the nominal computation* of the era, although their actual position was more closely in contact. (See our Table.) A like departure from the usual rule of *proleptic* reckoning, to this instance of Menahem, occurs also in the similarly peculiar case of Omri.

Dr. Akers (p. 246) assigns a length of 10 years to the interregnum between Pekah and Hoshea, in order to conform to his date of the reign of Ahaz, which involves several subordinate errors. He counts Hoshea's 9 years, not from the 12th of Ahaz, (as in 2 Kings xvii, 1,) but from his 14th, as required in order to make Hoshea's 7th and 9th correspond to Hezekiah's 4th and 6th, (2 Kings xviii, 9, 10.) (See our Table.)* Now, in reality both these statements are true, the former having reference to the sole and the latter to the associate reign of Ahaz, who therefore appears to have become (definitely) partner with his father, not in the last year of the latter's reign, as supposed by Dr. Akers, but 2 years earlier, namely, on occasion of his wars with the Ammonites, (2 Chron. xxvii, 5, where the tribute, which was rendered for 2 years after their subjugation, seems to have ceased at his death.)† Such a prior date of the reign

* It will also be seen from our table, that if we begin the reign of Hezekiah later than the 3d of Hoshea, (as we must do if we make Ahaz to have reigned more than 14 years,) we shall find it impossible to obtain 3 years (even current) between the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser, in Hezekiah's 4th and Hoshea's 7th year, and its capture in Hezekiah's 6th and Hoshea's 9th, as required by 2 Kings xviii, 9, 10.

This instance may serve as an illustration of the impossibility of tracing accurately two series of years so intricately woven together as those in question, without actually *plotting* them down in the manner adopted in the table at the close of this article. Even so acute and exact a calculator as Mr. Browne (*Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 228 comp. with p. 242) fluctuates in his method of disposing of the last year of the reign of Ahaz, although he arbitrarily pronounces the synchronism in 2 Kings xviii, 1, "corrupt," in order to accommodate 2 Kings xvi, 2. Dr. Akers (table, p. 360) places the *name* of Hezekiah opposite the 3d year of Hoshea, (and the 16th of Ahaz,) but his 1st *year* (apparently meaning its end) opposite the 4th of Hoshea. Similar ambiguity runs through his entire table.

† That there is something unusual in the method of reckoning the reign of of Ahaz in 2 Kings xvi, 2, is further evident from his total age at his death as there made out, (if we compute the 16 years as beginning at his 21st year,) namely, 39; for his son Hezekiah was 25 years old when he succeeded him, (2 Kings xviii, 2; 2 Chron. xxix, 1,) which leaves but 11 years for the age of

of Ahaz is also intimated in 2 Chron. xxviii, 1. The interregnum in question was therefore of but 8 years' continuance.

Dr. Akers reckons the 70 years' captivity as beginning "in the latter part of the 3d of Jehoiakim," (p. 247,) and refers to Dan. i, 1, 2, especially, as establishing this coincidence, (p. 250.) But from this passage it only appears that Nebuchadnezzar *set out* for Jerusalem at that time, the city being taken the next year, as Dr. Akers himself allows, (p. 247,) Nebuchadnezzar being still but viceroy. Hence the true Scriptural date of Nebuchadnezzar's reign is coincident with the 4th of Jehoiakim, (as in Jer. xxv, 1, 3,) and this is the exact era of the 70 years' captivity, (see Jer. xxv, 3, 11;) whereas the true reign of Nebuchadnezzar began at the very close of the ensuing calendar year, (as in Ptolemy's Canon, and other passages of Jeremiah.) In consequence of this inaccuracy, Dr. Akers actually makes the captivity to last but 69 years, beginning in Jan. B. C. 605, and ending at the first of Cyrus which began in Jan. B. C. 536. There is no way, according to his dates, to make out 70 full years, but to throw the decree for the Jews' return into Cyrus's 2d year.

This error of one year in the chronology of this period, appears again in Dr. Akers's date of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, which he locates in B. C. 587. But its occurrence in the 11th of Zedekiah, and the 19th of (the associate reign of) Nebuchadnezzar, (Jer. liii, 12, 13,) fixes it in B. C. 588. (See our Table.) We regard this position as demonstrated by the tests applied by Browne, (*Ordo Sæclorum*, pp. 167–169.)

The same error is still more evident in the date assigned by Dr. Akers to Jehoiachin's captivity, namely, from June, B. C. 597, (p. 249.) Now we learn from 2 Kings xxv, 27, that the close of the 37th year of this captivity fell in the first year of Evil-Merodach, whose reign, as we know from Ptolemy's Canon, bears date from January, B. C. 561. But the 12th month of the 37th year from B. C. 597, would fall in B. C. 560, (whether we take that month of the Jewish year, or of a year beginning and ending with the epoch of the era,) and therefore in Evil-Merodach's 2d year. After this examination, what are we to think of Dr. Akers's confident declaration,

Ahaz at Hezekiah's birth. The end of the 20 years there spoken of probably refers to some association with his father still earlier than the date of the 16 years; perhaps at Jotham's true accession upon Uzziah's death, whose leprosy (2 Chron. xxvi, 21) devolved the government upon Jotham for many years (Josephus, *Antiq.* IX, x, 4) following the earthquake, (Amos i, 1; Zech. xiv, 5.) Thus is cleared up another important difficulty connected with this last event. (See our Table.)

(p. 251—the italics are his own,) "Thus do we *unmistakably* unite the Canon of Ptolemy with the chronology of the Bible?"

We have pursued the above method of testing the chronology of the book before us, both as being the most direct and natural, and because it is that by which the author professes (p. 76) to have arrived at the length assigned by him to the interval between the exode and the decree of Cyrus. Here we might properly drop the subject, as the Bible itself furnishes a full and accurate chronology for this period, with the few brief intervals supplied by Josephus. But as Dr. Akers has chosen to compare it with profane chronology, by way of corroboration, we will follow him in this test also.

He "discovers" (i. e., assumes) the identity or immediate continuousness of "the old Egyptain chronicle, as transmitted by Syncellus," (p. 57,) with the era of Nabonassar, or that employed in Ptolemy's Canon; that is to say, that the former, diverging from the general chronology of other nations (supposed to bear date, each year, from the 1st of Tisri) at a given point, say the founding of the Egyptian empire, (placed by our author at the dispersion of Babel! p. 86,) and running in an uninterrupted series of Egyptian years, (of precisely 365 days each,) finally joins on (after one or two complete cycles) exactly to the beginning of the latter, (fixed by astronomical calculation at February 26, B. C. 747.) This theory the author fortifies and applies in the following manner. It is necessary to find two prominent points of contact, as widely distant as possible, between the era of Nabonassar, thus produced backward into the preceding Egyptian cycle, and the Biblical history, so as to test the interval in the chronology of each, by their mutual correspondence in length. These two points of coincidence between these parallel lines of history, the author finds in the *exode* of the Hebrews from Egypt, and the *decree of Cyrus* for the return of the Jews from Babylon. The former of these events he identifies with the expulsion of the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings of Egypt, as related by Manetho in the fragment preserved by Josephus. The remarks of Dr. Akers on this point are ingenious, and worthy of the attention of Biblical scholars: we are inclined to think he has in a good measure cleared up the difficulties that beset this subject; and we should have no hesitation in fully embracing his solution of this disputed question, were it not for the conviction that Manetho's records can never be fully explained till the Egyptian archives are more completely restored from the monuments than has yet been done. The other point of coincidence is well determined, and generally conceded as belonging to the first year of Cyrus, or B. C. 536: it is, in fact, the grand fixed point where Biblical chronology downward, and profane

chronology upward, meet in a definite date from the Christian era. The interval between these two events in the cycle assumed above would be 1112 Egyptian years, or 1111 true years, which corresponds with the same interval as made out by Dr. Akers from the Bible. But, in the first place, there is great uncertainty in many of the reigns and dynasties of which these Egyptian years are made up; in the next place, the identification itself between the Egyptian cycles and the era of Nabonassar, is a mere hypothesis, there being absolutely no evidence to show the least connexion between them, other than the bare presumption that the same kind of year was employed in both; and, finally, we have seen that the length of the interval thus found does not tally with that given by the Bible. As to the whole "series of Egyptian years, 2261, (preceding the era of Nabonassar,) thus minutely established at both ends, by the irrefutable testimony of ancient history," (p. 58,) and relied upon with so much assurance by Dr. Akers, to prove the accuracy of his Biblical chronology, it is therefore shown to be altogether imaginary; for he himself allows (*ibid.*) that "a variation from the true number, of only one solar year of the world, within that interval, would have disconnected the Egyptian year from its appropriate juncture, at one or the other end of the series," and thus have destroyed the confirmation desired; and (to say nothing of the preposterously early date of the epoch of the whole series) we have pointed out numerous errors of much greater magnitude, in the series of parallel Biblical years, any one of which is sufficient to overthrow this whole theory.

Just at this point, we discover the predisposing cause of the above otherwise unaccountable inaccuracies and assumption into which Dr. Akers has fallen. They seem to have arisen from a desire to conform his chronology to this fanciful standard of his own creation. The influence of some such foregone conclusion has been the bane of nearly every chronological system we have seen, and this method of constructing them, in order to bring out a preconceived result, has vitiated chronology, until plain, unprepossessed readers of the Bible have come to distrust the whole subject as essentially vague and uncertain. Like the Millerites, who, figure as they would, still always made the column foot up 1843, so Ussher was bound to make out 480 years between Joshua and Solomon, and similar arbitrary periods elsewhere; Hales and his school to conform to the prolonged dynasties of profane chronology; Browne to evolve certain "mystical proportions;" and Akers to bring about his Egyptian cycles. When Biblical students will consent to construct their chronology from the Bible itself, without any bias from "endless genealogies" and mythological fables, as found in uninspired authors, they will

come to a harmonious and satisfactory conclusion, and not before.

We have but a brief space left, in the limits of this paper, to notice two other novel positions taken in the book before us, which, but for the prominent and confident manner in which they are propounded by Dr. Akers, we might pass by, as having no necessary connexion with his chronology, so far as year dates are concerned. They relate to the Jewish calendar.

Dr. Akers contends that the early Hebrew year was exactly a solar revolution, and consisted of twelve months, of thirty days each, with five days added at the end of the year, and every fourth year six days. This is opposed to the usual view of chronologers, who regard it as having consisted of twelve lunar months, alternately 29 and 30 days, and occasionally a thirteenth lunar month intercalated at the end of the year. Dr. Akers incorrectly states, (p. 21,) that substantially his has been the current opinion of the most able chronologers. The only authorities whom he refers to as holding this view are, (p. 20,) "Richard Watson, evidently following Calmet, Michaelis, and other distinguished chronologers;" Dr. Prideaux, as referring to Kepler, Archbishop Ussher, and Mr. Lydiat; Dr. Shuckford, as adducing Joseph Scaliger; and finally Mr. Jackson. Some of these writers we do not consider as having any great weight in a question of this kind; some are committed to peculiar theories of their own on kindred points, and some, in point of fact, hold precisely the contrary view. It is a marked fault of Dr. Akers that he does not often cite his authors with sufficient definiteness to enable us to verify his references; indeed, he could scarcely have been more vague in his allusions to the appropriate authorities on chronological subjects, if he had not himself consulted them at all. Take, for instance, the first named above who is at all entitled to be ranked among "distinguished chronologers," namely, Michaelis. We are not told which Michaelis is meant, nor what work of his contains the statement. We are left to conjecture, or to our own research, as to the real authority thus alluded to in general terms. J. D. Michaelis, in his tract "De Mensibus Hebræorum commentatio recitata, 21 Jul., 1764," published in the *Commentationes Soc. Reg. Scientiarum Gotting.*, (1769,) argues that the later Jews changed the beginning of their months to a later date than originally, in consequence of beginning Nisan with the first half of March, whereas it corresponds in general with our April; but he allows that such a correspondence in the months cannot be exact, because the Jewish months were *lunar*. "For since the year of the Hebrews was lunar, and the months lunar, beginning with the new moon, the Jews (now) reckon their Nisan

from that new moon which falls in March," (p. 16;) whereas he concludes, (p. 40,) that "the first month, called by Moses (Abib, i. e.) *of green ears*, by others, Nisan, takes its beginning from the first new moon of April, being parallel to our own April, as far as may be in a lunar month, so that a part of it sometimes falls in the following May." And he expressly says, (p. 40,) "It is of these months (thus amended, but originally beginning with the 7th of the series) that we are to understand Moses as speaking, when, in the history of the flood, (Gen. vii, 11; viii, 4, 5, 13, 14,) he mentions the 1st, 2d, 3d months, etc." He then subjoins a "Corollary," or list of the months, thus explained, under their Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic, Syrian, Æthiopic, and Coptic names, as drawn up by his father, C. B. Michaelis. So much for this authority. In a similar manner it might be shown that few, if any, of the others referred to, really advocate the view entertained by Dr. Akers in this matter.* Indeed,

* The statements on this subject in Watson's Dict. (art. "Year") are taken from Calmet's. Neither refer to Dr. Akers's authorities. They both hold that the early Hebrew year, like the Egyptian, had 365 days, (alleging that this is proved by the year of the Deluge, although they afterward admit a different computation,) supposing an intercalary month at the end of 120 years.—Prideaux does indeed allude (Preface to *Connexion*, p. 53, Harper's ed.) to Kepler, Ussher, and Lydiat, as holding to the early Jewish year of 365 days, and admits that this obtained prior to the Exode; but at the same time he insists, (*ibid.*, p. 51, 53,) that the Jewish months were lunar in all ages subsequent. Kepler (in his *Eclogæ Chronicæ*, Frankfort, 1615) argues against Epiphanius respecting the date of Christ's passion, wholly on the supposition of the Jewish lunar months; (see especially his table, p. 187.)—Ussher alone distinctly holds (Preface to *Annals*, in his *Works*, vol. viii, p. 6) that the Jewish year, prior to the Babylonian captivity, was equal in length to the Julian, consisting of 12 months of 30 days each, with 5 days intercalated at the end of the year, and every fourth year 6 days; but he adduces no evidence nor authority beyond his bare assertion. It is worthy of note, that it is respecting precisely this, the only one of Dr. Akers's authorities that really supports his position, that he is himself "constrained to pronounce the whole contradictory to itself, and misleading in its statements," (p. 197,) although, unfortunately, he never saw the work himself "except for a few minutes in a Boston library, in 1852," (*ibid.*)—Lydiat's work we have not been able to find.—Scaliger holds (*De Emend. Temp.*, Colon. Allob., 1629, p. 221) that the early Hebrew (or Abrahamic) year was the same as the Egyptian, *i. e.*, of 365 days, with an intercalary month at the end of 120 years, (p. 222.) After the Exode, however, he admits that the Jews had lunar months, (p. 273.) His *Julian Period*, borrowed from a suggestion of Victorinus, was a mere imaginary cycle, invented for the sake of convenience, (p. 359.)—Shuckford admits (Preface to his *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, London, 1808, vol. i, p. iii) that the primitive year is of uncertain length, but probably consisted of 360 days; and this, after an extended examination, he concludes (p. xiii) was the Jewish computation down to the Babylonian captivity. In the Preface to vol. ii, (p. xi–xxv,) he further shows that the difference between a true year and 365 days was unknown

the idea of a proper *leap-year* does not occur in the history of such early times.

If this were a matter to be settled by learned authorities, it would be easy to produce an overwhelming mass of testimony of this kind in favor of lunar months among the Jews, at least after the Exode. We have space here only to introduce a quotation from one of the early writers on this subject, no mean authority himself; later authors are too generally accessible to render their sentiments a matter of doubt. We refer to Christ. Langhausen, in his treatise *De Mense Veterum Hebræorum Lunari*, (in *Ugolini Thesaur.*, xvii, p. 374,) who thus sums up the evidence: "We shall not dispute with those who ascribe to the Jews, in later times also, months of 30 days, in contracts, agreements, marriages, childbirth, lactation, weaning, etc. This opinion is embraced by John Selden, (*De anno civili vet. Jud.*, chap. i;) John Marsham, (*in Canone chron.*, p. m. 190;) Fred. Spanheim, (*in Chronol. sacra*, part 1, chap. x,) and others. *But we consider it certain*, that, after the giving of the law by Moses, if not in other matters, at least in determining ecclesiastical affairs and festivals, lunar months prevailed. *From this, even these authors do not dissent.*" He then quotes Sirach xliii, 6; Josephus, *Antiq.* III, x; and Philo, *De vit. Mosis*, iii, 686; as substantiating

to the ancients, *i. e.*, prior to the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar.—Dr. Akers's remaining authority, Mr. Jackson, adduces (in his *Chronological Antiquities*, London, 1752, vol. i, p. 440) the ancient testimony as to the precise length of the year. He thinks that the 5 additional days were not intercalated even in the Egyptian year (of 360 days previously) till about B. C. 1704, (*ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 7.) "This improved Egyptian year (of 365 days uniformly) the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt," (*ibid.*, p. 17.) "This year is undoubtedly [!] used by Moses in his history of the Creation, and of the genealogies of the patriarchs, both before and after the flood," (*ibid.*, p. 18.) Hence, when he says, (*ibid.*,) "The 14th day of the 1st month (among the Jews) would be a fixed point of the year, and kept immovable by the intercalation of a day in about 4 years, added to the other 5 intercalary days; which was the most ancient method of intercalating the solar year," he refers in this last clause (quoted by Dr. Akers, p. 21) to the 5 intercalary days just mentioned. He shows by extended quotations (*ibid.*, p. 23, *et seq.*) that the original year of mankind, used by all ancient nations, consisted exactly of 360 days.

Among "other distinguished chronologers," we take the liberty to name Dr. Hales, who states, (*Analysis of Chronology*, London, 1830, vol. 1, p. 31,) that the primitive year of the Jews, like that of the Egyptians, &c., consisted exactly of 360 days; and he quotes numerous ancient authors to that effect, (see also *ibid.*, p. 23.) Finally, we refer the reader to the authorities cited by Winer, (*Realwörterbuch*, art. "Jahr,") as showing that the Hebrew year before the exile was lunar, although originally consisting of 360 days. See also his citations to the same effect, *ibid.*, art. "Monate," where he styles Credner's position (that the Jews reckoned by solar years till the 8th century before Christ) a *novel hypothesis.*

his position; and concludes his whole examination thus: "Nothing whatever, therefore, stands in the way of our assenting to the received opinion of the Hebrews, that the ancient method of reckoning the months according to the first appearance of the moon, continued down to the fourth century," (*ibid.*, p. 408.)*

In truth, there is no positive information how the Hebrews reckoned their months prior to the law, and we are, therefore, left to the presumption, in the absence of any information to the contrary, that the same method prevailed from the earliest times, which we know obtained in later ages.† How they came to have so precise a system as Dr. Akers supposes them to have started with, is certainly a mystery, and that they should ever have lost or exchanged it for one less accurate, is a still greater mystery. It would be more natural to suppose that theirs was the same with the Egyptian year of 365 days uniformly: the puzzle is, how to introduce the leap year, which cannot be slurred over with a "doubtless," as by Dr. Akers, (p. 21.) As a matter of evidence, we may refer to that early Hebrew treatise on astronomy and topics pertaining precisely to this question, found in the "Book of Enoch," (Lawrence's ed., Oxford, 1838,) the author of which evidently knew nothing of such an exact determination of the length of a solar revolution, which he supposes to consist of precisely 364 days, (pp. 104, 89, and elsewhere,) measured by the twelve signs of the Zodiac, of 30 days each, with an intercalary day at each of the four seasons, (pp. 105, 106,) or by months of alternately 29 and 30 days, (p. 100.)

* See also Petavius, who holds (*De Doctrina Temporum*, Antwerp, 1703, vol. i, p. 153, col. *b*) that the Hebrew year before the Exode was similar to that of the Chaldeans and Persians, namely, consisting of 30-day months, with 5 days intercalated at the end of the year, and an intercalary month every 120 years; but that after the Exode, the Jewish months were lunar, (*ibid.*, p. 154, col. *b*.)

† See especially Des Vignoles, (*Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*, Berlin, 1738,) who reduces (vol. ii, p. 616, *et seq.*) all the theories for adjusting the primitive Hebrew year with the solar, to the following three: (1*st*,) The intercalation of a month after 120 years. This he pronounces "a mere chimera, forged by Scaliger," and based only on an incorrect interpretation of Gen. vi, 3. (2*d*,) By adding 5 days at the end of the year. This he thinks has a colour of probability from the Egyptian method of intercalation; but that there is a total absence of proof as to its adoption by the Hebrews: (3*d*,) The supposition of years of 365¼ days, equal to ours. This theory he ascribes to P. Bonjour, as cited by Le Clerc; but he finds this "pretended system full of paralogisms and false calculations." He accordingly concludes that the Hebrew year before the Exode was invariably 360 days long, (basing this position on the 150 days of the Flood,) without any intercalation; and fortifies this view by a careful analysis of texts and authorities. After the Exode, however, he thinks that the settled Jewish tradition of lunar months cannot be overthrown, and he cites and examines very many authorities to that effect, (vol. i, p. 556, *et seq.*)

Our limits forbid our entering further into the argument; we must content ourselves with remarking that the only passages quoted by Dr. Akers, as "establishing," or "abundantly proving" his theory of the Jewish months and days, (pp. 22, 23,) are the round numbers assigned these divisions of time in 1 Kings, iv, 7; 1 Chron. xxvii, 1–15; Rev. xxii, 2; and the 150 days of Gen. vii, with the periods of Dan. vii, 25; Rev. xi, 2; all of which are as applicable, in a popular form of speech, to one method of computation as to the other.* And after all, on Dr. Akers's own plan, one of the months has 35 days, or else we have an intercalary month of five days at the end of the year; and in later times, as we shall see presently, even a greater variation from the assumed standard.

But, finally, actual notes of time in the Bible refute this theory of the Jewish calendar. We will instance but one case. The Prophet Ezekiel, on one occasion, was directed to lie on his left side 390 days, as a type of the sin of Israel, and 40 days more on his right side, for the sin of Judah, (iv, 5, 6.) Now, although it may be uncertain to what, if to any, definite period of years, these days may respectively correspond, there can be no reasonable doubt that the prophet literally complied with the command so explicitly laid upon him. Of course, he must have remained within doors and quiet during that interval; and such, we find from the history, was actually the case. The date of the injunction was not less than seven days (iii, 16) after the fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, (i, 1, 2,) and we find him *sitting* as a public teacher again, evidently having fulfilled the prescribed period, on the fifth day of the sixth month of the ensuing year, (viii, 1.) The interval is, in any case, not more than 1 year 1 month less 7 days, which, on Dr. Akers's scheme, would be only 388 days, whereas the terms of the command require at least 430 days.† Reckoning in lunar months, however, and supposing the year an intercalary one, we have for the entire interval a space of 436 days, which allows a natural surplus of 6 days for the prophet to prepare for the task, and refresh himself after it. A more

* The months of the deluge are really the only Scriptural evidence for solar years; the reader may see in Browne, (*Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 334; where all discrepancy may be obviated by including both extremes of the 150 days, after the Jewish custom,) how readily these conform to the lunar year. The other passages, if they proved anything, would prove too much, for they indicate a Hebrew year in all ages of 360 days, and no more.

† The peculiar adjustment of the year with regard to the Sabbath, supposed by Dr. Akers below, could not in any case extend the year more than 6 days, and might make it so much less.

decisive test of the proposed Jewish calendar could not well be devised.

The other position taken by Dr. Akers with respect to the Jewish calendar to which we refer, is a still more extraordinary one; he asserts that each year was so arranged as to begin with a Sabbath, inasmuch as the fifteenth day of the first sacred month was always to fall on that day of the week, (p. 99.) Of course, in order to allow this, the year must be lengthened or shortened a few days, so as to make it end with the 6th day of the week, (p. 109.) The only evidence of this arrangement that Dr. Akers has to adduce, consists of a comparison of the passages in Leviticus (xxiii, 10, 11, 15, 16,) requiring the day of Pentecost to be reckoned from the morrow after the Paschal Sabbath, which morrow, Dr. Akers attempts to show from a passage in Josephus, (*Antiq.* III, x, 15,) always fell on the 16th day of Nisan, consequently making the 15th a Sabbath, (p. 101.) But Josephus does not in that passage state such a coincidence: he merely says that the people were not allowed to partake of the harvest, in any case, *before* the 16th day, since the offering of the first-fruits was fixed to take place (on or after) that day; and in the beginning of this very section, he declares point blank that the month itself was *lunar*, thus necessarily excluding such a uniform correspondence of a given day with a certain week-day. If such a notable rule of ordering the Jewish calendar and week, as Dr. Akers conceives, actually existed, it is very strange that it should be so obscurely set forth in the sacred code, that no reader has ever been able to discover it till this late day; and even now we could not have divined it without the aid of Josephus, who, after all, says not one word about the Sabbath in the whole connection.

Dr. Akers seeks to fortify this hypothesis by a number of dates in Biblical history, in which he alleges a coincidence of the month-day with the week-day, called for by his arrangement of the calendar. Most of these are mere inferences of his own, drawn from very slight intimations as to the precise day of the week; but if they were all correct, they might be accidental coincidences that would not prove the theory. One of them, however, (which we select as being the most familiar instance,) instead of corroborating his position, peremptorily and palpably refutes it. This is the day of the crucifixion of Christ, which, as all know, was Friday. Admitting this, Dr. Akers argues, (p. 103,) or rather claims, (for his logic on this point is merely reasoning in a circle,)* according to the long-since

* The only shadow of evidence referred to by Dr. Akers on this point, is the doubtful date, "the sixth hour" of "the preparation of the Passover," (John

exploded interpretation, (see Dr. Robinson, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, August, 1845,) that this event occurred on the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan in question; in the very face of the fact that Christ had partaken, the night before, with his disciples, of the Passover meal, which, as Dr. Akers himself allows, (p. 100,) was always eaten during the evening introducing the 15th day of that month. In this instance, therefore, beyond all dispute, the Jewish year began on Friday, and not on the Sabbath or Saturday. With this anachronism, Dr. Akers's whole calendar falls to the ground as imaginary.

We have thus rapidly reviewed the main results and positions of Dr. Akers in the work before us, as candidly and carefully as we have been able. In conclusion, it is due to the author to say, that although we differ almost wholly from him as to his conclusions, we nevertheless appreciate the labour and tact displayed in bringing them out, and disposing them to the best advantage. Few have the patience to go through the intricate calculations necessary to such a work, and still fewer writers have succeeded in stating the whole subject in so brief and lucid a manner. Had the author possessed the advantage of access to the requisite authorities in compiling and perfecting his treatise, we doubt not he would have avoided many of the errors which we have pointed out, especially in the construction of his Jewish calendar. As it is, the book may stimulate, and to some degree assist, its readers to make researches for themselves in the important department of Biblical science of which it treats.

Had our limits allowed, it would have afforded us pleasure to compare, more at length, with the Biblical dates and history, the collateral eras and profane dynasties, upon which Dr. Akers appears to have bestowed great attention, particularly in his copious Table; but we must leave these, for the present at least, for the reader to examine for himself.

It remains for us to submit our own table of Biblical chronology, which we have promised the reader. It is the result of much careful labour, and somewhat extensive research, and may prove useful in comparing and adjusting the various chronological data found in the Scriptures.

xix, 14;) which the best critics agree, must be interpreted according to Mark xv, 25, 42. (See Kuinöl, Lücke, Tischendorf, in loc. Joh.)

The careful reader will observe that Dr. Akers *silently* adopts the remarkable position of Dr. Jarvis, (*Introduction to the History of the Church*, N. Y., 1845, part i, chap. vi–xii,) of an error of one year in the entire Roman annals, by means of which correction our Saviour's crucifixion is placed in A. D. 28 instead of 29. This is not the only instance in which he has adopted the conclusions of others, without giving either arguments or credit for them.

Art. VII.—ALCHEMY AND THE ALCHEMISTS.

L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes; ou Essai Historique et Critique sur la Philosophie Hermétique. Par Louis Figuier, Docteur ès Sciences Médicales, Docteur en Médicine, agrégé de Chimie à l'Ecole de Pharmacie de Paris. Paris: Victor Lecou, Editeur, Libraire de la Société des Gens de Lettres. Rue du Bouloi, 10. MDCCCLIV. 1 vol. 12mo.

Among all the forgotten or repudiated branches of occult lore, there is none which is more attractive in its strange legends and dreamy reminiscences, or which has been more efficacious in achieving our present attainments, than Alchemy. It has, latterly, been the most contemned, and yet it has been the principal instrument in introducing, guiding, and preparing the greatest and most practical discoveries of our times.

The links which unite Chemistry to Alchemy are so numerous and closely reticulated, that it is difficult to decide where extravagance ceases and sobriety begins. Shall we acknowledge that the characteristic difference consists in the fact that, while Alchemy had a determinate though unachieved aim, Chemistry pursues its researches without any distinct purpose, accepting and employing the discoveries which accidentally present themselves, in the course of a persevering but unregulated investigation into all the casual and possible combinations of dissimilar substances? Such an admission might save the credit of modern Chemistry, so far as its discoveries have been rendered available, but it would scarcely enhance its scientific character, and would only give it the prestige over Alchemy, which might appertain to a richer collection of special processes. For Alchemy can boast of many discoveries which are still assiduously employed by medicine, the useful arts, and the physical sciences; and if the age in which they were made be compared with the pretended illumination of the present generation, the alchemists might, perhaps, rightfully claim higher admiration than even the Lavoisiers, Blacks, Davys, Faradays, Liebigs, and Grahams.

We shall not attempt to draw the line of demarcation between Alchemy and Chemistry, but leave it to be traced by those who have a more unsuspecting reverence for the transcendent merits of recent science than we profess. We doubt the possibility of discovering any tenable principle of separation.* It can scarcely be conjectured to reside in the different objects of the two respectively; for, if Al-

* Proudhon, who, unlike most modern philosophers, is a logician, despite of his political heresies, illustrates these points with great acuteness, in his Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité, ch. ii, pp. 48, 57.

chemy perseveringly sought the transmutation of metals, does not Chemistry confidently undertake the production of forms unknown to nature by the resolution and recomposition of compound bodies? Is the fruitless effort to generate gold out of natural substances by the appliance of the powers of nature, at variance, in any respect, with the Novum Organon? or, is it more unreasonable, or even bolder, than the ascription of an elementary metallic character to the bases of the earths and alkalies, aluminum, potassium, calcium, &c.? If carbonic acid gas can be solidified by the art of modern Chemistry, is there any impossibility involved in the conception of the extrication of the oxygen and the crystallization of the carbon? Realize the conception, and we at once have the diamond, which is, indeed, said to have been produced artificially by a Parisian chemist, as the lapis lazuli had been previously compounded by art. If it is within the prospective capabilities of Chemistry to manufacture the diamond and other precious stones, is there any inherent absurdity in either the hope or the attempt so long entertained by the Alchemists, to convert the baser metals into gold, or to discover the conditions under which gold may be produced? It may be answered that gold is an element, though this is a recent assumption; but the diamond, so far as we are yet aware, is an element also, modified in a peculiar manner by the undiscovered laws of crystallization.

It is in perfect consonance with the characteristics of the two types of the same branch of physical inquiry, that modern Chemistry should be unable to disprove the feasibility of the main project of the Alchemists, the transmutation of metals. This is admitted by M. Figuier,* and a similar acknowledgment is made by the distinguished mineralogist, Professor Köbel, though a direct answer to the question is dexterously evaded by him.†

It is altogether natural, moreover, that although the repute of Alchemy has steadily waned during the increasing cultivation and popularity of Chemistry, the Hermetic art has never been entirely renounced, but has retained its circle of believers and professed disciples; for, whatever imperfections may belong to it, there is no argument yet alleged against it, which is not equally fatal to the pretensions of its rival, as we may have occasion to show more fully. Facts may be considered adverse to Alchemy, and favourable to Chemistry; but this is a wider assertion than the evidence will justify. It is not so much the facts that are either adverse or favourable as the popular reception and interpretation of the facts. Alchemy

* Figuier, L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes, Part iii, p. 167.

† Popular Sketches of the Mineral Kingdom, Part iii, p. 338. Ed. Bohn.

failed to realize pretensions prematurely hazarded and extravagantly announced; it was misled frequently by natural misconceptions, it was more frequently discredited by the impostures of charlatans: but its failures are not conclusive against the possibility of realizing its aims, when these are expressed in a guarded form. Chemistry has achieved brilliant results; but not more brilliant than those previously due to the Alchemists. It has made, however, no distinct profession of its purposes, and it has reaped a decided advantage from this caution. Chemistry possesses, moreover, the ear, the heart, the belief of the contemporary generation; its leading dogmas are accepted by its doctors with unhesitating acquiescence, and by the multitude with eager applause. While this temper endures, it can experience no difficulty in securing faith in its positions, and in deepening the disgrace which unrealized expectations have heaped upon its parent. Nevertheless, in what has been ostentatiously hawked about as Organic Chemistry, there appears to be as much fallacy, rigmarole, unsubstantial mysticism, sophistry, and *niaiserie* as in many of the books of the Alchemists.

We are not disposed to enroll ourselves among the modern votaries of Alchemy, although they claim some very respectable names. We only desire to show that there is not such inherent absurdity in the pretensions of the Alchemists as is habitually supposed.

It was necessary to rehabilitate, in some measure, the character of this remarkable succession of men, in order to secure such a sympathizing interest in their history as would render it no tedious task to retrace the outlines of their doctrines and career. For the opportunity of so doing, as well as for the materials to be employed, we are almost exclusively indebted to the attractive volumes of M. Louis Figuier. The essay of Dumas on the history of Alchemy is known to us only by name. Singularly enough, no use seems to have been made of it in the composition of the present treatise, from which we also derive our acquaintance with a work that must be still more curious and instructive, as being the production of a modern believer in Alchemy. We refer to Schmieder's *Geschichte der Alchemie*, published at Halle, as late as 1832.

The agreeable volume of M. Figuier will gratify, but not satisfy, a liberal curiosity in regard to the Alchemists. Dividing his essay into four parts, he first describes the theories, the labours, and the processes of the Alchemists. He then recounts the fortunes of Hlchemy and the Alchemists in the Middle Ages and succeeding centuries. The third section of the work is occupied with an interesting notice of the principal Alchemists, and of the more important instances of the alleged transmutation of the baser metals into gold.

The concluding number of the treatise is devoted to an indecisive consideration of the remains or resuscitation of Alchemy in the nineteenth century. An appendix contains some instructive documents, among which the report of the elder Geoffroy to the French Academy merits notice, as it is deemed one of the chief agencies in undermining the credit of Alchemy.

The report of Geoffroy on the tricks of pretended Alchemists, the exposure of Dr. James Price by the Royal Society in 1783, and the suicide of the wretched experimentalist in the presence of his judges, with Klaproth's confutation of Semler about the same period, were more effective in eradicating the belief in Alchemy than the chemical discoveries of Lavoisier. Its credit was overthrown, not because it was demonstrated to be fallacious, but because it merited in the hands of its professed disciples the censure fulminated against it in the sixteenth century by John Clytemius, Abbot of Wiezenberg: "*Vanitas, fraus, dolus, sophisticatio, cupiditas, falsitas, mendacium, stultitia, paupertas, fuga, proscriptio, et mendicitas, pedissequa sunt chemia.*"*

The interests of science and industry have been advanced by declining the seductions of a pursuit whose golden visions ended in continual disappointment, but neither science nor reason can rest satisfied with a refutation which proceeds no further than the exhibition of previous failure and deception. It is, consequently, not surprising that Alchemy should still possess its cohort of believers, and that M. Figuier should be able to trace the succession of its disciples to the years now passing over us. To bring down the evidence to the latest date, M. Figuier inserts in his Appendix a declaration, published in 1853, by M. C. Théodore Tifféreau, Professor of Chemistry, affirming the transmutability of metals, and his own success in making gold.

These are not all the modern instances recorded in this volume in proof of the persistent belief in Alchemy; and the number might be considerably increased, for M. Figuier has not performed his task thoroughly, but has been more solicitous to compound an entertaining book than a complete history of his subject.

M. Tifféreau is by no means a solitary adept in the Hermetic art. M. Figuier ascribes the final overthrow of his study to the chemical discoveries of Lavoisier, and his demonstration of the elementary character of metals. This character M. Tifféreau, following the teachings of the earlier Alchemists, denies to them,† and does any really scientific chemist maintain the absolute simplicity of the recognised elements? Is their elementary constitution conceived to be anything more than a provisional dogma, or convenient hypoth-

* Quoted by Figuier, p. 162. † Figuier. Appendix, Note iv, pp. 380–3.

esis? If it were, the discovery of the metallic bases of the earths would invalidate the argument from Lavoisier's discoveries; and the expanding doctrine of isomorphism, with the singular phenomena which it tries to interpret, would restore plausibility to the theories of the Alchemists. If the list of metals may be extended by the progress of science, they may possibly be diminished by its further advancement. If different metals produce, in composition, analogous compounds, the analogy may suggest some latent identity in their atomic nature. If non-metallic substances may assume metallic characteristics, and metallic bodies lose them, we cannot regard the prevalent doctrine of metals as fixed or satisfactory.

The philosophy of Alchemy must not be permitted to withdraw our attention too far from its history, its doctrines, its wild legends, and the troubled lives of its professors. The discovery of the philosopher's stone and the transmutation of metals, constituted only one of the aspirations of the Alchemists, though it was their principal and most absorbing object.* The elixir of life; the grand panacea, or universal medicament; the Alcahest, or universal solvent; and the secret of Palingenesy, or the artificial reproduction of life from the ashes of decayed organisms, were all contemplated in their aims: they were all at different times regarded as properties of the philosopher's stone, and were revived and incorporated in the pretensions of the Rosicrucians. The germs of these budding reveries may be detected even in the physical treatises of Aristotle; they assumed more definite shape in the literature of the Saracens and of the Cabala; they are clearly indicated in the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon; they reappear in the writings of Lord Bacon, and still reveal the enduring influence of old delusions in the advertisements of quack medicines, and in many much more respectable manifestations of modern science and philosophy.

We will briefly trace the development of these opinions, follow their changes, and watch the anxious play of hope and despondence in the bosoms of the enthusiasts by whom they were entertained.

The theory of the transmutation of metals reposed on two fundamental postulates, the belief in their composition, and in their generation in the bosom of the earth. The Alchemists maintained that the metals were compound bodies; that the composition of all metals was nearly uniform; and that their differences arose from the different proportions and variable forms in which their elements, sulphur and mercury, were combined with each other. But the mercury and sulphur, which generated the metals by their union, were not the

* Vide Roger Bacon, Opus Majus, Ps. vi, cap. xii, p. 357. H. Corn. Agrippa, De Incert. and Varr. Scient. c. xc.

minerals ordinarily so called, but were of a purer and peculiar character. The mercury was the essential element, the base of the metals, the cause of their lustre, ductility, and metallic nature; the sulphur was the source of their combustibility.

According to the Hermetic doctrine, all inorganic matter was endowed with life. This was a rude method of explaining those mysterious phenomena, which Leibnitz interpreted by means of his monads, his *vis viva*, and his preëstablished harmony; and which modern science ascribes to the equally unintelligible operation of chemical attraction, electric affinity, molecular polarity, magnetic forces, and the laws of crystallization. From this tenet was deduced the conclusion that the metals grew in the bosom of the earth. Hence, too, it was supposed that the hidden agency of nature united the requisite elements under the proper conditions, and multiplied the metallic product by its latent action. It was thought that the generation of metals proceeded in a similar fashion to the generation of animals, that like propagated like, and that the new-born form waxed great by self-evolution. The grand arcanum to be sought and won by the spagyric art was, accordingly, the detection of the seed of the metals, a seed supposed to be endowed with such miraculous virtues that they could not be destroyed by fire, but would act in the midst of flames, and convert any mercurial matter into the appropriate metal. Is this nonsense? Yet the nonsense acquires some justification from the now accepted doctrine that gold and platinum are much later productions of nature than the other metals.*

In consonance with the fantastic and metaphorical language of the Alchemists, the vessel in which the elaboration of the great work—*opus magnum*—was attempted, was called the philosopher's egg—*ovum philosophicum*. To effect the transmutation in this crucible, or egg, the seed of the metals must either be obtained in its purity, or made to germinate by a proper stimulant in the impure compounds in which it was imprisoned. This seed, or this stimulant, for the two sometimes appear identical, was the philosopher's stone, or philosopher's powder, and was dignified with the appellations of the *Grand Magisterium*, the *Great Elixir*, the *Quintessence*, and the *Tincture*. Two of these names still retain their place in the Pharmacopœia. The true talisman, when obtained, converted all metals into gold. In an impure form it could only achieve their transmutation into silver, and was then known as the little philosopher's stone, the little magisterium, or the little elixir.

The development of this theory is conjectural, but it appeared to

* The decision of Murchison, De Verneuil, and Keyserling. Lond. Qu. Rev., Oct. 1850, p. 217.

preserve such an analogy with the probable procedure of nature that it won the credence of the impassioned minds which were lured onward in their wild search by the hope of discovering the great secret, and of seizing nature in the performance of her hidden operations.

To the philosopher's stone were attributed three principal virtues: the transmutation of metals, the cure of diseases, and the prolongation of life. The two latter properties were only attached to the other attributes in the thirteenth century. They have been largely realized by modern therapeutics, not in the vague latitude of their original conception, but in the more modest triumphs of sober science. The medical profession cannot boast of having conferred on men the thousand years of Artephius, although Parr's Life Pills are still commended by the longevity of Parr; but it can boast that the term of human existence has been extended by its skill, and that the earlier aspirations have been fulfilled in the only form in which their accomplishment could be reasonably anticipated.

Throughout the Middle Ages the study of medicine was diligently cultivated at Constantinople, and in some of the Greek cities of Southern Italy;* from them it was borrowed by the Saracens; and before the twelfth century the disciples of the healing art acquired their professional knowledge chiefly in the Greek schools, and in the Moslem colleges of Spain. In this way, Alchemy and other sciences were united with the prosecution of medicine, and an impetus given to the investigation of the processes of nature. Science was thus inaugurated in Western Europe. In the succeeding century, Roger Bacon, surpassing his rival and contemporary, Albertus Magnus, extended and purified the observant and experimental procedure of the naturalists and Alchemists, and laid the foundations of a scientific method, whose conditions were firmly established by his namesake four centuries later. At this time, however, the fantastic speculations of Alchemy received a new impulse, were pursued to the neglect of strict observation and experiment, and thus obscured for many generations the scientific tendencies of this and other pursuits. M. Figuier divides the Hermetic labours into two classes: those which, with little dependence upon speculation, relied principally on observation and experiment; and those which were guided by theosophic and mystical inspiration.† Investigations of the former type were the precursors and commencement of inductive science: to the latter branch must be referred the extravagant fancies which contaminated the later researches of Alchemy. It was this spirit which introduced occult influences, accorded to natural bodies, and especially to the philosopher's stone; which assimilated

* Cramer, De Græcis Medii Aevi Studiis. † Figuier, p. 19.

the transmutation of metals to the relations of the body and the soul, and the resurrection of the dead; and identified the processes of the art with the mysteries of Christianity. Such chimerical fancies were engendered by the habitual interpenetration of all the walks of life by the prevalent scholastic theology. Their indulgence tempted certain Alchemists to affirm that Adam had received the philosopher's stone from the hand of God; that the Hebrew patriarchs and Solomon were adepts in the Hermetic art; and that the removal of sins and the resurrection of the body might be effected through the instrumentality of the grand *magisterium*.

It was a natural corollary from these views, after assiduous efforts had been beguiled of their hopes, and the mysterious powder appeared unattainable by human investigation, to regard it as the special gift of God, reserved for the elect. Hence, the secret denied to human exertion was sought as a free grace from the Deity. Its revelation was invoked by prayer; and purity of life was deemed more efficacious than science for its discovery.

The power and value of the philosopher's stone depended, of course, on the proportion which it bore to the mass of metal obtainable by its means. The determination of this point is specially interesting, as the failures and disappointments attending the closing career of the most successful Alchemists were ascribed by them to the exhaustion of their supply of the indispensable succedaneum, and to the difficulty or impossibility of procuring a new stock. The greatest diversity of opinion prevailed among the doctors of Alchemy, in regard to this proportion. The estimated rate in the seventeenth century was very moderate. Kunckel thought the grand *magisterium* could transmute only twice its weight of a foreign metal. Germspreiser asserted that it could convert from thirty to sixty times its own mass. In the Middle Ages, when credulity was bolder, or disappointment was less protracted, Arnold of Villanova had represented the amount as a hundredfold of the impure metal. Roger Bacon estimated the increase at one hundred thousand parts; Isaac of Holland at a million. Raymond Lully exclaimed, "*Mare tingerem si mercurius esset*," a boast faintly sanctioned by the discoveries and anticipations of Dr. Percy, of the "English Museum of Practical Geology."* If the ocean were mercury, the Majorcan sage, *doctor illuminatus*, professed his ability to turn it all into gold. He maintained that a morsel of the grand magistery, as large as a kidney-bean, would change one thousand ounces of mercury into a red powder; that an ounce of this powder would as-

* "Dr. Percy hazards the speculation that hereafter gold may possibly be discovered as a universal constituent of sea-water." English paper, 24th March, 1854.

similate to itself one thousand ounces of mercury; that this operation might be twice again performed; and that an ounce of the fourth product would transmute a thousand ounces of mercury into gold purer and finer than the best extracted from the earth.* This calculation gives nearly twenty-eight thousand millions of tons of gold as the product of a piece of the philosopher's stone as small as a bean, or seven hundred and seventy-five million times the amount of the total annual production of gold previous to the opening of the mines of California and Australia. The later Alchemists spoke from the results of supposed experiments; the earlier from the boundless conjectures of their sanguine anticipations.

The elaborate obscurity of the Alchemists irritates and repels the modern student of their remains, but it tempted the earlier disciples, and shielded them from the persecutions of Church and state, by both of which their pursuits were forbidden. Moreover, in justice to them it should be observed that, however licentious their phraseology may have been, the example was imitated by Lord Bacon, whose metaphors, analogies, and poetical terminology have met with habitual admiration, though they are little more than a temperate imitation of the familiar expression of the despised teachers of Alchemy. The Greek divinities enveloped themselves in clouds when they desired to withdraw themselves from the cognizance of men; and it would have been a hopeless task to pursue the vanished goddess through the mists spread around her. It is equally hopeless to hunt for the forgotten meaning of the Alchemists in the haze of their premeditated darkness. M. Figuier abandons in despair the enigmas, allegories, and parables of the earlier periods, and descends to the writers of the sixteenth and subsequent centuries for the means of elucidating the procedure of the Alchemists. In the lapse of generations, however, there were great changes of opinion, and alterations of theory and practice; and what had at one time been the earnest prosecution of legitimate investigations, became at another the futile indulgence of extravagant fancies.

The attainment of the mercury of philosophers, as the prime agent in the preparation of the philosopher's stone, was the immediate object of desire. This was successively sought from all natural bodies, but the different metals invited most attention by their superior promise. Arsenic was among the earliest to excite and disappoint expectation. "What particularly and for a long time secured the confidence of adepts to this mineral, was the preservation, in the ancient treatises of the art, of a Greek enigma, transmitted from an unknown origin, and thus translated:"

* Figuier, p. 18.

"J'ai neuf lettres, je suis de quatre syllabes, connais moi;
Chacune des trois premières a deux lettres:
Les autres ont les autres lettres, et il y a cinq consonnes;
Par moi tu posséderas la sagesse."

We quote M. Figuier's own words, because we propose to comment upon them, and to give the unknown origin of these lines. They are extracted from the Sibylline Oracles,* and were only adapted to arsenic as a means of mystery and concealment. Their original purport was very different, though no satisfactory suggestion of their intended meaning has yet been presented. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the early preference accorded to arsenic was due to its frequent and unsuspected combinations with gold and silver, and to the marked resemblance which some of its compounds, such as arseniosiderite and pillicite, exhibit to the precious ores. As the Alchemists admitted gold to be one of the constituents essentially required in the production of gold; as, moreover, there is no reason to doubt that in many instances they did extract gold by their operations, it was natural that such a mineral as arsenic should have early attracted their notice, and rewarded their manipulations, while beguiling their observation and reason. The art of assaying grew up under the hands and by the continued experiments of the Alchemists; metallurgy was very rude and imperfect during the Middle Ages, and any mineralogy distinct from the actual working of mines was almost unknown, and there was no acquaintance with any metallic compounds but the most common. These considerations explain the acceptance of arsenic and other minerals as the base of the philosopher's powder; they interpret also the production of gold and silver from the Alchemical preparations in limited quantities, just sufficient to tempt further effort; and they account for the failure to detect in the original ingredients the precious metals which were obtained by the sublimations, rectifications, precipitations, and desiccations of the Alchemists. Moreover, as is noted by M. Figuier, the fumes of arsenic form a coating on copper, and the copper whitened in this manner was mistaken for a real or incipient transmutation.

But these illusions were dispelled in process of time. Arsenic was rejected, and George Wedel, of Jena, blundering over the orthog-

* Ἐννέα γράμματ' ἔχω· τετρασύλλαβος εἰμι· νόει με.
Αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρῶται δύο γράμματ' ἔχουσιν ἑκάστη,
Ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ εἰσὶν ἄφωνα δὲ πέντε·
Τοῦ παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ ἑκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δὶς ὀκτώ;
Καὶ τρεῖς τρὶς δεκάδες, σύν γ' ἑπτά. Γνοὺς δὲ τὶς εἰμὶ,
Οὐκ αμύητος ἔσῃ τῆς παρ' ἐμοὶ σοφίης.
Lib. i, vv. 141–6. Ed. Friedlieb.

raphy of the Greek name, *Cassiteros*, suggested tin in its place. *Mercury—argentum vivum*—quicksilver, long enjoyed the supreme honours, and is still employed in extracting the precious metals from their ores. But mercury refused the service demanded from it, though its sufficiency was affirmed by an adage attributed to Hermes: "*In mercurio est quidquid quærunt sapientes.*" Antimony was tried, but tried in vain; and at length the advice of Roger Bacon was respected. "Gold and silver are too fixed to be employed; the other metals are too poor; no one can give what he has not gotten." Recourse was had to the salts. In the Gospel of St. Luke it was written: "Salt is good;" and this passage afforded a convenient text. In 1350, Odomar, the monk, announced sea-salt to be the prime agent, and his opinion was accepted by numerous followers. Saltpetre and vitriol were also employed. The mineral kingdom having generated only disappointment; the vegetable world was examined, and examined in vain. In the eighteenth century animal products were tested; and the great secret was sought in the human body, as the noblest work of nature. The blood, the saliva, the hair, and all the secretions and excretions were successively used, to no purpose. Tradition reported the discovery and wealth of mines in ancient times during the infant settlements of men in new lands. The precious veins had been exhausted, and no longer yielded their treasures to the contemporary races. Hence might have sprung the notion once prevalent that the fresh earth was the matrix of gold. To this delusion we owe the still familiar expression, the virgin soil, *terra virgo, terra virginea*, a phrase frequent in early works on Alchemy. Endeavours were made to dig down through the long-used surface to the rich substratum supposed to lie below. But, as M. Figuier observes, "*jamais la terre ne se trouva suffisamment vierge*," an inference which is untranslatable.

If we apply the light derived from modern science to the interpretation of the errors and fantasies of the past, nothing will appear more natural, and, indeed, inevitable than the manifestation and vitality of Alchemy. It was suggested and sustained by illusions, which forced themselves upon the acceptance of the first sincere explorers into the wonders of nature, and which could only be dispelled by the slow and tedious advancement of accurate observation. The censures which are heaped indiscriminately upon the Alchemists, rest justly on the heads only of the ignorant pretenders and impostors who disgraced the class whose name they assumed by professing to perform transmutations in which they did not themselves believe, but which they operated with premeditated fraud for

the purpose of notoriety or gain. It was a painful and perilous existence to which the genuine enthusiasts condemned themselves; how painful, how arduous, how perilous, is revealed in the second and third sections of M. Figuier's work. Lured on by a distant and doubtful hope, whose remoteness and uncertainty he recognised, the Alchemist voluntarily undertook and patiently bore the numerous pains and penalties of his vocation. Rejected by his relatives, depised by his friends, hated by the vulgar, persecuted by the state, and excommunicated by the Church, he continued the patient investigation of the mysterious phenomena of nature, spending his means, his time, his mind, and his heart in the pursuit, watching the progress of his operations by night and by day, patiently continuing his experiments through weeks, and months, and even years, tempted perhaps, at times, by visions of wealth flitting before him, to sustain his drooping spirits, but more steadily urged onward by a genuine scientific aspiration after the truth. What was the reward of all these labours, and watchings, and privations, and contumelies, and afflictions? Not the attainment of the philosopher's stone, not the grand arcanum of transmutation, not the elixir of life or the essence of youth, for the votaries of Alchemy became prematurely old, and were withered up by the fires, and noxious fumes, and anxieties which surrounded their daily life, or fell unnoticed victims to the perils which they silently encountered; but, if their more ostensible hopes were all frustrated, they achieved other results which entitle them to the admiration and gratitude of posterity, and for which the nineteenth century, with all its triumphs, is largely their debtor. The incidental discoveries of the Alchemists have been of infinitely more value to the world than the realization of their most sanguine hopes could have been. On the foundations laid by their careful and multiplied experiments, and on the truths detected by their persevering observations, the modern sciences of chemistry, medicine, metallurgy, mineralogy, and a large portion of our useful arts have been erected. Without their reveries, their extravagances, their diligence, and their failure, the material advancement of the present times would have been impossible. It would be an arduous undertaking to determine the variety of the modes and the several degrees in which our existing arts and sciences have been indebted to their painstaking researches; but the list of their principal discoveries furnishes a brilliant array of trophies to decorate their memory.

"The Alchemists were the first to practise the experimental method, or the application of observation and induction to scientific researches. Moreover, by collecting a large body of facts relative

to the molecular action of different substances, they rendered necessary and certain the creation of chemistry." "It cannot be denied that the Alchemists first inaugurated the art of experience. They opened the way for the positive sciences, by resting the interpretation of phenomena on the examination of facts, and by thus distinctly abandoning the metaphysical traditions which had so long fettered the impulse of original investigation."* The Alchemists methodically practised what Bacon reduced to rule, and imperfectly illustrated.

Whatever doubts or cavils may be suggested in regard to the extent of their conscious acquaintance with the philosophy of induction, their special services to science are beyond question. "A rapid glance at the labours of the most celebrated masters of the Hermetic art proves that to them appertain a great part of the discoveries which have been used in the construction of chemistry."†

Geber, one of the earliest writers of the school, was the first to give accurate descriptions of our ordinary metals, mercury, silver, lead, copper, and iron; he has also discussed with precision the characteristics of sulphur and arsenic. He teaches the preparation of *aqua fortis* and *aqua regia;* notes the dissolvent action of *aqua fortis* on the metals, and of *aqua regia* on gold, silver, and brimstone. He is also the first to announce many chemical compounds, which for ages have been employed in the laboratory and in pharmacy; *lapis infernalis*, or lunar caustic, corrosive sublimate, red precipitate, liver of sulphur, milk of sulphur, &c.

To the Saracens of Spain, and the Alchemists, are due the plan and the example of a Dispensatory or Pharmacopœia.

Rhazes discovered the preparation of spirits of wine, and recommended several medicines in which it was a principal ingredient. Among the new compounds mentioned by him, are orpiment, realgar, borax, certain products of copper and iron, some mercurial salts, several preparations of arsenic, &c. "The secret art of chemistry," says Rhazes, "is possible rather than impossible. Its mysteries disclose themselves only to labour and perseverance; but what a glorious triumph it is when man can raise a corner of the veil which conceals the face of nature!"

To Albertus Magnus we are indebted for the caustic potash of our present laboratories. He also describes the cupellation of gold and silver, and the use to be made of *aqua fortis* in the separation of gold and silver from alloys of the precious metals. He first established the composition of cinnabar; recorded the action of heat on

* Figuier, pp. 76, 77.

† Figuier, p. 78, from whom we chiefly borrow the enumeration of the discoveries of Alchemy.

sulphur, and described correctly the preparation of white and red lead, and the acetates of lead and copper.

Before this period Albucasis had described the preparation of sal ammoniac.*

Roger Bacon, besides his other important contributions to the arts and sciences, studied the properties of saltpetre, and improved the manufacture of gunpowder. He also noticed the chemical action of air in the process of combustion.

Raymond Lully perfected and carefully recorded the preparation of carbonate of potassa from tartar, and from wood-ashes, the rectification of spirits of wine, the fabrication of essential oils, the cupellation of silver, and the formation of amalgams.

Isaac, of Holland, produced enamels and artificial gems, and instead of taking out a patent for his inventions, published the routine of his ingenious devices.

Basil Valentine discovered the metallic character of antimony, and examined its properties with such success in his "*Currus triumphalis antimonii*," as to publish in the fifteenth century many curious facts relative to it, which have been recently regarded as new discoveries. He described several very important chemical preparations: sulphuric acid, or oil of vitriol;† spirits of salt, or chlorohydric acid; the extraction of copper from pyrites, which was employed by the later Alchemists, whom the operation deceived, or served for the deception of others, as a veritable transmutation of copper into iron. He announced the composition and explosive property of fulminating gold. He commenced experiments in organic chemistry, and he may be regarded as the first person who obtained sulphuric ether.

These discoveries preceded the close of the Middle Ages. During the same period the Alchemists had discovered and practised a mode of dying scarlet, which has not been equalled in our times. The discovery of oxygen by Priestley at the end of the last century had been already anticipated in the fifteenth by Eck von Sulzbach.

After the revival of learning the services of Alchemy were not less signal than they had previously been. Paracelsus—we still follow the guidance of M. Figuier—Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus, whose true name was Bombast Von Hohenheim, first employed calomel and other mineral compounds medicinally. "For the old therapeutics of the Galenists, he substituted simple medicaments obtained by chemical operations, and first attempted the daring application of chemistry to human physiology and pathology." He was also the first to make zinc known to the world.

*Beckmann, Hist. Inventions, vol. ii, p. 403, ed. Bohn.

†Turner's Chemistry, eighth English ed., by Liebig and Gregory, p. 239.

Van Helmont, a believer, if not an expert in Alchemy, was the first to recognise the existence of gaseous bodies. Rudolph Glauber, besides his invention of the salts—*Sal mirabile*—known by his name, first taught the importance of not rejecting as useless the *caput mortuum*, or residuum of chemical operations, a lesson which has since been practised, and has produced the most valuable chemical discoveries. Beccher, a professed Alchemist, coördinated the scattered facts which had been already recognised, endeavoured to harmonize them by a connected theory of the phenomena, and thus prepared the revolution in chemistry accomplished by George Stahl, himself at one time a believer in Alchemy.

John Baptist Porta discovered the mode of reducing the metallic oxides; he described the preparation of the flowers of tin, and the mode of colouring silver, and succeeded, after Eck von Sulzbach, in obtaining the tree of Diana. In 1669, Brandt, an Alchemist of Hamburgh, detected phosphorus while seeking the philosopher's stone in a liquid product of the human body. Alexander Seton and Michael Sendivogus, in the course of similar researches, perfected the processes of dying and the preparation of mineral and vegetable colours. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, John Frederick Böttticher, the chosen disciple and successor of Lascaris, obtained the first success in the manufacture of porcelain. In 1704 he invented the red porcelain, a result of his endeavours to procure crucibles for alchemical operations requiring a high and long-continued degree of heat. Böttticher was at this time confined by the Elector of Saxony in the fortress of Königstein, under the charge of the Graf von Tschirnhausen, in consequence of his refusal or inability to continue his transmutations of the baser metals into gold. Europe was anxiously engaged in assiduous endeavours to discover the manufacture of porcelain, which was then obtained only from China and Japan, where the secret of its production was most carefully concealed. Tschirnhausen had engaged in experiments to effect this object, and was eager and diligent in his investigations. His prisoner was induced to participate in his labours, and the discovery of red porcelain was the result. In 1706 a factory was established at Dresden; and in 1707 Böttticher was removed from Königstein to a house provided with a laboratory for ceramic experiments. Here he prosecuted his researches in concert with Tchirnhausen, and under his surveillance. He was permitted to visit Dresden occasionally, but was always accompanied by the count, who was answerable for his person.

The next year Tschirnhausen died, a man memorable on other accounts besides his connexion with the history of Dresden china.

His great work, now forgotten, *Medicina Mentis*, merits honourable mention even in comparison with the *Novum Organon* of Lord Bacon. The year following, Böttticher succeeded in producing genuine white porcelain by the employment of kaolin, which he had discovered at Aue, near Schneeberg. "It was under the strict surveillance with which he was surrounded, that Böttticher was compelled to pursue the laborious and protracted experiments which conducted him to this valuable discovery. His natural vivacity triumphantly surmounted all obstacles. He was obliged to pass entire nights over his furnace, and during the trial of the clay in the oven, trials which lasted three or four successive days without interruption, he never quitted his post, but kept up the attentions of the workmen by his humour and entertaining conversation."* The porcelain manufacture was more enriching to Saxony than the fabrication of gold would have been. Böttticher, strong in his position, and confident that he had enriched the state, confessed to the elector that he had never possessed the secret of the philosopher's stone, but had performed his earlier experiments with the tincture bestowed upon him by his preceptor Lascaris. In 1710 a factory of white porcelain was created at the Château d'Albert, at Meissen, and the manufacture of Dresden china was definitely established. Böttticher was restored to the honours and baronial title with which his transmutations had been rewarded, but of which he had been deprived when he failed to satisfy the expectations created by his first successes. He was also appointed superintendent of the Dresden china manufacture; but, with the acquisition of freedom, ease, and dignity, he lost his habits of industry, and passed the remainder of his life in luxury and sensual gratifications, dying in 1719, at the early age of thirty-seven.†

We have given the details of the discovery of the porcelain manufacture of Dresden, because it is the only illustration of the life and career of the Alchemists that our space permits us to introduce. For the full exemplification of their difficulties, anxieties, and persecutions, the sudden alternations of brilliant fortune and abject misery, we must direct our readers to the entertaining pages of M. Figuier, in which he has briefly narrated the lives of Nicholas Flamel, Edward Kelly, Richthausen, Alexander Seton, Michael Sendivogius, the Rosicrucians, Philalethes, Lascaris, Böttticher, De Lisle, Gaëtand, and the inferior adepts who were connected with

* Figuier, p. 307, from whom this account of Böttticher is extracted.

† It is singular that the history of pottery and porcelain is entirely omitted in Beckmann's valuable History of Inventions, and that the services of Böttticher are wholly unnoticed in Dr. Ure's Dictionary of Manufactures.

their fortunes. These notices constitute the most entertaining, but not the most instructive part of M. Figuier's volume, and constitute his history of transmutations supposed to be successful.

After due consideration of the number, and judicious estimation of the value of the services rendered by the Alchemists to the cause of science and the useful arts, there will be few who will challenge the justice of M. Figuier's remark. "It is only by the assistance of the numerous discoveries of the Alchemists that modern chemistry has been enabled to rise to the dignity of a science. Unquestionably these facts are unconnected by any common principle, and do not constitute a systematic whole. Consequently, they do not present the characteristics of a science; but they supply the elements indispensable to the creation of a scientific system. The powerful empire exercised over the minds of men for fifteen hundred years by the grand idea of the transmutation of metals was required for the accomplishment of those preparatory labours, whose achievement was needed as the large base for the erection of the monument of modern chemistry. Before attaining the conviction that the philosopher's stone was a pure chimera, it was necessary to pass in review all the facts accessible to observation; and when, after fifteen centuries of labour, the day came for the recognition of the error into which men had been betrayed, that very day it was manifest that chemistry was already constituted.

"Chemists of the current age! let us not censure too harshly the Hermetic philosophers: let us not renounce all respect for the ancient heritage they have bequeathed to us; insensate or sublime, they are our legitimate ancestors. If Alchemy failed to find the object of its search, it found what it did not seek. If it blundered in its long effort to find the philosopher's stone, it discovered chemistry; and this conquest is infinitely more precious than the vain arcanum so wildly pursued by the enthusiasm of our fathers."*

But, notwithstanding this *éloge funèbre* so tenderly pronounced over the remains of the Alchemists, their art has never been entirely renounced. We have already adduced the evidence of its persistence even among our contemporaries, and M. Figuier deems it necessary to complete his essay by devolving its fourth and concluding part to the exposition and confutation of the Alchemy of the nineteenth century. This is the least satisfactory portion of his labours, which are throughout imperfect. He establishes by ample instances the fact of the continuance of Alchemical convictions and Alchemical pursuits, adding to the evidence already adduced by us several other testimonies. Thus, in 1837, an Alchemist of Thuringia pre-

* Figuier, pp. 84, 85.

sented to the Society of Industry of Saxe-Weimar, a tincture represented by him as competent to effect the transmutation of metals. About the same time a course of public lectures, at Munich, on the Hermetic Philosophy, was advertised by Prof. B.; the initial only is given. Another M. B., a professor in one of the provincial colleges of France, undertook the defence of this philosophy, in a Treatise on Chemistry, published at Paris in 1844. Alchemists are still to be found throughout Germany, in many parts of Italy, and in most of the large cities of France. M. Figuier speaks from personal knowledge of the coterie of Alchemists who were in the habit of assembling in the laboratory of M. L., at Paris, subsequent to 1840. The proof of the contemporary existence of Alchemy is more than sufficient, but the form which the author has adopted for the exhibition and refutation of the arguments by which the continued faith is maintained is unfavourable to an impartial examination of the subject, however piquant it may be.

M. Figuier has recourse to the dialogue for this purpose, and reports a real or imaginary discussion between himself, and a young adept whom he frequently met at the laboratory of M. L. This young Hermesian, unlike his colleagues, sustained his convictions by an appeal to the truths and most recent investigations of modern chemistry, instead of resting his faith entirely on the disappointed traditions and falsified hopes of the past. The triumph of the discussion of course devolves upon M. Figuier, but we cannot but think that the strength and the originality of the argument are on the side of the Alchemist. It is not easy to perceive what decisive reply can be made to the positions of the latter, who affirms the possibility rather than the reality of transmutation, after the fatal admission: "In the present state of our sciences the impossibility of transmuting the metals cannot be rigorously demonstrated; sundry circumstances oppose the rejection of the doctrine of Alchemy as an absurdity contradicted by facts."* The reasoning of M. Figuier proceeds almost entirely on the repetition of the former failures of the Alchemists; a style of objection which is wholly inconclusive, and which would have equally disproved the possibility of the daguerreotype, the magnetic telegraph, and many of the proudest of our modern scientific inventions. The reasoning of the apologist for Alchemy, though his argument appears weaker than it might have been made, is a dexterous adaptation of the principles, discoveries, and present difficulties of chemistry to the rehabilitation of the repudiated art. He very pointedly and justly reprobates the impatience and rapid experimentation of modern chemists, and

* Figuier, p. 353.

alleges that by their summary method of procedure they would never have obtained such a result; as the light, porous, golden-coloured stone, shown by an Alchemist to Gassicourt, procured by exposing rain water for years to spontaneous evaporation, and collecting the iridescent film which was formed on its surface.* Does not iron become magnetic by being left undisturbed for years in one position? and may not time and the undetected influences of nature effect other still more remarkable changes?

But it is not simply the insufficiency of the exposure that we censure in this graceful dialogue; it is still more its double indistinctness. The conclusion is inconclusive; and either argument is inconclusive also. At times we suspect that M. Figuier intended to produce this impression, and that his association with the Parisian Alchemists, whom he has depicted in terms singularly appropriate to their predecessors also, has infected him with a stronger inclination toward Alchemy than, as a man of science, he is willing to avow or has at least produced uncertainty in his mind on the subject.

Whether this conjecture, however, be just or unfounded, and whatever the defects of his argument may be, the dialogue is a notable exemplification of the rationality which may still be attached to Alchemical pursuits; and demonstrates the fact that chemistry has not answered or refuted Alchemy in a satisfactory manner. At the close of the conversation, the adept hands to his antagonist an ancient volume, which he begs him to read, directing his attention particularly to the motto on the title page, a venerated maxim of the Hermetic school:

Sege, lege, et relege, labora, ora, et invenies.

We would extend a similar recommendation to our readers, in regard to the argument of the youthful modern Alchemist, the pleasing volume of M. Figuier, and the whole history and doctrine of Alchemy, being equally assured that the mysteries of the Alchemists have not yet been duly appreciated, and that valuable practical fruits would be gathered from a thorough re-examination and an adequate criticism of their memorable labours and doctrines.

* Figuier, p. 349.

Art. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

(1.) "*Emblems from Eden*, by James Hamilton, D. D," (New-York: Carter & Brothers, 18mo., pp. 159,) is a series of illustrations of the Christian life, from the "vine," the "cedar," the "tree of life," &c., in the attractive style so characteristic of Dr. Hamilton.

(2.) "*Italian Sights and Papal Principles, seen through American Spectacles*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 12mo., pp. 382,) is by the author (Mr. Jarvis) of the "Parisian Sights," noticed in our last number. There is more solid information in this work than in the former, especially with regard to the mummeries of Roman Catholic worship in its central seat. To learn how utterly Christianity is debased in the hands of the pope and his cardinals, who profess to be Christ's chief disciples on earth, one has only to read this graphic and entertaining book.

(3.) *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*," (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 1856; pp. 300,) is a pleasant sketch of the life of a young English officer, who united the courage of the Christian with that of the soldier. Preserving his religious zeal and life through the temptations of the former part of the Crimean campaign, he fell at Sebastopol, March 22, 1855. This little biography deserves wide circulation, especially among young men.

(4.) "*Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers; to which is added Porsoniana.*" (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.; 12mo.; pp. 346.) Had the latter years of Rogers been attended, as Johnson's were, by such a shadow as Boswell, we should certainly have had a better collection of *Rogersiana* than Mr. Dyce has given us in this volume. Much of it is weak and worthless; but there are a few memoranda worthy of preservation, and the book, as a whole, though it adds nothing to Rogers's reputation, either as a poet or as a man, is pleasant and easy to read.

(5.) "*The Faith by which we are Sanctified*," by W. P. Strickland, D. D., (New-York: 200 Mulberry-street; pp. 32,) is a sermon on Mark xi, 24, in which Dr. Strickland develops the meaning of the text very clearly, and points out the dangers to which a false interpretation of it must give rise.

(6.) "*Vagabond Life in Mexico*," by Gabriel Ferry. (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; pp. 344.) The title of this volume very well indicates its contents. It gives a graphic description of the monks, the leperos, the bandits, and the soldiers that infest that unhappy country.

(7.) "*Post-Biblical History of the Jews*," by M. J. RAPHALL, M. D. (Philadelphia: Moss & Brothers; 1856; 2 vols., 12mo.) The aim of this work is to give, from the Jewish point of view, an account of the fortunes of the Jewish people, from the close of the Old Testament to the destruction of the second temple, (A. D. 70.) It is not intended so much for the learned as for the people; but yet it possesses a peculiar interest to all students of Biblical and even of general history, from the fact that it is the first history of the Jews written by a Jew qualified for the task, in the English tongue.

(8.) We have not had time to give so thorough an examination to "*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*," by CHARLES HODGE, D. D., (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1856; 8vo., pp. 398,) as the importance of the work demands. At present we can only note its appearance, remarking, simply, that it has much, even to a hasty glance, of the painstaking industry that marks the other commentaries of Dr. Hodge.

(9.) "*Sight and Hearing: how Preserved and how Lost*," by J. HENRY CLARK, M. D. (New-York: C. Scribner; 1856; 12mo., pp. 351.) This book is designed, not for the faculty, but for the people. It treats clearly and sensibly of the structure and functions of the eye and ear, of the various disorders to which they are incident, and of the modes of preventing and remedying such disorders. The work abounds in practical advice of great value as to the physical education of children, and as to the use and abuse of the organs of sight and hearing in mature life.

(10.) "*Sketches and Adventures in Madeira, Portugal, and Spain.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 12mo., pp. 445.) The writer of this book is both skilled and practised in the art: he sees well, groups well, and describes well. An endless flow of spirits pervades his pages, and quickens the reader's interest to the end. But there is one drawback, sufficient to counterbalance all other good qualities: the immoral tone of many of the descriptive passages. Strange that a man of sense could so disfigure a good book.

(11.) "*The Island of Cuba*," by ALEXANDER HUMBOLDT, with Notes and a Preliminary Essay, by J. S. Thrasher. (New-York: Derby & Jackson; 1856; 12mo., pp. 397.) Humboldt's part of this work, the translation of which is made from a Spanish version, constitutes its chief value, though the notes and additional remarks of Mr. Thrasher, so far as they are confined to statements of fact, are also very useful. The general drift of the preliminary essay is to show the importance of Cuba to the United States, and to propagate the foolish fear and hatred of England, which seems to be the only stock in trade of a certain class of American politicians. But the good sense of the people, under the guidance of Providence, will finally, we trust, repudiate the *filibusteros*, with all their aiders and abettors.

(12.) "*History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*," compiled by the Rev. HENRY C. FISH. (New-York: M. W. Dodd; 2 vols., 8vo.; 1856.) The design of this work is to furnish a history of preaching in all ages, and to illustrate it by suitable examples from the best sermons produced in different periods. The *Greek* and *Latin* pulpit is treated in a brief historical sketch, and then we have sermons from the great Church fathers, e. g., Tertullian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Augustine, &c. The *English* pulpit follows, with selections of sermons from the time of Wicliff down to William Jay. Then come, in order, the German, the Irish, the French, the Scottish, the American, and the Welsh pulpits, each treated in the same way. The conception is a very comprehensive one, and Mr. Fish has executed it with much industry and skill. His aim has been to choose the best models of preaching in each nation and period, and though it cannot be expected that all would commend his choice in every particular, it will be admitted that he has, in the main, succeeded admirably. About thirty of the discourses are from foreign languages, and the editor has availed himself of the best assistance in rendering them into English. On the whole, the book is one of the most valuable contributions to the minister's library in the department of homiletics, that has appeared of late years.

(13.) "*A Key to the Bible*, by DAVID DOBIE," (New-York: C. Scribner; 1856; 12mo., pp. 322,) should rather have been entitled, "An Essay on Biblical Interpretation for popular use." As such it has decided merits, and we can cordially recommend it for the use of general readers of Scripture, who wish to acquire a knowledge of the chief laws of interpretation.

(14.) "*The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility*," (New-York: Derby & Jackson; 1856; 12mo., pp. 228,) shows, by its title, the class of books to which it belongs; and, like most others of the sort, it has in it much sense and much nonsense. The parts which relate to physical training and habits contain the sense; those which tell how to introduce people, how to behave at dinner, &c., are not free from nonsense.

(15.) PROFESSOR LOOMIS'S qualifications as a writer of school and college text-books in Mathematics are so well known that it is only necessary to say that "*A Treatise on Arithmetic, Theoretical and Practical*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 12mo., pp. 331,) has appeared from his pen, to insure the attention of all practical instructors to the work. We have examined it sufficiently to bear testimony to its clearness of statement, and entire adaptation to the wants of American schools.

(16.) "*Select Lectures, comprising some of the more valuable Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association in Exeter Hall*, edited by D. W. CLARK, D. D." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe; 1856; 12mo., pp. 439.) These lectures are selected from eight volumes of like size published in London between 1847 and 1855, and may, therefore, be supposed to contain the

(21.) A copious life of Bishop Heber appeared, shortly after his death, in two volumes, octavo. The size and cost of the work kept it out of general circulation; and we are now glad to announce a compact "*Memoir of* REGINALD HEBER, D. D., abridged by a Clergyman." (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1856; 12mo., pp. 348.) The omissions are not such as to interfere with the value of the book; indeed, for general readers, the abridgment is the better.

(22.) "*Life in Brazil*, by THOMAS EWBANK." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 469.) Mr. Ewbank is well known as what is called in certain circles a "practical man;" and this book is a practical book. The daily life, habits, and ways of the people of Brazil, (or rather of Rio, for the greater part of the book is taken up with that city and its vicinity,) are set down accurately and clearly. You feel that you are reading the truth, and nothing but the truth. The volume is especially valuable for its full descriptions of the festivals, processions, and mummeries of all sorts, which constitute the body of what is called "religion" in thoroughly Roman Catholic countries. The reader, after following Mr. Ewbank's description, will fully agree with him, that Romanism, as it exists in Brazil and South America generally, is a barrier to progress, compared to which other obstacles are trifling.

(23.) "*Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation*, by the Rev. J. M'COSH, LL. D., and GEORGE DICKIE, M. D." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 539.) "All things," said the son of Sirach, "are double, one against another; and He hath made nothing imperfect." This grand seminal truth is the essence of Butler's Analogy; and it finds full and ample expression in the noble treatise before us. The idealistic and pantheistic speculations which either separate the spiritual from the material entirely, or confound them together, find here a complete and final refutation. The work is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of the principles of general order and special adaptation in the material universe; the second sets forth a series of facts, (e. g., the structure and forms of plants, animals, &c.,) indicating *combined* order and adaptation throughout the various kingdoms of nature; and the third *interprets* these facts and their combinations, showing the harmony of the whole in the system of final causes, and in the correspondences of nature and revelation. The book is for studious and thoughtful men: none other need undertake to read it; but for such it will be a mine of great wealth.

(24.) "*Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography, comprising a series of Original Memoirs of the most distinguished Persons of all Times*, edited by F. L. HAWKS, D. D." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856; royal 8vo., pp. 1058.) The basis of this work is Rich's "Cyclopædia of Biography," published in London a year or two since. The work of the American editor has been chiefly confined to the insertion of American names. He has done his work well, though it could hardly be expected that all classes of readers should be pleased with it. It seems to us very odd, for instance, that Bishop Asbury's record should be confined to ten lines, while Bishop Wainwright gets more than

half a column. But these things *will* occur, even with men as well-meaning as Dr. Hawks. No biographical dictionary, in a single volume, approaches this one in completeness and utility.

(25.) "*The Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes for the use of Christian Congregations*" (New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1856; 12mo., pp. 483) has some faults, but it is yet far in advance of any book of its class yet offered for the use of Christian Churches. We hope to be able to prove this assertion in an extended article hereafter.

(26.) MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS have issued a new and revised edition of "*The Teacher: Moral Influences employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young*, by JACOB ABBOTT." (New-York: 1856; 12mo., pp. 353.) It is needless to speak in commendation of a book so long known as containing more practical wisdom than any other that has ever appeared on the subject.

(27.) "*The Convert's Counsellor, respecting his Church Relations*, by DANIEL WISE," (Boston, J. P. Magee; 18mo., pp. 254,) is better characterized by its second title, "Popular Objections to Methodism Answered, with Reasons why Methodist Converts should join a Methodist Church." Without being controversial in this form, this little volume is an ample reply to the slanderous publications of Cooke, Ross, and others against the Methodist Episcopal Church. After showing that all converts should join the visible Church, and that *Methodist* converts should join the Methodist Church, he proceeds in a series of brief but compact and effective chapters, to develop the means of grace, doctrines, and usages that are peculiar to Methodism, and to vindicate them against the envenomed assaults of the writers above named and others. Every pastor, especially in regions where the pestilent books referred to have been circulated, should supply the newly awakened subjects of his ministry with Mr. Wise's excellent little book.

(28.) "*The Roman Exile*, by GUGLIELMO GAJANI," (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1856; 12mo., pp. 450,) gives a good idea of modern life in Italy, and of the political agitations of recent years. The imbecility of the papal power, the base and degraded condition of the Italian governments, and the general demoralization of the people are well illustrated in Sig. Gajani's narrative.

(29.) MESSRS. HARPERS are continuing the issue of their cheap and useful "Classical Library." The latest volumes that have reached us are "*Select Orations of M. T. Cicero, translated by* C. D. YONGE." (1856; 12mo., pp. 580,) and "*The Tragedies of Æschylus, literally translated, with Critical Notes and an Introduction*, by T. A. BUCKLEY, (12mo., pp. 394.) The value of the latter is greatly enhanced by an appendix from Mr. G. Burgess, containing Hermann's new readings, with an English translation of them, and a critical estimate of their value.

(30.) "*A Voice from the West Indies*, by the Rev. JOHN HORSFORD." (London: A. Heylin; 1856; 12mo., pp. 492.) This volume contains a review of the character and results of missionary labours in the British and other colonies in the Caribbean Sea, written by a resident, whose ample opportunities of observation qualify him to add to our knowledge of the subject. Mr. Horsford is not a practised writer; he errs sadly on the side of prolixity; but the value of the matter of his book goes far to atone for the imperfections of its style.

(31.) "*Physiology and Calisthenics, for Schools and Families*, by CATHARINE E. BEECHER," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 58.) affords a short and easy course of physiological lessons, with practical instructions for the preservation of health, very sensibly written. The water-cure part at the end of the book were as well omitted; there is more danger in these applications, when carried too far, than ignorant people are aware; and when such persons begin them, they are very apt to go to excess.

(32.) "*The Theology of Inventions*, by Rev. JOHN BLAKELEY," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1856; 12mo., pp. 294,) opens a new field of religious thought in the recognition of God in the arts and inventions of men. The writer shows that the introduction and gradual development of mechanical inventions abound in proofs that they are emanations of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. The book is, in many respects, a very striking one.

(33.) "*The Catholic: Letters addressed by a Jurist to a young Kinsman proposing to join the Church of Rome*, by E. H. DERBY." (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co.; 1856; 12mo., pp. 292.) Many points in the Catholic controversy are ably handled in this volume; and its value is increased by an appendix containing Bunsen's translation of the Apostolical Constitutions.

(34.) "*The Relatives of Leila Ada*," (New-York: Wiley and Halsted; 1856; 18mo., pp. 253,) is an extract from the "Morning Land," a book in which the author of Leila Ada has given a further account of the family of the young Jewess. The readers of Leila Ada will not need any urging to purchase the present volume, which has all the interest of romance.

(35.) "*Recognition in Heaven*, by the Rev. L. ROSSER, M. A." (Richmond: 1856; 12mo., pp. 201.) Mr. Rosser argues the recognition of friends in heaven from the Scriptures, and from the reason of the thing, with great force and fervency. The book is calculated to console the bereaved as well as to stimulate the hopes and aspirations of all believers.

(36.) IT is well known that differences of opinion have arisen among the friends and supporters of the missions of the American Board in India, as to the best mode of missionary labour there, especially with regard to the employment of the mission funds and labours in the schools. These topics,

and many others of importance, are considered in "*Hints on Missions to India*, by MIRON WINSLOW." (New-York: M. W. Dodd; 1856; 18mo., pp. 236.) Mr. Winslow's long experience in the missionary field entitles his judgment to great respect, and his opinion, though opposed to that of the excellent deputation of the Board that has recently returned from India, will probably, in the end, be found to coincide with the judgment of the Church.

(37.) "*The Suffering Saviour; or, Meditations on the Last Days of Christ*, by F. W. KRUMMACHER, D. D., translated by S. Jackson." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln; 1856; 12mo., pp. 474.) The glowing eloquence with which Krummacher treats of Scripture history for devotional and practical ends is well known to all readers of his "Elisha the Tishbite," and other works, and who has not read them? The present volume opens a field even richer than any he has before travelled, in the inexhaustible treasury of our Saviour's sufferings.

(38.) "*Expository Lectures on the Book of Jonah*, by THOMAS HARDING." (London: A. Heylin; 1856; 18mo., pp. 108.) In these lectures, Mr. Harding makes use of the recent researches and discoveries of Layard and others, in illustrating the history of Jonah. The main value of the book, however, is its practical character.

(39.) "*The Three Gardens: Eden, Gethsemane, and Paradise*, by WILLIAM ADAMS, D. D." (New-York: C. Scribner; 1856; 12mo., pp. 284.) The object of this volume is "to group together, in the simple and unpretending form of pastorly address, not of philosophical analysis, the principal facts which compose the Christian system." In the "Garden of Eden," we find the source of man's ruin: "in Gethsemane," the source of his redemption: in "Paradise," the scene of his restoration. These are treated by Dr. Adams with great clearness, both of conception and arrangement, and with a style at once perspicuous, forcible, and impressive.

(40.) THE author of "Friends in Council" is one of the best writers of English in this generation. Some years since he published the first part of a work entitled, "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondmen," (London: 1852; 2vols.,) intending to pursue it so far as to give a complete view of the *origin* of American slavery. The work grew upon his hands, and has finally taken the shape of "*The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery to the Government of Colonies*, by ARTHUR HELPS." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 2 vols., 12mo.) The work is in many respects an original one, or, at all events, a new working out of the sources of information. Its object is to bring before the reader, not conquest only, but the "results of conquest, the mode of colonial government which ultimately prevailed, the extirpation of native races, the introduction of other races, the growth of slavery, and the settlement of the *encomiendas*, on which all Indian society depended;" and on these topics the books extant afford but little real information. Mr. Helps has wrought up his material with

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unwearied diligence, and has elaborated it with unrivalled skill. His pursuit of the history of slavery leads him to track the fortunes of Columbus, of Cortez, of Pizarro; to linger in the court of Henry of Portugal, and of Isabella of Spain; to follow the rover on the main, and the diplomatist in the cabinet; but in all these varied paths he treads with the assured step of one who has mastered all the intricacies of the way. There have been many valuable contributions made to modern history of late, but none more valuable than this.

(41.) "*History of Europe, from the Fall of Napoleon in* 1815, *to the Accession of Louis Napoleon, in* 1852, by Sir Archibald Alison." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 2 vols., 8vo.) The world has already taken the gauge of Sir A. Alison's capacity as a historian. With vast descriptive power; with a sort of enthusiasm of style that resembles, in its rapidity, its brilliancy, and its unevenness, a quick stream coursing in the sunlight over a steep and rocky bed; with a large measure of industry; he combines an utter destitution of high literary taste, an absolute want of the philosophical faculty, and a spirit of partisanship that renders it impossible for him even to be impartial. Signally as these qualities were displayed in his former works, they are, if possible, more conspicuous in the present. Sir Archibald is as laborious, as dogmatical, as inconsequent as ever. Every library must have his book as a repertory of facts, and even as an index of opinions; but no reflecting reader will ever peruse ten consecutive pages without wonder at the odd way in which the author's faculties are huddled together, and at the singularly incongruous mixture of sense and stupidity, of liberality and conservatism which the volumes offer.

(42.) "*The Rise of the Dutch Republic, a History*, by John Lothrop Motley." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 3 vols., 8vo.) We regard this work as the best contribution to modern history that has yet been made by an American. In a future number we shall give it an extended review: in the mean time, we hope our readers will not wait for an enlarged criticism, but take our word for it at present, that this "History" should find its place upon the shelves of every library, public and private, which can find the money to purchase it.

(43.) "*Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler's Dogmengeschichte: Gieseler's History of Doctrines.*" (Bonn: Marcus; 1855; 8vo., pp. 566.) This posthumous work forms the sixth and last volume of Gieseler's Church History, of which four have been translated. As a history of Christian doctrine, however, it stands separate and apart from the Church History, and is worthy, as well from the eminent reputation of Dr. Gieseler, as from the care with which the editor, Dr. Redepenning, has done his work, to take its place with the best works of its class. It must be remembered, however, that Dr. Gieseler's stand-point is not that of pure orthodoxy; and although the professions of impartiality made in the preface are doubtless honest enough, it would be better for the interests of sound theology if the writer had not been quite so indifferent to the various forms of Christian doctrine. The arrangement is good. The

entire history is divided into three periods: I. From the time of Christ to that of Constantine, (A. D. 324.) II. To the era of the image controversy, (A. D. 726.) III. To the Reformation, (A. D. 1517.) Under each of these periods we have, first, a general view of the history of doctrines; secondly, the special history of individual doctrines; each and all treated with that thorough mastery of the sources, and that clearness and precision of statement that characterize all Dr. Gieseler's works. When shall we have, in English, a history of doctrines worthy of the name?

(44.) "*Learning to Think*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; pp. 186,) is the second of Jacob Abbott's series for children, entitled, "The Little Learner." It is intended to be read to young children, in order to aid the development of the reasoning faculty by easy and progressive lessons.

(45.) "*The Life and Travels of Herodotus*, by J. Talboys Wheeler," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 1856; 2 vols., 12mo.,) is an imaginary biography, somewhat after the manner of the "Travels of Anacharsis," illustrating the history, religion, and social life of the principal nations of antiquity, as they were in the days of Pericles and Nehemiah. Its aim is to give the results of historical research and criticism in a form likely to attract general readers; or, as the author expresses it, "to clear ancient history from the dust of the schools, and teach it in the shady play-grounds and flower-gardens." Mr. Wheeler's thorough scholarship has enabled him to accomplish a perilous task very skilfully; and his work will be at once a satisfaction and a stimulus to general readers, for whom he has worked up, into this agreeable form, materials gathered from many a bulky tome.

(46.) "*The Huguenot Exiles*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 453,) is a story covering the ground of the Romish persecutions which preceded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is well conceived and vigorously written.

(47.) The nineteenth number of Harper's "Story Books" is "*The Engineer; or, How to Travel in the Woods*, by Jacob Abbott," intended to show boys how hunters and emigrants manage in the wilderness. It is needless to say that it is full of interest: the verdict of "Young America" has fixed the reputation of these story books.

(48.) "*Missions needed to the Higher Blessedness of the Church*," (New-York: Carters; pp. 59,) is a discourse delivered by Dr. W. R. Williams, before the Society of Inquiry of the Union Theological Seminary. It is an earnest and eloquent development of the idea contained in the title.

(49.) "*The Victory Won*," (New-York: Carters; 18mo., pp. 106,) is a touching and beautiful account of the conversion of a sceptical physician, who, by a singular train of Providences, was brought within the reach of Christian influences on his dying bed.

(50.) "*A Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by FRANCIS S. SAMPSON, D. D." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1856; 8vo., pp. 475.) Dr. Sampson was, for many years, Professor of Oriental Literature in the Union Theological Seminary of Virginia, and obtained, in that post, a high reputation as a careful and thorough expounder of the New Testament. His labours, for many years, were specially devoted to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and this volume is printed from the manuscript lectures left by him at his death. It is carefully edited by Dr. Dabney, who has made his work a labour of love, and has given the Church a commentary of rare value. We regret that our space will not allow us to characterize it further.

(51.) "*The Central Idea of Christianity*, by JESSE T. PECK, D. D." (Boston: H. V. Degen; 12mo., pp. 389.) The doctrine of this book is, that *holiness* is the final cause of Christianity, and its aim is to develop that doctrine in all its bearings upon individual Christian life, and upon the life of the Church. The arrangement of the book is clear and logical; its style is at once fervent and forcible throughout. We shall endeavour to return to this important work in a more extended notice hereafter.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF EUROPE.

MAY, 1856.

PROTESTANTISM.

WHILE Romanism continues a bold, and in many cases a successful struggle, for recovering its independence from the temporal power, the *Church of England*, which should be the strongest representative of Protestant interests, makes but little progress in that direction. The Convocation has met again in the usual way—a farce laughed at by High, Low, and Broad Churchmen. What must be the feelings of an ardent Puseyite, in comparing an assembly of Roman bishops, like that of Vienna, with the Anglican Convocation? Still, the interest of the Church in the Convocation seems to be on the increase, and greater exertions begin to be made for having it clothed with real power. Some hope has also been raised in the friends of an independent Church, by the resolution of the government to concede full liberty of synodic action to the colonial Churches. In the mean while, Parliament is compelled, as usual, to occupy itself with a number of bills regulating Church affairs, among which there are twelve against the prerogatives of the Church of England, and not a few relating to matters of an entirely spiritual character, such as motions for addresses to the queen for a new translation of the Bible; for opening the churches of the Established Church for the practice of daily service, especially with a view to encourage a feeling of devotion among the poorer classes, and the like. With reference to Divine service, it seems that some of the bishops are rather careless in providing for it, as, for example, the Bishop of Bangor, who has denied a priest of his diocese permission to hold a second service on Sunday. By the appointment of the Hon. H. Montagu Villiers, a brother of Lord Clarendon, to the bishopric of Carlisle, the Low Church side of the episcopal bench has received a strong reenforcement. All parties call him a pious, able, and laborious preacher; but the High Churchmen complain that he has mixed himself frequently up with Dissenters, and is an extreme Low Churchman. The "Churchman" thinks he cannot congratulate his brethren on Villiers's accession to the episcopacy; and the "Guardian" says that the choice is in no point of view a good one.

The contest of parties in the Church continues. For the Puseyites the new year has again commenced with new

suits against some of their members; but Dr. Pusey, who at length appears again before the public with a letter, and with him his party, declare that they still adhere to those principles on which the Tractarian movement was started. High and Low Church are for a moment united in charging Prof. Jowett, of Oxford, who belongs to the Broad Church party, with heresies against the doctrine of atonement. Dr. Pusey, Dr. Heartley, and the Bishop of Oxford himself, have preached against him; and the professor has been summoned to sign again the Thirty-nine Articles, with which request he has, contrary to expectation, complied.

On the part of the Low Churchmen it was moved, in the Convocation, that proposals be made to the Wesleyans for a union with the Church. Any one can easily imagine the horror of Bishop Philpotts, of Exeter, at such a proposition. He declared "that he regarded the progress of Wesleyanism as a proof of the extreme danger of the sin of schism. He did not think it a becoming course for the Church to go begging to these people. They called themselves a Church, and thus put themselves out of communion with the Church of England. They were *ipso facto* excommunicated. The Church should be very cautious how they invited such persons, until they indicated of their own accord, a sense of the sin of schism in which they had hitherto been plunged." The Wesleyans, on the other hand, are by no means willing to submit their flourishing community again to the deadening influence of the state. A consideration of such a proposal, at the present juncture of things, would lead only to the secession of a small number of ministers and laymen from the Wesleyan denomination. Their organ, the Watchman, declares unequivocally against the scheme put forth. "Some of us," it says, "look forward to the day when there will be a real union of all the branches of the Orthodox Church; and for so happy an event, who knows but that Methodism, the friend of all, the enemy of none, may be privileged to offer her spacious field? Only we cannot but think that those err grievously who imagine such an arrangement is to be brought about by the absorption of one great denomination into another." The Wesleyans are, at the present moment, so much the less desirous of a union with the State Church of England, as their labours also during the past year have been most prosperous. The Missionary Society reports, for the year 1855, an income amounting to £119,000, which surpasses considerably that of any former year, and exceeds by £8,000 that of 1854.

Among the laudable labours of the Established Church, we should not forget to record the zeal displayed for propagating Christianity and their Church in foreign lands. A number of colonial Churches are growing up around the Mother Church, increasing her numerical strength, and perhaps they will soon be able to lend a hand for recovering a greater liberty for the Mother Church herself. Thus, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has resolved to procure an increase of the episcopate in India, and large funds have been collected for the erection of an Anglican Church in Constantinople. With reference to the missions in the East, however, the High Church party repeats its protests against receiving into the communion of the Anglican Church any converts from the Oriental Churches—these Churches being, although corrupt, yet true and valid Churches.

In political questions we see the great mass of the Church of England fight many a battle together with the Dissenters, against common foes. Thus a deputation, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and representatives of all the great evangelical bodies of the country, waited upon Lord Palmerston to convey their views respecting the motion of Sir Joshua Walmsley, for throwing open on Sunday the public museums and galleries of art. By common exertion, this motion was a few days afterward defeated in Parliament, by three hundred and seventy-six votes against forty-eight. Another common triumph they succeeded in obtaining, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministry—a majority for the first reading of Mr. Spooner's bill for abolishing the Maynooth endowment.

In *Germany*, the question of the day is Union or No Union. The United Evangelical Church has been lately strengthened in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the Rhine province of Bavaria. In all other parts of Germany, especially in Prussia, things look as if the dissolution of the Union was near at hand. Among the people the Union has never been very popular, in particular among the Lutherans; now also among the clergy the number of those who believe in and aim at blending together the doctrinal systems of the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches, becomes smaller every year. In the upper Ecclesiastical Board of Prussia,

there is only one member declaring himself in this sense, all others professing to be Lutheran or Reformed; in several provinces, especially in Pomerania, most of the new superintendents are men of decided Lutheran tendencies; separate Ecclesiastical Boards have, in several instances, been erected, instead of the former common one; and, at length, even the Reformed Church, which was formerly unanimous in promoting the Union, begins to take measures for a denominational reorganization. The entire dissolution can hardly be far off. It will for some time weaken the cause of Protestantism in Germany, for the Evangelical United Church is at present the most numerous of the Protestant denominations, and many of the best German Protestants belong to it. The final results, however, can be only good. With the downfall of the Union, the influence of the state in the government of the Church receives a blow from which it will find it hard to recover.

The more rapidly the Union is weakened, the sooner the Lutheran Church will reorganize. And it will be reorganized not only in over thirty different Lutheran State Churches, but as one German Lutheran Church. German Protestants feel the necessity, and see the advantage, of association, and the governments will not dare to check this national movement. Already delegates of the different Churches meet frequently in general conferences, to discuss the means of obtaining greater uniformity in administrative and liturgical matters. But lately, delegates of the State Churches of Bavaria, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and several other states, held another conference of this kind. One Lutheran missionary society receives the contributions from all parts of Germany, and the Lutherans in other European countries, such as Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and France, meet their German brethren frequently in common deliberations. The further development of the Lutheran Church is of the utmost importance to Europe, for of all the branches of European Protestantism it is the most numerous. Reconstructed in Germany on a national basis, it will probably be entirely free from Rationalism; but another dissension has taken root in it, whose end no one can foresee. The party is now divided into Old and New Lutherans; the former returning to the Lutheranism of the 16th century; the other pretending to develop some particular points, which, they say, Luther has not defined with sufficient precision. The most important of these points is the question of the office of the Christian ministry and its relation to the laity. In attempting to settle this controversial point, many prominent New Lutherans are accused by their opponents of having come to views very nearly coincident with those of the Roman Church. Professor Guericke, of Halle, the Old Lutheran editor of the Lutheran Quarterly, finds fault with Dr. Loche, of Bavaria, and Dr. Petri, of Hanover, two leaders of the New Lutherans, for leaving out of Luther's well-known prayer against the pope and Mohammed, the name of the pope; and with Dr. Kliefoth, the most influential man among the Lutherans of Mecklenburg, for conniving at this omission. Another prominent New Lutheran, Dr. Vilmar, a man of great literary merit, but also with tendencies toward Romanism, had lately been elected superintendent-general of the Electorate of Hesse, but the Elector has annulled the election, although Vilmar had received one hundred and ten out of one hundred and twenty-four votes. In Germany, as in England, such Romanizing views are almost exclusively found among theologians, and a very few of the laity. Wherever the minds of the people are drawn into a religious movement, it is in the other direction, toward what they call in Germany "Pietism," which is for the German Church, to a certain extent, what Wesley's reformation was for the Church of England.

Sweden becomes more and more interesting to the Protestant Christian, on account of the extensive awakenings to religious life, brought about by the Methodist and Baptist Missions. The mission of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England, which was commenced about twenty years ago, has sought and attained not so much denominational extension, as the infusion of an evangelical spirit in the State Church. Its labours have been so blessed that the missionaries confidently assert that the present time has no parallel in the past history of Sweden. This religious movement has been effectually promoted by the "Pietist," a paper begun in 1842, by the Rev. George Scott, who, during twelve years, was an exemplary missionary of the English Wesleyans in Sweden. It has now eight thousand subscribers, while the most popular secular paper does not reach a circulation of five thousand. The Baptists have been successful also in extending their denomination, and report for the last year an addition of about four hundred members. At the

beginning of this year, they were divided into seven congregations. They are openly at work, and are, as yet, little molested by the government. One of the leading secular papers, the "Aftonblad," seems to take a particular interest in their cause, and strongly recommends their new organ, "The Evangelist." The State Church party, as might be expected, is not a little aroused by such anti-state-church movements. They have finally become aware that something must be done. In *Norway*, the government has appointed a committee of four clergymen and four laymen, with a bishop as president, to examine into the condition of the Church, and to make such proposals for alterations as they shall think proper. In Sweden, Dr. Reuterdahl has been appointed Archbishop of Upsala and Primate of the Swedish Church—a man who is known to be opposed to the abolition of any privilege of the State Church, and to making any concessions to the other denominations. He is also an intimate friend of the royal prince of Sweden, and, as far as the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the land are concerned, but little can be, therefore, expected for the cause of religious freedom.

In *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, Protestantism has had again to suffer persecution from the Roman Church. Greater liberty than before has been granted to it in *Russia*, and it is rumoured that, in short, the Lutheran Church will be placed on an entirely equal footing with the Greek Church.

ROMANISM.

In the empire of the pope, nothing has occurred within these last three months that equals in importance the further development of *the Austrian Concordat*. All parties begin to see that extraordinary promises are made in it to the Church of Rome, that extraordinary means are placed at her disposal, and that extraordinary prospects are open to her if she is able to make use of the favourable opportunity.

It is now the prevailing opinion in Europe that the Concordat originated both in the Romanistic sentiments of the young emperor, and in the desire of the leading Austrian statesmen to have a powerful auxiliary in reorganizing the Austrian empire on a stronger basis than heretofore. However this may be, no doubt can exist as to the present submissiveness of Austria to Rome, and the sincerity of her wish to keep on good terms with the Church and the ultramontane party. The pope, the bishops, and the Roman Catholic press have subjected the government to many a hard proof, and the government has yielded in almost every point. In the Italian part of the empire, the Archbishop of Venice tells the government, in his pastoral letter, that a Catholic prince may, from political reasons, tolerate a heretical worship, but is never allowed to protect and further it. When the Minister of Public Worship, Count Thun, convoked, by a circular of January 25, all the bishops of the empire to a council in Vienna, and appointed the Archbishop of Vienna president thereof, the papal nuncio, Cardinal Viale Prela, disregarding entirely the official announcement of the government, informed the bishops that he would preside over them in the name of the pope. The whole ministry were indignant at this procedure; remonstrances were made at Rome; Mr. Bruck, the (Protestant) Minister of Finance, who saved Austria from a bankruptcy, threatened to resign; yet, after all, the concession was made that the nuncio should preside whenever he wished to be present in the Assembly in order to make communications on the part of the pope, while only when affairs exclusively relating to the internal condition of Austria would come up, the Archbishops of Vienna, Prague, and Gran were to preside alternately, in the name of the emperor. The bishops of Italy demanded the immediate restoration to ecclesiastical purposes of all buildings which formerly belonged to the Church, and the government is on the point of granting it, the Archbishop of Vienna having already received a building, hitherto used by the city of Vienna as a house of correction, for establishing a *seminarium puerorum*. All the houses of correction in the empire will be placed under the charge of the religious orders; the press is repeatedly warned not to publish any article against the Concordat; the fasting-command is rigidly enforced in the army; the members of the imperial family vie in patronizing all collections for religious purposes, and not rarely appear as pilgrims at one of the numerous places of pilgrimage in the empire. Other great promises are held out to the Church in case the ultramontane party will abstain from disturbing the good understanding between the pope and the emperor. The bishops shall receive the right of superintendence of the universities in their dioceses, or, where this is not practicable, at least a particular influence on the theological faculty. They are to have the right of founding a

free Catholic university, which shall be exclusively under the management of the Church; and the University of Pesth, in Hungary, which was originally founded by the Church, is to have its Catholic character restored, the government pledging itself to appoint only Catholic professors to it. In all the universities of the empire, the canonical law is to be taught by such professors only on the soundness of whose doctrine and teaching the bishop of the diocese has been heard. Notwithstanding all this, the ultramontane party is not yet satisfied. It seems, on the contrary, that, faithful to the traditions of their Church, their demands become the more importunate the more favours they receive. An organ of the party in Vienna, the Oestreische Volkfreund, accused three Catholic members of the ministry of having scandalized the faithful by publicly breaking the fasting-command of the Church; the "Civilta Cattolica" in Rome, the pet of the pope, finds that some of the official Austrian papers, as those of Milan and Venice, are not better than those of Sardinia; great dissatisfaction with the government is expressed for having suppressed an ultra-Catholic year-book of the School Counsellor, Dr. Jarisch, and for having brought suit against the author for offending other religious denominations of the state; and the ministry is made responsible for all the un-Catholic opinions of professors in the state universities, expressed in their works or lectures.

However, the advantages which must accrue to the Church from the further support of the state, are too obvious not to warn the heads of the Church and the Church party to be cautious. Already the periodical press in the service of the Church has been at least quadrupled since 1848; a large number of Catholic celebrities have been called from other German States to Austrian institutions; an Academy of Sciences has been established, which, as long as the union between Church and State prevails, will preserve a predominant Roman Catholic character. Under these circumstances, the transactions of the Council of the eighty-three Austrian archbishops and bishops, which was opened in Vienna on April 6th, with all the pomp which the Roman Church can command on such occasions, cannot fail to be of the greatest consequence for the future Church history of Austria. The nuncio officiated in the religious services, and presided over the proceedings of the first day. The emperor assured the bishops anew of his confidence in them, and desired them to have confidence in him.

In the mean while, *the ultramontane party of all Europe* are turning their looks toward Austria. If not yet satisfied with the policy of the present ministry, they still expect much from the emperor and the imperial family in general. Therefore, we see them busy everywhere in strengthening the influence of Austria. And the ultramontane party is already a political ally of some importance. Twenty-five years ago, its principles were only preached by single authors, such as De Maistre, Bonald, Lamennais, and Goerres, and proclaimed in the European legislatures only by the solitary voice of Count Montalembert. Now, they have organized themselves in almost every state of Europe; assume openly, unlike their brethren in the United States, the name of a Catholic party or Catholic faction, and bargain with the other political parties in order to gain advantages for the Church. They strive to enlarge the influence of the Church on modern European society, particularly with regard to church property, church discipline, and education. As to the property of the Church, they have, in several states, to struggle with the state for the undisturbed possession of the enormous wealth accumulated in the hands of the Church, as in Spain and Sardinia; or they claim an entirely independent administration of church property, as in the United States, without regard to the laws of the country, and thus forming a state within a state, as in Austria, Holland, and several states of Germany; or they exert themselves to have the yearly support which the Church receives in return for the property confiscated, invested in landed estate, as in France and Prussia. In matters of church discipline they not only demand (in which they are perfectly right) that the state government shall not interfere in the spiritual relation of the bishops and the pope to the clergy and laity of the Church; but also, where they are powerful enough to do it, the transfer of the whole legislation on marriage affairs to the courts of the Church. Another aim of the party is still kept secret, because public opinion, even in Roman Catholic States, is not yet prepared to see it brought forward. It is the restoring of a decisive influence of the Church, as the guardian of public morals, on the press, and making it the duty of a Catholic state to lend the secular arm to enforce the judgments of the Church. We are indebted to the Archbishop of Venice, and

other Austrian bishops, for indicating in clear, unmistakable words, what their confederates in other countries dare only disguisedly to hint at. On the educational question, they think likewise that the time has not yet come to demand the enforcing of their principles, according to which education is a matter on which the state has no right to legislate; but content themselves at present with making the compromises concluded with the states as favourable to the interests of the Church as possible.

Also in *France*, the government continues to court the friendship of the pope and the Church. The pope has been invited to become the godfather of the newborn prince; and in his name Cardinal Patrizzi, the vicar-general of the pope, will go as papal legate, (*legatus a latere,*) with two archbishops and a large retinue, to Paris, to surround the baptism of the heir to the French throne with all the lustre that the Church can display. Moreover, it seems that the pope has already promised to elevate the emperor's cousin, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a young man twenty-seven years of age, during the current year to the dignity of a cardinal. On the other hand, almost all the official papers of the government have published articles sympathizing with the measures of the Sardinian government; a duplicity which puzzles the ultramontane party not a little, although it suits well the emperor's past career. The union of the Orleanists and Legitimists into one royalist party, can but promote the influence of ultramontanism, for the elder branch of the Bourbons, in whose interest this union has been made, has always considered the at least nominal patronage of the National Church of France a part of their political creed. And if at present each party, the imperial and the royalist, strives to insinuate itself into the favour of the Church, what juncture in the political world could be more favourable to the latter? One fruit of this spreading subservience to the Church, we find in the many successes of the ultramontane party at new elections to the French Academy. Formerly almost excluded from this first literary institution of the land, it has, within a few years, seen three of its leaders, Count Montalembert, Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, and lately Ex-Minister Falloux, received into it. And must it not appear natural for the Roman Church to cherish the most extravagant hopes for her future in France, when a Protestant historian, like Guizot, says, in the preface to the new edition of his History of Civilization in Europe, "I am persuaded that for her moral and social salvation, France must become Christian again; and that in becoming Christian again she will remain Catholic. I could not forgive myself if I were to do anything which could impede her progress in that way."

In all *the German States* the self-styled Catholic Party is unfolding its banner with great boldness, leaning on Austria, supported, sometimes openly, but oftener secretly, by Austria, and working for bringing about a closer political union of the whole of Germany, under the presidency of Austria. Nowhere has this party a better organization and a more advantageous battle-field than in Prussia. Their opponents, the absolutistic party, which has at present a majority in both houses of the Parliament, are themselves pursuing the phantom of a sectarian state, where the enjoyment of full political rights shall be made dependent on membership in one of the state Churches; and are thus certainly, although unconsciously, beating a path for Romanism. Their allies, on the contrary, the constitutional party, are backed by a majority of the press, and probably also by the people; and as the ultramontanes form, in the Chamber of Representatives, almost one half of the entire opposition, their movements and motions meet now frequently with support, where, a few years ago, they would have called forth the greatest alarm. The ultramontane party itself has talented leaders, and displays more activity than any of the other parties. They have been very active during the present session of the Prussian Parliament. Among many other motions, they have moved that a Catholic University be established for the Prussian Catholics; that the number of Catholic colleges be increased; that church property confiscated in former times be restored to the Church; and that all marriage affairs between Catholics be transferred to the *ressort* of the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Church. Although, in almost all these cases, they have not been able to carry the vote of the Assembly, yet they indirectly prevail upon the government to make some new concessions to the Church every year.

Also, in the other German parliaments, Ultramontanism has some able and influential advocates. Thus, we find that in the Protestant kingdom of Hanover, one of their number, Ex-Minister Windhorst, is presented to the king as one of three candidates for the vice-presidency of the

House of Representatives; and that in the Protestant kingdom of Wurtemburg, a professor of Catholic theology, Dr. Kulm, is with great unanimity elected, by both houses of the legislature, as the first of the two members which the Parliament has to choose for the Supreme Court of Justice of the state.

In *Belgium*, the ultramontane party has still the control of public affairs, although it has lately been signally defeated in a contest with one of the State Universities. Professor Brasseur, of the State University of Ghent, had made the Austrian Concordat a subject of severe censure, and praised the Reformation of the sixteenth century as a liberation of the human mind from ecclesiastical tyranny. On this account, the leaders of the party demanded from the ministry his removal. The ministry, however, although all its members belong to the Catholic party, refused, by a majority of three against two, to comply with this request, which decision met with the approval of the Parliament. Nothing is left to the bishops but to warn the parents in their dioceses not to send their sons any more to Ghent, but to the Catholic University of Louvain. This latter university still exceeds, in number of students, the Liberal (anti-Catholic) University of Brussels, as well as either of the State Universities of Ghent and Liege. But already the old quarrel between the University of Louvain and the Jesuits breaks out again, and threatens the future of the Roman Church in Belgium.

In *Italy*, the pope attempts once more some reformatory measures, although timidly, and with extreme precaution. He has drawn one German and one French bishop to Rome as resident cardinals, and intimated his intention to have, in future, all the leading Catholic nationalities of Europe represented in this way in the highest council of the Church. Besides this, he is intent upon a reformation of the many orders of monks—a measure very much needed indeed in several countries of Europe, especially in Austria and Italy, where, even according to Catholic reports, gross immorality and incredible ignorance are found to an alarming extent. The pope finds suitable tools for this plan in France, where, by the exertions of Lacordaire, Ravignan, and other celebrated names, monastic affairs seem to be in a flourishing condition. Colonies of French monks are frequently transplanted to Italy, even to the States of the Church. One of the most numerous Orders, the Dominican, has already been obliged to receive from the hands of the pope a French general; and during May, it was the intention of the pope to preside himself at the general conference of the Franciscan monks, and enforce, if necessary, reformatory decrees by his own authority.

In *Sardinia*, government and people continue to act with a noble independence. Bishops, monks, and nuns are fearlessly placed on an equal footing with all other individuals, and impartially punished, if they attempt to infringe upon the laws of the country. A number of towns have taken their schools out of the hands of the clergy; and the refusal of the clergy to shrive such of their parishioners as had a part in the procedure of the State against the Church, increases the conversions to Protestantism in an ever-increasing ratio.

In *Spain*, the government is still at variance with Rome. The sale of the church property is carried through; bishops and priests who stir up the people are subjected to severe punishment; and the refractory town-councils of the province of Biscaya, who resigned in order to escape the threatened censures of the Church, are fined and forced to obey. Still, by organs of the Catholic party, a new compromise with Rome is announced as near at hand.

Nowhere is the power of Romanism at present more paralyzed than in *Ireland*. Frederick Lucas is dead; Duffy is gone to Australia; Keogh, in whom, some years ago, the ultramontane party discovered another rising O'Connell, has considerably changed his views since he has been appointed the Right Hon. Attorney-General for Ireland, and lately Judge of the Irish Bench; the number of sound Romanists in the Parliament has, according to the "Tablet," dwindled down to less than a dozen; the bishops have severed the interests of the Church from those of the Irish Nation; the clergy has, in several instances, been forbidden to meddle with Irish politics; the leading organs of the National Irish party, the "Nation" and the "Tablet," have been ordered from the reading-rooms of the Young Men's Catholic Societies: all which is breeding an ill temper on the part of the Irish people, which forebodes evil consequences.

A great zeal is displayed by Roman missionaries in almost all those countries of Europe where the great mass of the population belongs to another creed. In *Denmark* they have founded, although numbering only a few thousand souls, a weekly paper, devoted to the interests of the Roman population of Sweden, Norway,

and Denmark—the first Roman Catholic periodical published in Scandinavia. They pretend to make many converts, and report that the king is favourably disposed toward them. In *Sweden*, new acts of persecution are expected, as the government applied to the Catholic priest of Stockholm for ascertaining the names of the persons who had gone over to Romanism, and of those parents who sent their children to the Roman school. In *Russia*, the new emperor has recalled some of the most oppressive acts of the late government, and inspired his Roman Catholic subjects with the hope that they will have, under his reign, a better time than under that of his father. Preliminary measures have been taken for concluding a Concordat with the pope, and an ambassador sent to Rome for that purpose. In *Turkey*, the Roman Church endeavours, with the aid of France and Austria, to profit from the new firman, which grants to the Christian equal rights with the Mohammedan; and works for her extension with greater confidence than ever before.

ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The American missionaries in *The Kingdom of Greece*, report that the prospects of distributing the Bible were never better than at present. Five, at least, of the archbishops and bishops of the Greek Church are favourable to the circulation of the Bible among their people; and the government are quite ready to have the Testament introduced and taught in all their schools. Dr. King, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, has a class of eight theological students, devoted, pious young men, four of whom are anxious to spend their vacation as colporteurs, travelling in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Albania, to sell and distribute the Bible. He has already distributed on an average three or four thousand a year, for a period of twenty-five years, making between seventy-five and one hundred thousand copies that have thus gone forth through all the land.

In *Turkey*, where now all the restrictions of the laws against Christianity have been abolished by the imperial firman of February, a bright future would soon dawn for the Greek Church, if only it could be aroused from the deep lethargy in which it has fallen for centuries; for the Turks are a decaying and desponding race, and their power is rapidly breaking to pieces. The members of the Greek Church, in the European part of the empire, outnumber them already in the ratio two to one; they form a large majority of the whole population, and would, therefore, not find it difficult, under the present circumstances, to get a prevailing influence in the management of public affairs. Unfortunately for the Christian interests, a large number of the Greek clergy are utterly corrupt, and greatly dissatisfied with the reforms of the sultan, as they may lose by them all occasions of extorting money from their congregations.

The Greek Pitzipios of Skio is about to found a society for effecting a union of the Roman and Greek Churches. Its centre will be at Rome, and auxiliary societies will be established at Paris, Brussels, Vienna, Bucharest, and other places. The pope is very favourable to the enterprise, and Pitzipios will seek, by a journey through Europe, to enlist in his favour also the influence of other Catholic governments. Of the Roman efforts among the Armenians, nothing has been lately heard, except that an editor advocating the union of the two churches has been thrown into prison by order of the Armenian patriarch.

NOTE.

It is due to the accomplished scholar who has preceded me in the Editorship of the Quarterly to say that, although my tenure of the office dates from election, yet the credit for this excellent number is entirely due to him. The same is true, also, in regard to the procurement of the contributed articles which will appear in the ensuing October number.

D. D. Whedon.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1856.

ART. I.—BLAKEY'S HISTORY OF LOGIC.

Historical Sketch of Logic, from the earliest Times to the present Day. By ROBERT BLAKEY, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast; Author of "The History of the Philosophy of the Mind," &c., &c. London: H. Bailliere. Edinburgh: James Nichol. Glasgow: Griffin & Co. Belfast: W. M'Combe. MDCCCLI. 1 vol. 8vo.

IT has seldom been our fortune to read any book on a grave and important subject with more amusement and less satisfaction than we have experienced in the perusal of this goodly and elegantly printed volume. We looked for information and instruction; we have found only ignorance, pretension, and the most ludicrous blundering. Mr. Blakey has no distinct conception of the nature and range of the subject he has attempted to discuss; he has neither fixed principles nor landmarks to guide him through the wilderness into which he has plunged; his mental capacity is very limited, and his learning, even with respect to the miscellaneous topics he has jumbled confusedly together, is common-place, loose, inaccurate, and inadequate. His reasoning is as slovenly and miserable as his erudition; his philosophy rarely rises above the slippery level of ridiculous verbiage; and his grammar is singularly lame and mutilated. He misspells the names of the authors whose works fall under his consideration, and he quotes Latin and other languages without any regard to cases or other grammatical inflections. The qualifications thus exemplified are not exactly those which are calculated to render a man competent to delineate the arduous history of the fortunes of logical research. Mr. Blakey accordingly offers many provocations to laughter, but no rewards to study; nor could anything else be expected of one who, professing to be a logician, still regards with admiration the bald and barren common-places of Watts. If

he has had any readers so unfortunate as to be beguiled into the credulity of believing that any available knowledge had been derived by them from this book, he may have attained the object which he contemplated in its composition; but we can only appease a strong sentiment of indignation by smiling at the pitiable spectacle thus afforded of the blind leading the blind, till they both fall together into the ditch. Where he begged or borrowed the long list of writers on logic, *and divers other subjects*, which he appends as the *envoi* to his book, we do not know; (perhaps he got it from Mr. De Morgan, for it is certainly not extracted from his own text;) but we do know that, if he had read and understood a single author in his extended catalogue, always excepting Watts, Hedge, *et id genus omne*, he certainly would have exhibited greater familiarity with the subject whose history he professes to write than is discoverable in this volume.

Mr. Blakey is professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast; but if his present work may be taken as a sample of his teaching, it is very curious logic and very shadowy metaphysics which are taught there. He informs us, indeed, that in the three Queen's Colleges, of Cork, Galway, and Belfast, "the logic class is only now about to open. There is no prescribed mode of teaching the science, and it is quite open to the several logical professors to adopt any system of tuition, in accordance with their own individual judgment."* An alarming latitude is here announced, and it appears still more alarming when illustrated by the present performance. Under any circumstances, such license would be dangerous and illogical. It is a strange idea to dream of teaching the uniform operations of human thought in the process of reasoning, in such manner as may accord with the judgment of an individual. It is only comparable to the absurdity of lecturing on astronomy by guess.

If such aimless intellectual vagabondage had been always allowed, and Mr. Blakey's career had been prepared by a similar and equally incompetent instructor in logic in all the colleges and academies of Ireland, we could readily understand the origination of that distortion of thought and that squinting mode of reasoning which are so frequently displayed in Hibernian argumentation, and which, like the double refraction in Iceland spar, assume such brilliant forms and crystalline splendor in the perfection of Irish bulls.

Mr. Blakey has written other books, not luminous, but voluminous, on the history of morals, and of the philosophy of mind. Into some of these it has been our misfortune occasionally to look, but we never discovered anything there sufficiently striking, original, or

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, chap, xvi, p. 447.

profound to attract us to their steady perusal, or to detain us long from the company of authors from whom either instruction or a more acceptable gratification was to be gained. The Historical Sketch of Logic, from the earliest Times to the present Day, offered temptations in its title sufficient to induce oblivion of the warnings which our previous acquaintance with the writer had whispered in our ear. We were in hopes of meeting with something, at any rate, more satisfactory than the meagre and inaccurate outline of Whateley. With the prospect of discovering some information or some novelty, or at least of refreshing and purifying our recollections of the details of an important topic, we plunged incontinently into the volume, lured on the more unwittingly by the luxury of such type, until we found ourselves in the midst of the Slough of Despond, beslimed, wearied, and blinded by that copious and oozy effusion of intellectual mud, which Mr. Blakey mistakes for logic or metaphysics, and which may be a hybrid species of the latter, but which exhibits neither affinity with nor resemblance to the former. How we got out of this quagmire, or lived to return thanks for our deliverance, are questions which can only be solved by being promptly attributed to a special miracle. Our gratitude, however, shall be shown, not by the suspension of votive tablets, but by giving a late caution to others not to trust themselves to the deceptive security of the yielding swamp, and the bewildering mazes of the tangled thicket. All the lights and coruscations which flit around are only wandering fires—marsh-lights inviting to destruction. There is nothing firm and solid for the foot of the wayfarer in its ample limits, but a few tussocks of grass here and there, which have been pillaged from neighbouring fields, and have taken root, lamentably out of place in this treacherous abyss of ignorance and delusion.

This is a harsh criticism with which to commence our notice of this seemly volume, whose internal weakness is charitably strengthened by the substantial thickness and solidity of its antique binding, though, like its contents, not composed of any permanent fabric, but only of flimsy muslin worked up *à l'antique*. Harsh, however, as the criticism is, it will be amply sustained before we lay down our pen. We have, indeed, a design, if our space permits, of exhibiting, at the end of the essay, a bill of particulars, arranged under appropriate heads, like those lists of heretical opinions submitted to the councils of the Middle Ages for condemnation. Then each of our readers may readily judge for himself of the justice of our severity, and the moderation which we have displayed.

A history of Logic in the English language was a great desideratum. The want, if adequately supplied, would have met with grat-

itude, and been entitled to liberal commendation. The scholars of the English tongue—to use an expressive and serviceable archaism, which has gone out of vogue with the crowded mediæval universities which gave it currency—the scholars of the English tongue have been shamefully negligent of logical pursuits during three centuries, and this negligence has been productive of proportionate ignorance in regard to all matters connected with its history and details.

It might be difficult at this time, by any sudden or single effort, to revive an interest in these long-forgotten studies; but all persons, even those accustomed to speak, think, and look upon Logic as an antiquated vagary, and as the idle trifling of benighted ages, would have read with interest a creditable account of its origin, fortunes, fluctuations, and fate. But this work appeared just in time and form to damp any such interest, and to chill any future expectation of this kind. While the patient and sedate labours of many learned and profound philosophers were beginning to produce their effect even in England; while Sir Wm. Hamilton and John Stuart Mill, with their disciples, were recalling attention to the long unjustly slighted study of Logic, and giving a new impetus to its career, Mr. Blakey comes forward with his threadbare balderdash, and palms off the crude notions and superficial conclusions which were current in the school of Reid and Dugald Stewart, and which might be pardonably entertained there, as something calculated to satisfy the philosophical appetences of the middle of the nineteenth century, and as a competent canon of criticism to be employed in the exposition of the history of Logic.

The task undertaken by Mr. Blakey would have been productive of a most acceptable treatise, if it had been decently performed. Executed as it has been, it sinks into a nuisance. "There is not," says he, "so far as I know, any work of this kind in the English language."* Heaven forbid that there should be a second of the same sort discoverable in any language. But, even in the sense in which this declaration is made by its author, it is perfectly true; and just for this reason, his book will be sold, and may be read, to the confusion, dismay, and disappointment of all persons at all acquainted with the subject, and to the hopeless bewilderment of all others.

But Mr. Blakey is not content with informing us that the want of any history of logic in the English language had emboldened him to trust to the public ignorance or the public anxiety, for the favourable reception of his commodity; he proceeds with the further assurance that he has not been able to derive much benefit or assistance from the "two or three treatises of a foreign origin, possessing an

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Preface, p. vii.

historical character," which he has met with.* We are not surprised at this; for he seems to have neither encountered nor been acquainted with the existence of those foreign works which are devoted to this and kindred topics. In his long list of logical authors there is no mention of Franck, Jourdain, Waddington—Castus, Launoius, or St. Hilaire's essay, entitled *De la Logique d'Aristote*; nor do we remember to have met with any allusion to these names in his text. He cites St. Hilaire's translation of Aristotle's Organon, but the tractate which gained the prize from the French Institute, and which discusses with fulness and ability the varied fortunes of Aristotle's logical works, and incidentally the general history of Logic, he has apparently not even heard of, or he would have inserted its name in his list, among the many other unread books, of which only a scant proportion relate directly to Logic.

But what wonder can be entertained at such ignorant and perverse pretension on the part of an author, who has read so little, thought so little, and digested so little about the subject he professes to teach in college and to illustrate in print, as to assure us gravely, and without suspecting the smile he challenges, that "it has been his constant aim to keep the general principles of the different logical systems he has noticed distinctly before the reader's attention."† Unless by systems he intends awkwardly to designate mere differences in the mode of exposition, which his subsequent blunders of the same sort will not permit us to suppose, this sentence betrays its own nonsense and the incompetence of its author on its very face. It is a loose, but pardonable expression to speak of two systems of Logic—the deductive and the inductive—as these are but diverse applications of the same general principles, or the direct and inverse modes of reasoning. But in all correct argumentation or demonstration the general principles are necessarily and immutably the same. They may be perverted, misapplied, misunderstood, when they cease to be principles, but they can be neither changed nor supplanted to suit individual diversities of intellectual organization. There is only one set of principles recognised by Logic; there is only one system of Logic founded upon them, though that system may be more or less imperfectly apprehended, and more or less fully developed. Yet this blunder is repeated by Mr. Blakey on every possible occasion, and preëminently when he excuses his omission of interesting logical questions, in consequence of "the unavoidable brevity where the number of systems and authors so far outstripped the time and means at his disposal."‡ We say nothing of the incon-

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Pref., p. vii. † Ibid., Pref., p. viii.

‡ Ibid., Preface, p. viii; of Introd., pp. xxvi, xxvii.

gruity of this phraseology, though it is a singular race which is run between time and means on the one side, and a number of authors and systems on the other.

The closing sentences of the Preface disclose rather than explain the drift of these illogical observations. We are there informed that the contents of this volume refer chiefly to the philosophical aspect of the science, and that he may be able in a short time to write another history of Logic, devoted to the technical and formal division of the subject. We might accord with some hesitation to Kant, that it is possible to construct a science of pure or transcendental Logic distinct and separate from formal Logic, though even in this case the former would be a branch of metaphysics. But it is of no such distinction as this that Mr. Blakey entertains any conception. He means, as the execution of his present task demonstrates, that having filled one volume with the vague and desultory fancies in regard to Logic circulated principally by those who were ignorant of this study, or decried it, he will, on the earliest opportunity, devote another volume to that which has alone been regarded as Logic by all real, and by the multitude of professing logicians. In other words, he informs us that, having written a history of Logic, which does not treat of it, but of some very loose philosophical doctrines in regard to human reason, he will write another work, perhaps under some equally inappropriate title, which shall give the history of Logic, if, in the meantime, he can discover either the significance of Logic, or its history. Mr. Blakey's present book is not the history of Logic, but an attempt at a history of something which is not Logic, and is very vague, incomplete, and unsatisfactory, as the history of a negative, or of a non-entity, necessarily must be. His next work may be a history of what is ordinarily regarded as Logic by its teachers, and the confusion which in the present instance surrounds both the subject and its treatment, may in the second attempt be limited to the treatment only, and to the management of details.

The opening sentence of the Introduction continues the confusion which had been so successfully inaugurated in the Preface. "It may confidently be asserted," says Mr. Blakey, "that there is no department of human speculation and inquiry in which so many contradictory opinions are entertained as in the science or art of Logic."* Without examining particularly into the other merits of this statement, we might suggest that there are greater differences and discrepances between the various notions which have been adopted in regard to politics, medicine, and theology. But the declaration,

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xv.

which forms the burden of his Introduction, requires more minute consideration. It is perfectly true that there has been great diversity of opinion between the logical and the illogical portion of mankind, including in the latter class Mr. Blakey and his Scotch school of metaphysicians, with the exception of Sir William Hamilton, as to the meaning, validity, and value of Logic. But this is just such a difference as exists upon every subject between the instructed and ignorant. It is equally true that there has been dissent even among logicians as to the proper scope and range of Logic, some assigning to it a larger, some a smaller domain, but all agree in recognising as Logic, and as characteristically such, that which is alone so regarded by the more strait-laced precisians of the school. The discord is only in regard to the question of more or less, and does not materially affect the central substance, which all admit. There is also a further difference of opinion, discussed by the ancients and by the schoolmen, and fruitlessly agitated by the moderns, as to whether Logic is a science or an art, or both. But this is purely an esoterical thesis, and affects the subject but slightly in regard to the estimation of its nature and essence. No one, however, agrees with Mr. Blakey in speaking of it, as he does continually,* as "the science or art of Logic," as if these were equivalent, indifferent, and commutable expressions. He has undertaken to write the history of Logic, without having previously settled in his own mind whether it is a science or an art, or whether it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other, according to its mode of treatment, and its development as a theory of the reasoning process, or as an instrument for application in the determination of the validity of any particular line of reasoning. He has not even determined whether there is any difference or no difference between the phrases; but he rolls about the cloudy semblance of a meaning, as if the option left to his reader of selecting either meaning, would acquit him of the guilt of having none which is settled, precise, and definite. He parades the two attributes in a leash, and is afraid to slip the couple, because he does not know which to retain, either in general or on any special occasion. He cannot draw any proper distinction, so as to arrive at a safe conclusion, and therefore he drives them always in a yoke. Yet, on one occasion, he manifests his consciousness that a distinction exists, but without making any effort to discover what the distinction is.† When he indicates, however, this acquaintance with a double employment of the term Logic, he does so only to wind up with a folly which any man of the least education or reflection might

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. i, p. 24; ch. ii, p. 34; ch. iv, pp. 68, 91; ch. viii, p. 162.
† Ibid., ch. i, p. 1.

have escaped. "The science of reasoning, considered under two distinct aspects, namely, as a science and as an art, must have been coëval with the first ages of literature in every country." Could any one but

> The thundering, blundering Irishman—
> The slashing, dashing, smashing, lashing, thrashing, hashing Irishman—

one who had drawn his whole intellectual nourishment from the savoury juices of Irish bulls—could any other person have gravely and unsuspiciously committed such a gross Hibernicism, as the consideration of a science under the two aspects of science and art? This grievous lapse betrays the habitual indistinctness and confusion of the author's ideas on the subject; and, instead of giving him the credit of having got a glimpse of the truth in a solitary instance, shows that he was incapable of seizing it when it was almost within his grasp. But, in addition to this blunder, was there ever a more stolid display of ignorance than representing any science or any art, except some of the mechanic arts and the art of poetry, as coeval with the first ages of literature? Many generations passed away after poetry was composed before prose was attempted; and even the art of poetry, as a thing to be taught and studied, was never contemplated till the attempt of Aristotle. In everything, first comes the spontaneous practice, then the art which guides and purifies that practice, and enables skill, talent, and industry to imitate what genius had originally created, and unconsciously achieved. Science follows at a late period; it dissects, analyzes, and compares, and thus discovers those principles and laws which art had mechanically applied, and which genius had unwittingly followed or established. That men reasoned in the earliest ages of literature, and long before, is obvious enough; that they practised reasoning in unconscious modes is true, but this is reasoning without art, and indicates that they were very far from suspecting the possible existence of any science to explain the process which nature dictated to themselves. Little was done, and only in connection with the subordinate and introductory parts, toward the construction of such a science, until Aristotle wrote his Analytics and accompanying treatises. But, though Aristotle modestly but firmly claimed to be himself the founder of what has subsequently been termed Logic—though Mr. Blakey quotes the record in which this claim is asserted*—though the justice of these pretensions has been admitted by all logicians and scholars—Mr. Blakey fancies, that as a science and as an art, Logic was coeval with the earliest manifestations of

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, pp. 48–9.

literature in every country. He has been betrayed into this gross error by an entire misconception of a just, but not very profound remark of Macaulay's, that in all ages men reasoned in the same way, and in obedience to the same principles. This observation, however, he did not understand. The truth which shone upon him was broken, distorted, and refracted at a curious angle, in passing from Mr. Macaulay through the denser medium of his own intelligence and expression.

Of course we are not going to enter here into the long and difficult investigation of the essential character of Logic, with a view of determining whether it is a science or an art, or when it is the one, and when the other. This is one of those interesting logical questions which Mr. Blakey has eliminated from his book, and which we will pass over, as we intend for once, at least, to adhere closely to our text, which will make larger demands upon our notice than we have the space to satisfy. We will only state our own doctrine, which will be found in consonance with the tenets of genuine logicians. Logic is properly and peculiarly a science, as the theory of the formal processes of reasoning.* It is an art in its legitimate applications, as affording a criterion to determine the accuracy or inaccuracy with which those processes have been performed in particular cases of alleged demonstration. If we might recur to a distinction implied in the Organon of Aristotle, Logic is the science, dialectics is the art. To exemplify this difference, and to justify these designations, would require a longer discussion than it would be appropriate to introduce here.

Mr. Blakey's acquaintance with Logic, and his competence to become its historian, are both displayed in the declaration that no two of its professors agree in regard to either the fundamental principles of the science, or the modes of applying them.† Similar objections have been, and may be more justly, made to Metaphysics. If our author assents to either or both sets of objections, we can discover neither logical nor moral propriety in his consenting to be a professor of such fraudulent and delusive branches of learning. We had supposed the agreement among the instructed to be unbroken in regard to the great doctrines of Logic, and their differences to be confined to subordinate points. Yet the strange assertion is repeated still more boldly, and it is alleged that logic cannot furnish two logicians of any country, who can agree in any one common principle

* St. Hilaire, Logique d'Aristote, Preface, vol, i, pp. 10–17. Sir William Hamilton, Discussions, pp. 128–132, English edition. We ought, perhaps, to have added above—employed in demonstration.

† Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xvi.

of the science.* We are not aware that there has ever been any dissent from the *dictum de omni et nullo*, though attempts have been made to show that it was unnecessary. To these, however, no allusion is ever made by this writer.

With such a bad opinion of the health and constitution of Logic as is constantly avowed by Mr. Blakey, it is equally strange and indecorous that he should have undertaken to be its historian. This course might have been intelligible, had he believed in the utter dissolution and extinction of Logic, and been desirous to vent his spite on its remains. But he cannot say,

"I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him."

He does not believe in its inhumation; it appears to him to have a vigorous and spontaneous principle of vitality. It is not easy to understand how such a conviction can be compatible with his habitual views on the subject. Nor is our amazement lessened by his amusing illustration, that, "like the phœnix, it is continually rising from its own ashes."† This is as inapplicable to Logic as it is at variance with the ancient legend which is pressed into his service. What popular myth or mythologer could ever have conceived or embodied the absurdity of representing anything as continually rising from its own ashes? Such imaginations are vouchsafed only to the Emerald Isle.

Mr. Blakey confuses himself and his readers with a long dissertation on the causes of the obscurity which covers the province of Logic, and of the diversity of opinions which prevail relative to it. Our explanation of these phenomena, so far as they exist, is brief and sufficient. They arise from the fact that, in such instances, Logic is unknown and is not studied. Mr. Blakey's discussion is much more extended than this, without being equally satisfactory. It is confined, however, to metaphysics, or more properly to psychology, so far as it has any applicability at all, and rarely touches the domain of Logic. After laborious endeavors to grapple with the clouds which fly before him, he arrives at the conclusion, regarded by him as novel, that the only alternative left, out of three propositions suggested, is to confine Logic to thought strictly as an act of thinking, and to pass by the particular objects about which the mind thinks.‡

This, though very awkwardly and illogically expressed, is no new discovery, but appears to convey a glimmering idea of what has always been considered by logicians as the peculiar subject-

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xviii. † Ibid., Introd., p. xvii.
‡ Ibid., Introd., p. xxiii.

matter of Logic. The other two conjectural aims indicated, have never been assigned to it by any one who understood what he was talking about, for no logician ever conceived that Logic had anything to do with what appertained to the laws of thought as thought, or as anything else, or with the truth or falsehood of all or some of the objects of human inquiry. Besides the awkwardness of these expressions, which reveal through the rents and fissures of the misty fabric the chaos of the author's meaning, he betrays the same hopeless confusion of logic and metaphysics, which is again exhibited in the following remark, as on nearly every page of his volume. According to him, "the entire history of the science of reasoning, viewed from a purely intellectual position, is nothing but a practical and running commentary upon the question of how much of the mind is to be appropriated to logic."* We would gladly be informed how any such history could be viewed from any but an intellectual position, because it is difficult for us to comprehend how knowledge of any sort can be regarded in any other light. But we maintain that the whole mind is requisite for Logic as for all study, and that logic does not pretend to appropriate, or to be satisfied with appropriating, any particular fragment of the mind to itself. What it does do is, to allege that certain faculties of the mind are alone so characteristically employed in the development of Logic, as to require to be particularly noted as the special factors in the formal processes of demonstration, and to be introduced from the domain of psychology into the sphere of Logic. Whether this view is considered correct or not, will depend upon the larger or more restricted manner in which the limits of that science may be conceived; but it does not affect, in either event, the estimation of the degree in which the mental faculties are employed in this or any other science. It may seem very practicable to Mr. Blakey to write with half a mind a book on Logic, and his success may confirm him in this error. But his book, or any other book written under such disadvantageous circumstances, will be considered to be not written on Logic, but round about it. No imagination of any such fragmentary application of the intellect ever entered into the head of any logician; the insinuation of any such charge proceeds only from the misapprehension and misconception of the accuser. The logician devotes his whole mind to his treatise, and he exacts the whole for the comprehension of what he writes, and the subject he treats, though he discusses only certain faculties of the mind as constituting an essential and characteristic part of the *subjecta materia* of his science. Mr. Blakey understands neither his accusation nor the branch of specu-

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xxiii.

lation which he accuses. He does not perceive that his charge alleges an absurdity of procedure which is so obvious, that it could never have been seriously contemplated by any intelligent man, nor does he see that logic of any sort would have been an impossibility under the condition of a fragmentary appropriation of mind. Mr. Blakey in this, as in so many other instances, exhibits a great defect of discrimination, or, what is nearly the same thing, discretion—the discretive faculty. He cannot himself separate things which are separable, or not homogeneous; and he cannot help separating things which are naturally united. To apply Coleridge's forcible expression, he is unable to distinguish in order to divide, and therefore he divides in order that he may distinguish. He blends Logic and metaphysics together, not as the conceivable parts of a complex whole, but as constituting a single, uniform, indiscernible branch of speculation. He thinks the mind can be carved, as a butcher would cut up beef, to suit the wants or the tastes of customers; and is weak enough to suppose that logicians have been weak enough to commit the same folly. It is true, he does not consider this mutilation of the mind to be correct as the theory of mental action, but he speaks of it, notwithstanding, as if it were a possible conception, and one which had been actually entertained. It is unpardonable that he should so completely misunderstand the points which he discusses, and then represent his own vague misconceptions as the tenets of others.

But his boldness is fully equal to his blundering, and if he cannot help sinking into the mire at every step, he has a singular facility of swearing and believing that he treads on firm ground all the time, and that it can be made so by his asseverations. He is thus enabled to preserve throughout the long labyrinth of his wanderings the felicitous confidence with which his journey was commenced. Nothing but such an habitual hallucination could account for the nonchalant audacity of some of his declarations. "Logic has never been studied and taught as an independent science,"* is his novel dictum. What other character did it possess in the hands of Aristotle, Theophrastus, and their successors? or in the Commentaries of the Scholiasts? What was it in the teachings of the unjustly neglected Schoolmen? What in the writings of Leibnitz, Wolf, Lambert, and Kant? What in the estimation of nearly everybody, till Watts compounded his bald niaiseries, and the study of Logic was forsworn and ignored in every college and university in Great Britain, in order to give place to what was not Logic, the philosophy of Locke? The schoolmen may have extended too far the range of logic and encroached

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xxiv.

on the domain of the other sciences, though their offences in this respect have been greatly exaggerated. But this is an error directly the opposite to that which Mr. Blakey would charge upon Logic universally. They made it the science—the one, prime, great, all-regulating science. Thus they rendered it independent of all other sciences, except so far as it adopted as first principles some notions afterward more fully developed by metaphysics. But other sciences were represented as dependent on Logic, while it was itself considered independent of all. This is the reverse of what Mr. Blakey alleges, for it would be just as unreasonable to assert that astronomy is not an independent science, because its exposition and acquisition require a previous acquaintance with grammar, and its construction some knowledge of arithmetic and geometry, as to make the allegation which Mr. Blakey does, because Logic may be connected in some points with metaphysics, and may be thought to borrow some principles from it. Nor should it be brought forward as any objection to Logic, or any explanation of the obscurity said to hang over it, by one who seems to regard as an essential characteristic of the science, that "it is not a thing which possesses an independent existence, but is merely the exponent of all other subjects or departments of human inquiry which force themselves on the attention of mankind."* There may not be contradiction of expression between this and Mr. Blakey's previous assertion, but there are certainly both contrariety and confusion of thought. The latter sentence is, indeed, to our minds, inconsistent with itself, for Logic must be independent, if it is the exponent of all other subjects; and to deny its independence, with this conviction laid down, is to sin in despite of acknowledged evidence of the sin. Mr. Blakey's assertion, however, on this point, is neither bolder nor more nonsensical than his decision in regard to astronomy, that it would be no science at all except for "its immediate and personal effects" "in guiding the mariner's frail bark in the trackless ocean."† But astronomy had a scientific form, and was a recognised science, for sixteen or seventeen centuries before it was directly or consciously applied to any such use. That astroscopy, or the inspection of the stars, furnished practical aids to navigation and other pursuits from very early times, is not questioned; but astroscopy is no more astronomy than it is the science of electricity to watch the play of the lightning in the clouds. Mr. Blakey is deluded in consequence of not assigning any definite meaning to his terms, and of considering that to be a determining cause of the scientific character, which only determines the practical utility of a science. What instruction or satisfaction can be anticipated from

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. iv, p. 79. † Ibid., Introd., pp. xxiv, xxv.

the perusal of a work in which such laxity of thought, reasoning, and expression, is flagrantly displayed, when the subject itself exacts the utmost perspicuity and precision of both conception and language?

Within the limits of this curious Introduction occurs the quaint remark, that "with purely objective knowledge, Logic does not come in hostile contact."* We are not aware that there is any knowledge to which it bears inimical relations. It has always professed, and usually appeared to be the *amicus curiæ* at the tribunal of the judgment. Its avowed or real hostility is directed solely against that which pretends to be, but is not knowledge. Its enmity, if anything so abstract and impersonal can be said even metaphorically to indulge hatred, is confined entirely to perverse sophistry, to obstinate folly, and incurable ignorance. Its friendly admonitions are reserved for unconscious error or accidental fallacy. Mr. Blakey may have found its edge frequently directed against himself, and if, like the rebellious prophet, his eyes had not been blinded to the perception of the sword of the angel, which turned aside even his ass from the road to perdition, he might have often seen its keen blade turned remorsely against himself during the insane labour of concocting this volume.

All these gross blunders, perversions, and misstatements, are extracted from the dull and obscure Introduction, in which the author attempts to lay down those principles of what he deems to be philosophy, by which he intends to be guided in the composition of his history.

We should not have expended so much ammunition on the overthrow of these crumbling turrets, if they did not afford an adequate type of the whole subsequent work. In this Introduction Mr. Blakey endeavours to describe the arena through which he proposes to expatiate, and to determine the positions of the stars which he should follow in his course: and, though his description amounts only to the circumscription of a vast and shapeless space filled with weeds, which he cultivates for flowers; and the stars on which his eyes are fixed are not the lights of heaven, but the flames which spring from the corruption of earth, or dance before the vision of a man who has knocked his head against a post while stumbling about in the dark; yet the Introduction and its criticism afford a specimen of what will be experienced throughout by the reader of his book, and deserved by himself. To the end of his journey he keeps on repeating his slips and his falls, blundering frequently by rule, and fully as often through ignorance or stupidity.

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, Introd., p. xxix.

In the general remarks on the historical development of reasoning aptitudes among men, whereby the intellect of Greece was prepared for the construction and reception of a speculative theory of the reasoning process, Mr. Blakey inaugurates his subject with a copious succession of blunders. The same obliquity of view, which prevented him from making any distinction between logic and metaphysics, or between logic as a science and logic as an art, or from apprehending these distinctions when made by others, prevents him also from perceiving any essential difference between the various modes of procuring assent. He uses the word reasoning to denote indifferently any of the processes by which belief is generated; and with him revelation, imagination, persuasion, argumentation, testimony, authority, and assumption, might all be equally designated as reasoning. He knows no difference between their respective uses and natures: everything appears reasoning to his mind which is effected through the agency of reason; and if his erroneous conception were rigidly pushed to its legitimate conclusion, a paralogism and a solid argument would be equally conclusive. Opinion would be knowledge, fancy would be truth, and sentiment would be demonstration. All the lines of demarcation drawn so ingeniously by Logic are thus obliterated, and truth is not merely left without a criterion of any sort, but without any distinctive property or characteristic. It is the same pernicious heresy under a new form which was elaborated by the Greek sophists, and is very naturally entertained without suspicion by one who abjures the Logic which was invented for its exposure and refutation, and proved sufficient for that purpose.

It is unjust to Mr. Blakey to permit it to be supposed that he either consciously adopts this heresy, or accepts its consequences. Such perspicuity is entirely foreign to his intellectual habits. But if on any occasion there is propriety in reasoning from the effect to the cause, or from the language to the thought, we may safely infer Mr. Blakey's creed to be such as we have alleged, from the abundant and pointed illustrations which his practice affords. In his Introduction he had stated a fact with which we were wholly unacquainted, that in certain ages of this world, a warrior ventured not to battle without Logic: in his first chapter he identifies Logic with rhetoric and sophistry.* Dialectics, oratory, and Logic, appear virtually the same thing to him.† With philosophy in all its branches—ontology, cosmology, psychology, deontology, and teleology—he constantly confounds Logic. Parmenides is treated as a logician, because he

* Historical Sketch of Logic, Introduction, p. xvii; ch. i, p. 3.

† Ibid., ch. i, pp. 4, 5.

wrote on nature, and discussed the principles relative to philosophic truth, under the heads of opinion and certainty;* and "Zeno showed himself a great logician,"† apparently for no better reason than that "all his reasonings proceeded from general principles," and "he carried the form of the dialogue to a great extent." If these be sufficient indications of the logical character, it is inconsistent to treat Lord Bacon afterward as a logician, because, so far as his tenets were at all distinctive, he proposed that scientific reasoning should proceed from particular instances, and he manifested no partiality for dialogue, which is the peculiar instrument of sophistry, though not always or necessarily sophistical.

It is very unfortunate that absurdity should be imposed as an inevitable penalty on every man who will gravely undertake to write books on subjects with which he is unacquainted, and discuss abstruse matters without any precise ideas of the particular thing they are writing about; and that nonsense should inevitably result from the attempt to communicate to others what is still unintelligible to the instructor. Had the laws of the intellectual universe been differently constituted, Mr. Blakey, even with this book in his hand, might have escaped detection, and passed muster, perhaps, as a logician, possibly as a man of sense. As it is, the revelations which he vouchsafes to us are unfavourable to either supposition.

Had he known anything of Aristotle from actual perusal, instead of being restricted to the study of the miserable misrepresentations of Dr. Reid—the only author on whom he relies for his account of the Aristotelian Logic—he might have discovered his own ignorance. Had he possessed any familiarity with the great scholiasts, or the neglected schoolmen, he might have been alarmed at the array of unsuspected learning which discountenanced his folly. He would then have been protected against the commission of such misapprehensions and mistakes as he is constantly guilty of in regard to the elementary doctrines of Logic. Valuable as Grote's History of Greece may be, he would not have rendered the most original, appropriate, and sensible portion of his sketch of Greek Logic, the account which he borrows from Grote, of Zeno and the Sophists, who lived before Logic had any distinct existence, or any theory of Logic had been proposed. If he had even appreciated the shreds he took from Grote to cover his own nakedness, he would not have spoken of the Sophists, who are so admirably and justly characterized by that historian, as "a class of persons set apart for *any* service in the logical art,"‡ especially when intending to cite afterward

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. i, p. 5. † Ibid., ch. i, p. 5. ‡ Ibid., ch. i, p. 12.

Aristotle's claim of Logic, or, at least, of its essential parts, as his own peculiar construction, and his criticism of the Sophists as persons who taught by example and not by precept.*

It is difficult to form a conception of anything in the shape of professed history ruder, bolder, more flimsy, or inappropriate than the notice bestowed upon the Sophists, and on Socrates and Plato. The only thing which does surpass it in these unenviable qualities is this author's account of the logical labours of Aristotle. The reply, which is given to the question propounded by himself, "What was the logical system of the Sophists?" affords a sample of his habit of substituting loose verbiage and windy rhetoric for the expression of definite views or discriminating criticism. He does not deem it necessary to give any exposition of their aims and procedure, any delineation of their peculiarities, any history of their mode of reasoning, in this historical sketch, but is perfectly satisfied with vague denunciation, not of their errors even, but of the alleged consequences of their errors. We need scarcely say that he is as far from appreciating their characteristics, as he is from knowing what Logic is, when he speaks of anything but the most rudimentary conceptions of that science in connection with the name of the Sophists. The answer which he makes to his inquiry does, however, furnish to our hands an appropriate portraiture of his own book. "Declamation without knowledge, subtilty without comprehension, paradoxical without ingenuity, a display of the forms without the essence of reasoning, a fruitless and barren exercise of the noblest powers of the intellect undertaken, not for the high and noble purpose of extending, but of checking the progress of sound knowledge and truth among mankind."† This severe censure is not applicable generically to the Sophists, but it is specifically to Mr. Blakey. To the Sophists it can be applied only in undiscriminating ignorance, for he might have learned from Grote, whom he quotes on the subject, that the Sophists were distinguished from each other by many diversities; they had no Logic, only scant and incipient dialectics; they had neither uniform method nor doctrine; they never constituted a sect, and not even a class, except so far as they professed to be teachers of miscellaneous knowledge.

Of Socrates, Mr. Blakey says, that in the course of his elementary instruction in Logic, which did not yet exist as a theory, and which he was highly instrumental in inaugurating as a conscious procedure, he imbibed the doctrine of hearing both sides of an argument.‡ This doctrine is indispensable in the satisfactory discharge of the

* Aristot. Elench: Soph., ch. xxxiv, cited Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, pp. 48, 49.
† Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. i, p. 16. ‡ Ibid., ch. i, p. 17.

duties of life, in the practice of justice, in the acquisition of knowledge, and in the sober pursuit of truth; but, however necessary in these and other respects, it is extra-logical, like the greater part of this volume. The estimation of evidence, the counterbalancing of probabilities, and the discrimination between the diverse significances of different facts, are urgent duties, and essential to the proper conduct of the understanding; but they belong to other provinces of speculation, and are subject to their own special rules. Indeed, the very sense in which the term argument is here used by Mr. Blakey is extra-logical: it is put for the thing to be proved, not for the formal process of reasoning by which it is proved, or the separate links in this formal process, which is its sole logical meaning. He confounds the *probandum* with the *organon probandi*—the fatted calf with the butcher's knife. He is betrayed into this blunder by not perceiving the fallacy latent in equivocal words; and from this error he might have been preserved by a slight acquaintance with that formal logic, which is the essence of Logic, but which, with a large class of hasty, though ingenious speculators, he affects to despise. He fails to detect this fallacy in consequence of attempting to reason on subjects of abstract and precise philosophy, without distinguishing between the scientific and the vulgar acceptation of the terms which he employs.

We pass over many minor misrepresentations in regard to Socrates and the Socratic method, and only note the omission of the most important service rendered by him to logical science, in the development of the inductive process, and the introduction of exact definitions, a service ascribed to him by Aristotle,* and which ought to have been mentioned in a history of Logic, however brief. But there are other blunders clustering together in one short paragraph toward the close of the chapter, which we cannot thus disregard, because they exemplify the rashness of statement, the unfamiliarity with his subject, and the vagueness of view, which are habitual with this writer.

We are told that "Socrates was guided in his logical processes by that which has latterly assumed the name of *common sense*."† There are here almost as many blunders as there are separate words, though it is hardly worth while to point them all out, as some are trivial. *Common sense*, as here used, conveys an allusion, direct and inevitable, whether intended or not, to a modern scheme of philosophy identified with the school of the Scotch metaphysicians. It is obvious that Socrates was not guided by this system of psychology. That good, hard, practical, sound common sense presided over his whole argumentation, and preëminently characterized the

* Arist. Metaph., lib. xiii, ch. iv, p. 1078. † Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. i, p. 24.

man, is indisputable; but this is an entirely different proposition. That it guided his logical processes, in the sense in which it appears to be here alleged to have done, may be doubted; inasmuch as the Socratic interrogation and the Socratic procedure were the fruits of original genius, and individual pecularities, very foreign from the common sense of that period. But this Socratic genius and method are equally foreign from any modern practice, and the spirit which inspired and regulated them was particularly consonant to the intellectual and moral requirements of that day, and to the eristic logomachies then prevalent; but they are not in harmony with modern usages. Moreover, it is not latterly, but of old time, that the term *common sense* has been employed to denote what we now understand by it in ordinary parlance;* and its technical meaning has been already shown to be inappropriate on the present occasion. Thus, within the compass of these few words, so innocent and plausible at first sight, more blunders are compacted together than any deliberate ingenuity could readily have devised.

But Mr. Blakey is pertinacious in blundering. He hastens to add that Socrates "was certainly the first logician who really considered it [common sense] as an indispensable element in the art of ordinary ratiocination." We might take exception to the designation of Socrates as a logician in this connexion; but it might be hypercritical to do so. He was not, however, the first to regard common sense, in the signification of sound judgment, as necessary to correct reasoning, for there is no evidence to this effect, and human nature would suggest exactly the reverse. Nor is there anything to show that he did so consider it either in terms, or in any peculiar meaning attached to it by modern schools. Moreover, the implied distinction between ordinary and extraordinary ratiocination could scarcely present itself to the mind of a logician, or of any one conversant with logical terms and their signification.

Mr. Blakey supposes that Cicero's remark, that Socrates had first brought down philosophy from heaven to earth, is an evidence that he was the first logician that had regarded common sense as an indispensable element in the art of reasoning. This is a strange inference; and it is not easy to detect any connexion between premises and conclusions. But Mr. Blakey either did not know, or had forgotten, the remark of Cicero; for, with his observation before his eyes, he never could have made this statement. We had supposed that every one knew that this eulogy was bestowed on Socrates, in consequence of his having renounced the vague physical inquiries about topics apparently beyond the reach of human knowledge,

* See Sir Wm. Hamilton, Reid's Works, Appendix, note A, p. 757; pp. 774, 776.

and having confined his speculations to moral questions and practical subjects. This explanation is necessarily forced upon the mind by the language of Plato's Phædon;* but it is also what Cicero expressly asserts. His declaration is, that Socrates first called philosophy from heaven, established it in cities, introduced it in our homes, and compelled it to inquire about life and manners, and things good and evil.†

Xenophon is equally misrepresented, or equally misunderstood with Cicero, by this erudite and exact historian, who continues his appreciation of Socrates by observing that "Xenophon likewise informs us, that when he wished to form a decision on any subject, his reasonings always proceeded from propositions generally assented to or understood." Before examining whether this is precisely what Xenophon did say, we may remark that any other mode of reasoning, or argumentation, which logical reasoning must be, is inconceivable. We cannot apprehend the possibility of any valid or even plausible reasoning from premises not understood, or not supposed to be fixed by general assent. But the great error of the ancient philosophers was, as has often been noted, that these propositions, or κοιναὶ ἐννοίαι, were too loosely taken from the vague and undefined notions current among the vulgar, and were not themselves carefully sifted, scrutinized, and tested before being employed as premises. This rigid examination of fundamental ideas, in the subjects to which he devoted his attention, was a marked peculiarity of Socrates; and though he did proceed from matters generally admitted, his method was to show the invalidity of vulgar doctrines and principles, by exhibiting the want of harmony and consistency between positions which equally received the general assent. This course was pursued, not to arrive at a decision, but to exhibit the unreasonableness of the confidence generally entertained in regard to the unchallenged doctrines of the popular belief, and thus awaken sedulous inquiry into the foundations of even the most firmly credited articles of faith. Socrates did constantly refer, in all his irony and endless interrogation, to propositions generally assented to; but it was not for the purpose of either arriving at a definite decision, or of founding on them a regular train of deductive reasoning. His aim and his procedure were both very different from what is imagined by Mr. Blakey, who attributes to him nothing distinctive, and nothing but what is practised habitually by the ignorant and the learned, the boor and the philosopher. It might naturally be inferred, without

* Plat. Phædon, ch. xlv, xlvi.

† "Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et cœgit de vita et moribus rebusqus bonis et malis quærere."—Cic. Tusc. Disp., lib. v, ch. iv, § 10.

any inspection of the text, that Xenophon furnished no authority for Mr. Blakey's allegation; but, in order to do full justice to both parties, we shall endeavour to find out what Xenophon did say. In the whole chapter to which reference is made, there is no allusion to the formation of decisions, nor to reasoning from fundamental premises, nor to the choice of propositions. The object of the chapter is stated to be, to show that association with Socrates rendered his followers more skilful in dialectics;* that is to say, in captious or eristic reasoning, for it may not be needful to inform others, though it may be necessary to assure Mr. Blakey, that Logic and dialectics are not identical terms. In the particular passage alluded to by our historian, Xenophon says that when Socrates himself discoursed on any subject, he proceeded *through*, not *from*, allegations most habitually admitted, thinking this essential to security in reasoning.† Any one acquainted with the Socratic peculiarities will perceive that the illustrations employed by Socrates, rather than any propositions or premises, are here indicated. And this is confirmed by what immediately precedes this sentence. Xenophon exemplifies the manner in which Socrates dealt with disputants, who, like Mr. Blakey, were both ignorant and confident in regard to the matters they undertook to maintain. He tells us that Socrates constantly recalled the discussion to the original hypothesis;‡ he shows us how he brought out the inconsistencies involved in the first statement by illustrations drawn from common life, with which all were familiar, and adds, that by this recurrence or doubling on his tracks, the truth began to make itself manifest to his antagonists even.§ This is in entire harmony with what we know to have been the practice of Socrates; but it is very different from Mr. Blakey's representations, which are utterly at variance with the habitual irony and sceptical method of that acute speculator, to whom the remark was most grossly inapplicable, that "he always took his stand on first principles, and felt dissatisfied with mere logical forms." It would be much more correct to say that he never took his stand on first principles, and in all his cross-questionings was satisfied with the results attained by the steady application of his dialectical method alone. We doubt whether it is

* Ὡς δὲ καὶ διαλεκτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνόντας, πειράσομαι καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν. —Mem. iv, vi, § 1.

† Ὁπότε δὲ αὐτός τι τῷ λόγῳ διεξιόι, διὰ τῶν μάλιστα ὁμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο, νομίζων ταύτην ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι λόγου.—Mem. iv, vi, § 15.

‡ . . . ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπανῆγεν ἂν πάντα τὸν λόγον ὧδέ πως· . . . —Mem. iv, vi, § 13.

§ Οὕτω δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπαναγομένων καὶ τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν αὐτοῖς φανερὸν ἐγίγνετο τἀληθές.—Mem. iv, vi, § 14.

possible to trace to Socrates the employment of a single first principle. We doubt very much whether, in his day, there was any word in the Greek language for a logical first principle, or any such conception; and we are very certain that his dialectical method was the characteristic, if not the essential portion, of the Socratic philosophy.

It would thus appear that Mr. Blakey is guilty of blundering egregiously on every count in this indictment, and many counts have been intentionally omitted; yet the number which we have handled is surprisingly large to be included in one brief paragraph of twelve lines. What respect can be paid to the opinions of a man, what reliance placed on the testimony of an historian, who is so obviously deficient in the requisite learning, and in acquaintance with his subject; and who is so eminently incompetent to handle even the isolated and least obscure portions of his task? There is certainly ample accessible information in regard to the character and career of Socrates, but Mr. Blakey does not avail himself of it. Disputes and diversities of opinion have arisen with respect to the estimation of both, but Mr. Blakey's blunders seem connected with points about which there is little or no disagreement.

It may be thought that we have dwelt too long on this series of errors, and have used a thunderbolt to crush a fly; but we have been in no hurry to proceed "far into the bowels of the land." There are too many impediments and stumbling-blocks in the way to render haste either expedient or agreeable. Neither is it our purpose to examine into the general history of Logic, nor to discuss Mr. Blakey's views or representations, except only so far as is needful to show his utter incompetence to become the historian of Logic, and the unworthiness of his views to receive any respectful consideration or credit at all. We are desirous of proving that he is hopelessly lost in a wilderness of errors, where it is dangerous to follow him; and do not, therefore, undertake the endless and profitless task of enumerating, exposing, and correcting any large portion of the separate errors themselves. We wish only to prove to general satisfaction that a dangerous swamp, covered over with tangled and rank vegetation, is spread out before our feet; and we are not particularly solicitous about determining what species of juniper, cypress, cratægus, cranberry, or other marsh product, enter into the composition of the dense thicket. Thus our purpose may be satisfied by the inspection of the outskirts; a dozen pages may afford all the indication we desire, as well as the whole volume; and it is of very little consequence whether the specimens be selected from the beginning, the middle, or the end of the book. We have devoted ourselves principally to the contemplation of the commencement, simply because it

came first. We might have taken that part of the treatise for our dissection in preference to any other, because occupied with the simplest and easiest period of the history of Logic, and, therefore, more likely to be satisfactorily treated than the more difficult periods. But of this we did not think. If, however, the easier part is so handled as to exhibit only a tissue of blunders and absurdities, we may expect the more complicated portions not to be discussed in a more satisfactory manner. We proceed to show by a few examples that this expectation is not disappointed.

Passing over the notice of Plato, which treats of his philosophical and not of his logical doctrines, in a very superficial and erroneous manner, and is more remarkable for the recurrence of purely nonsensical expressions than for any other definite quality, we arrive at his characterization of Aristotle and his Logic. In any history of this branch of learning, the Stagyrite, as inventor and constructor of the science, and as founder of the school, should occupy a distinguished position, and great care should be exercised in giving a full, accurate, and complete development of the doctrine which he laid down. Whether the syllogism be regarded as the essential element of Logic, or as a cumbrous and artificial expedient; whether the history be written by a genuine peripatetic, or by a venerating believer in Dr. Watts, Aristotle is entitled to the consideration which belongs to the central figure in the general picture of logical progress. All that Logic is, is conceived to be, or can ever become, exhibits itself in the form of assent to, comment on, development of, or dissent from, the positions and teaching of Aristotle. Even Mr. Grote, who seems to have been the principal authority consulted by Mr. Blakey in preparing his outline of ancient Logic, might have taught him the necessity of concentrating his attention upon this great man.* We have every possible respect for Mr. Grote as the ablest historian of ancient Greece; but he is not an authority for the history of Logic, and belongs to a school which renounces the syllogism and all formal Logic. The latter consideration adds greater weight to his testimony, and should have rendered Mr. Blakey more attentive to it. Mr. Blakey, however, does recognise Aristotle as "one of the most prominent landmarks of logical science or art,"† though he does not enter into the examination of his labours with that fulness which this admission would seem to require. He is, however, equally, though not proportionately, negligent of Mill and Sir William Hamilton, the two most eminent living logicians.‡

* Hist. of Greece, Part I, ch. lxviii, vol. viii, p. 430.
† Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, p. 34.
‡ Ibid., ch. xxii, pp. 464–473, pp. 459–461.

Instead of a full, accurate, and searching analysis of the Organon of Aristotle, and the explanations of his doctrine afforded by the copious labour of his scholiasts, Mr. Blakey promises only a plain statement of their aim and character, and performs his promise by giving us a wretched mutilation of Reid's wretched account. He postpones nearly all the considerations which his subject urgently suggests, and never resumes the task which he has deferred. Even in what he undertakes to perform, scanty as it is, and more appropriate to the purposes of an empty declaimer than of a diligent historian, he is very far from redeeming his pledge. There is nothing whatever in this chapter to indicate to us the aim of the Organon, which it is very important to know, as it reveals the urgent practical value which appertained to it at the time of its composition. This aim we conceive to have been, to furnish an effectual barrier to the desultory and corroding disputations of the Sophists and Transcendentalists, by determining the invariable conditions of correct reasoning. And, let us add, that this aim was in a great measure realized by the method proposed by Aristotle, and that, so far as it is unsatisfied in these days, it is the consequence of the renunciation of that formal Logic which Mr. Blakey regards with such unappreciating indifference, while reserving his admiration for that vague, informal, unformed, or deformed Logic, about which he employs his loose and windy rhetoric.

If the character of the Aristotelian Logic can be learned from the bald, unsymmetrical, and unenlightened synopsis afforded in this sketch of Mr. Blakey's, it must be discovered by more penetrating eyes and much more suggestive apprehension than we pretend to possess. The briefest epitome, like a meagre table of contents, is all the information which is vouchsafed to us relative to the Organon of Aristotle, and even this breaks off abruptly into a narrow and unintelligent statement of his ontological tenets, which are only slightly connected with his logical speculations. Attenuated as is this outline, it is formed out of the most flimsy and discredited materials. Instead of consulting either the original text, which we will venture to say he could not understand, or the able and lucid summaries annexed to St. Hilaire's translation of the Organon,* a work cited in the Appendix, if not in the text of this history of Logic, he has starved down Reid's clumsy skeleton into a shadow, and exhibited that as a representation of the Aristotelian Logic. Reid's account of the Organon has always been regarded with contempt by

* There is even a more satisfactory analysis of the Organon in the second part of St. Hilaire's prize essay, De la Logique, but this earlier work is unknown to Mr. Blakey.

every one acquainted with Aristotle's own works; and though this general estimation might not have been known to Mr. Blakey, he might have been deterred from using such an authority if he had read the criticism of St. Hilaire, which only repeats the general sentiment of scholars and logicians.*

Besides the narrowness and inaccuracy which attend this dependence upon a prejudiced and ignorant epitomist, Mr. Blakey revives, without any suspicion of what he is doing, the exploded errors which had been long current till dissipated by recent investigation. He refers without scruple to the statement of Diogenes Laërtius, that Aristotle had written many other works on the subjects to which the books of the Organon are devoted, but that they are now lost.† This statement is subjected to a rigid examination by St. Hilaire, and rejected as entirely unworthy of credit.‡ Several essays on logical, as on other topics, are, indeed, mentioned by Aristotle himself, and his scholiasts, which are not now found in his works as distinct treatises under those titles.§ But this can justify neither the statement of Mr. Blakey, nor of Diogenes Laërtius, which must have arisen in the first instance from such a confusion as occasioned the long catalogues of the works of Roger Bacon.‖ In both instances, parts of complete works being cited familiarly under distinct titles, led to the belief that these were in each instance separate works. It may be confidently asserted against Mr. Blakey, with Diogenes Laërtius at his back, that the Organon contains the whole system of Aristotle, that it has descended to us without serious mutilation, and that no important portion of his logical writings has been lost.

The mistake just exposed is not the only vulgar blunder respecting the history of Aristotle's productions, which has been unsuspiciously reproduced by Mr. Blakey, after having been effectually dissipated by the researches of scholars with whose labours he is unacquainted himself. The old story is repeated with great unction of the long inhumation of Aristotle's works, particularly specified as "his philosophical works, including, of course, his logical ones;"¶ of

* "Reid s'est borné à faire une analyse de l'Organon, ou pour mieux dire, de ce qu'il prend pour l'Organon; et les erreurs énormes dont ce travail est plein, ne se justifient même pas par les préventions qui subsistaient, encore à cette époque, contre l'ancien despotisme," etc., etc. St. Hilaire, Logique d'Aristote, Préface, vol. i, pp. cxli, cxlii.

† Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, p. 35.

‡ St. Hilaire, De la Logique d'Aristote, Partie I, ch. iii, pp. 25–36.

§ Aristot. Pr. Analyt. I, ch. xxx; Rhet. I, ch. ii; Metaph. III, ch. ii; IX, ch. iii. Simplic. ad lategor. Alex. Aphr. ad Metaph.

‖ Jebb. Præf. ad Opus Majus, pp. xi–xv; ed. Venet., 1750.

¶ Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, pp. 49, 50.

their concealment and supposed loss; of their sale to Apellicon of Teos, (whose name Mr. Blakey does not know how to spell;) of their acquisition by Sylla, and their publication by Tyrannion. This legend is told by Strabo, and reiterated with slight variations by Plutarch and Suidas. It is completely disproved by Stahr in his Aristotelcia, and by St. Hilaire in his prize essay, neither of which treatises appear in Mr. Blakey's Catalogue. Unfortunately, this luminous and faithful historian does not even recount the myth correctly. He does not give it as it is found in Strabo, Plutarch, or Suidas; nor does he even repeat either of the accounts given by Athenæus, but he blends all these together until he produces an utterly absurd and ridiculous narrative.* He borrows from Athenæus the statement that Neleus sold the books (library) of Aristotle to Ptolemy Philadelphus, but he then alleges, what neither Athenæus nor anybody in their senses could allege, that they were conveyed by Ptolemy out of his own dominion, to which they had been brought, and deposited by him at Scepsis, a city of the Troas; the place where Neleus lived, and whence they had been obtained. There are two traditions, entirely separate and distinct, of which fragments have been preserved by Athenæus; one, the tradition recorded by Strabo and his abbreviator, accounting for the existence of the copy of Apellicon of Teos; the other, accounting for the existence of a copy of Aristotle's works at Alexandria, during the period of their supposed disappearance at Scepsis. Mr. Blakey selects neither, and rejects neither, but combines both, and invents the silly fiction of their having been sent back by Ptolemy to Scepsis to render this combination possible. It is only, however, by a figure of speech that we can call this an invention of his. He borrows so habitually from others, and usually from the worst authorities, that we suspect he is not guilty of any originality even in this exceptional instance. In 1682, Knittelius wrote a book on the Art of Lully, in which, among other surprising lessons, he professed to teach "*ingeniose e libris furari.*"† Mr. Blakey probably never encountered the volume, and it would be inappropriate to apply the epithet "*ingeniose*" to any part of his compilation, but the "*animus furandi*" we will not call in question.

It appears, then, that this story about the loss of Aristotle's writings is incorrect in itself, and had been fully disproved before this veracious history of Logic was written. And it appears further

* Strabo, lib. xiii, ch. i, pp. 124, 125. Ed. Tauchnitz. Athenæi Deipnos, lib. i, ch. iv; vol. i, p. 4; lib. v, ch. liii, p. 389.

† Morhofii Polyhistor., Ps. i, lib. ii, ch. v, § 50, tom. i, p. 358.

that the recent historian has not even told correctly the incorrect story he intended to repeat.

Mr. Blakey is perhaps excusable for omitting to notice, in connexion with his double assignment of the fourth figure of the syllogism to Galen,* that this invention has been disputed, and been referred to Aristotle himself, or at least to one of his disciples, Theophrastus or Eudemus, by no less judicious an inquirer than St. Hilaire.† We mention the omission here only as a further exemplification of the slovenliness and ignorance which have attended the composition of this book.

We have not entered into any discussion of the outline given of the Logic of Aristotle. It is too slight and insignificant to support a discussion, and we have purposely avoided all points which would require long examination in the exposition of the blundering process of this author. When a history of Logic, correct in the main, or founded upon adequate studies and competent information, is produced, we will then take pleasure in discussing the history of Logic. Notwithstanding the title of the book under review, any such labour would be supererogatory and inappropriate, when much simpler methods suffice to establish the utter worthlessness of the present volume.

We conceive that our thesis is sufficiently maintained without travelling any further over this dreary road of minute examination of particular positions. We shall therefore abandon this mode of criticism, although there is rich and ample material for severe comment furnished in every subsequent chapter. Is there not abundant evidence of Mr. Blakey's unfitness to become the historian of Logic, afforded by the fact that he despatches the great scholiasts and commentators on Aristotle, including Alexander Aphrodisiensis and Galen, in two lines, and devotes a long chapter to the influence of Christianity on logical science, wherein he treats of revelation and authority, as if these things had anything to do with Logic, and in total ignorance that the determination of first principles had been expressly excluded by Aristotle from the domain of deductive reasoning? Is there not just occasion for censure that Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tatian, (whose name is spelled Tatien!) are introduced as logicians, while Andronicus of Rhodes, Boethus Sidonius, Ammonius, David the Armenian, Simplicius, John Philoponus, and Joannes Italus, are entirely or almost entirely unnoticed? that Lanfranc and Anselm are inserted in this chronicle of Logic, but Albertus Magnus left out? that Lord Bacon is fully but feebly noted, and

* Hist. Sketch of Logic, ch. ii, p. 41, note; ch. iii, p. 65.

† De la Logique d'Aristote, Appendice ii, vol. ii, pp. 342–348.

Roger Bacon unnamed? These are, however, only a few of the most obvious omissions among a thousand equally gross or grosser deficiencies.

In this notice of Mr. Blakey's work, we have scarcely raised any objection to those illogical views against Logic which have sprung from Locke, and been adopted and extended by the Scotch school of metaphysics. It is unnecessary to state that on this point we are adverse to them and to their disciples. Their prejudices have proceeded from a misapprehension and exaggeration of a few isolated passages in Lord Bacon; for the general testimony of that illustrious man is distinctly and strongly in favour of Logic as expounded by Aristotle, within its legitimate domain. Of this fact Mr. Blakey of course knows nothing. But we have not raised the question whether the followers of Locke or the admirers of Aristotle are right in this matter, because it was unnecessary. Mr. Blakey is a partisan of Locke, Watts, and the Scotch psychologists, but whether their doctrines are right or wrong, whether the general position on which Mr. Blakey desires to plant himself be tenable or not, he is unacquainted with his subject in its philosophical and in its historical aspects, and incompetent to treat it. This was our thesis, and we had no inclination to introduce any matter foreign to the exhibition of this allegation. So far as he and his lucubrations are concerned, it is a matter of no moment whether we hold with John Locke or Sir William Hamilton, with Isaac Watts or Aristotle—(Powers eternal! such names mingled!) A man who is ignorant of logic and philosophy, of history and grammar, who cannot spell the names of the authors whose speculations he affects to chronicle and criticise, who writes nonsense, and cannot write English, is not entitled to credit or attention as an historian of Logic.

The evidence, or the simplest portion of it, on which these charges are made, shall form the conclusion of this censure. And, as we intimated at the outset, they shall be exhibited under distinct heads, like the damnable and heretical propositions of heterodox authors submitted to the judgment of mediæval councils and ecclesiastical doctors. Our readers may thus estimate for themselves our moderation in castigating Mr. Blakey's grievous offences. We shall not repeat in our lists blunders already noticed in the course of our remarks, but produce only new and additional instances of error. In the performance of this task large classes of misrepresentations, misapprehensions, and misstatements must be omitted altogether, and only scanty gleanings from our copious collections in other classes can be inserted in our *Florilegium stoliditatum*. Moreover, the various types of error in which this book abounds, run into each other by such manifold connexions, that it is impossible to distribute

them rigidly under appropriate heads: the division can only be artificial, not thorough and natural. Tares, cheat, and Spanish needles cannot be culled out of a wheat-field, though a few weeds may be pulled out of a garden. When a man thinks distinctly and precisely, and understands the subject he discusses, his errors may be readily separated and classified; but this cannot be done in the case of a scatter-brain thinker and a confused reasoner, who borrows wholesale, and neither understands what he borrows, nor what he attempts to expound. Justice requires us to suggest that some of Mr. Blakey's mistakes in orthography may be due to the printer, though, from the character of the publisher, and the typographical execution in general, this is not probable; and it is rendered still more improbable by the recurrence of other faults for which the printer could not be responsible. These explanations prepare the way for the exhibition of our catalogue of error.

Blunders in spelling proper names, and in the grammar of quotations:

Magarian for Megarian. P. 16.
Permenides for Parmenides. P. 17.
Blemade, for Blemmidas, Blemmydas, &c. P. 109.
Facinus, for Ficinus. Pp. 164, 165.
Favorin, for Favorinus. P. 104.
Nizolini, for Nizolius. P. 181.
Bruker, for Brucker. P. 181.
Lamenais, for Lamennais. P. 401.
Battain, for Bautain. P. 401.

"Teissier mentions that the books of Ramus, (his *Institutionem Dialecticæ* and *Animadversiones Aristotelicæ*" * *) * * P. 170.

"We have the *Artis Logicæ* of the immortal John Milton." P. 263.

"We find a portion of the same scepticism in the Dissertation sur la Recherche de la Vèrité, ou sur la Logiques des Acadèmiciens of the Abbé Foucher." P. 264.

Blunders in grammar, and expressions not English:

. . . "They took shelter among the fastnesses of abstruse and mystical questions, susceptible of a double meaning and interpretation, or were otherwise of such a character as not to be solved by any powers of the human faculties." P. 14.

"The truth on which science is founded, and which can be transmitted from age to age, resides in the soul itself, and possesses a real existence from all subjective influences whatever." P. 29.

"Now it is precisely the same with every other class of our general conceptions which forms the elements of our reasonings." P. 30.

. . . "All topics cognizant to the understanding." P. 66. . . . "On all subjects cognizant to the human mind." P. 220.

. . . "Every logical system . . . owes all the interest it can possibly excite in the estimation of men to certain principles, which lie in the background from it" . . . P. 67.

"The influential and important principles which lay in the background to this logical movement." . . . P. 220.

"These principles were grappled with, discussed, analyzed, viewed in every possible aspect, and assayed to be developed with marvellous acuteness and philosophical skill." P. 73.

"It was through this channel that the writings of Aristotle . . . were conveyed to them about the commencement of the ninth century, and which imparted such a powerful stimulant to their speculative subtilty and logical skill." P. 112.

. . . "Many of the scholastic doctors pronounced it as useless." . . . P. 154.

"Indeed, we see here very distinctly . . . that men were bent on testing all logical methods and systems by their own private judgment, and to be no longer led by the sheer power of authority for ancient and venerated names." P. 163.

"The plague raged in Paris, and cut off several of its most influential and popular of the professors of the university." P. 170.

"The great movement of the Reformation effected logical science considerably." P. 185. Effect is put for affect, also p. 245, and in other places.

"It must always, however, be taken into consideration, that there are every degree of mysticism" . . . P. 197.

. . . "A stronger stamina of enthusiasm" . . . P. 222.

"Man was no longer considered as only a finer specimen of the animal, but had within an immaterial and immortal principle, which the coldness of the grave could not destroy." P. 247.

"Even if it be admitted that men ignorant of artificial logic, reason sometimes more promptly and correctly than those intimately skilled in it; yet this does not prove its absolute inutility, any more than because we occasionally find persons quick and correct at arithmetical accounts who, nevertheless, know scarcely anything of formal figures, that therefore the science of numbers is of little use." P. 250.

"He (Locke) makes the distinct portion of his philosophy subservient to this end." P. 279.

"The first item in the elements of logic are conceptions." P. 302.

"The logical portion of his (Condillac's) voluminous works are contained under the general head of Cours d'Etude." P. 318.

"The Christian system conferred new logical canons on the nature, importance, and promulgation of truth." P. 329.

"When the five members of the Hindoo syllogism is considered" . . . P. 384.

"The formation of a philosophical logic—similar in its character and intended offices as that contemplated by the late Dugald Stewart" . . . P. 399.

These examples are amply sufficient to prove that Mr. Blakey can write neither English nor grammar, but, if further illustration is desired, other instances may be found at pages 12, 36, 52, 68, 81, 87, 91, 100, 107, 148, 172, 188, 224, 232, 234, 260, 263, 266, 279, 280, 294, 295, 306, 364, 376, 411, 412, 415, 419, 458, 466, 481.

Examples of pure nonsense in Blakey's History of Logic.

"Antisthenes—This philosopher entertained certain opinions on that branch of logic which embraces the nature and use of definitions." P. 16.

"This being or existence, as well as its opposite, non-being or non-existence, cannot be defined; only the being is represented by an effulgent light which encircles it; whereas the non-being is the pure negative, or the want of this irradiating influence." P. 33.

"Possession—This category involves the whole rights of property." P. 38.

"They (the ancient philosophers) viewed the mind of man in all its totality, and more especially directed their attention to that attribute of its nature

which was immediately engaged in the pursuit and communication of truth; and scanning this attribute from every angular position in which it could present itself to the understandings of men, they saw that it revolved, as on a fixed centre, upon the great and interesting truth, that there was in some unknown sphere of creation some living and active power, which inspired men with ideas on these topics, and forced upon them that indissoluble connexion which subsisted between what was true, and good, and beautiful, and the preservation of their own existence and happiness as human creatures." P. 77.

"If the principle in question should be carried to its full or ultra-logical consequences." . . . P. 87.

"This (that logic was the universal science) was the current or every-day belief of all the scholastic thinkers in every age of their disputations; and this belief forms that logical unity which is imprinted on the mind of every one conversant with their speculations." P. 128.

"Hobbes's system of philosophy was evidently of a material cast; and, on this account, he was too clear-headed to admit into his logic any principle or formal arrangement which might seem to be at variance with his leading views on human nature." P. 224.

"Thinking long and earnestly on this topic, he (Descartes) was induced to conceive that there must certainly be some method or other, which, if pursued, would enable candid and inquiring minds to throw off this incubus of doubt, and, following up the first suggestion, he thought he saw in the distance, like a nebulous cloud in the horizon, a certain principle which pointed him to something like certitude and truth." P. 232.

"Judgment and probability are two important instruments in Locke's logical system." P. 274.

. . . "The fundamental doctrines of theology, considered as an embodiment of scientific truth." P. 285.

"Reasoning is not, therefore, a general and blind energy, or impulse, directed to a particular end, and guided by nothing higher or extrinsic to itself." P. 295.

"Every fundamental truth should have an existence of all knowledge from experience." P. 306.

"There is prefixed to the end of the volume." . . . P. 321.

"Genovesi's logic is founded on a psychological view of the mind." P. 334.

"His (Rydelius's) opinions on the general principles of logical science are to be found in his other publications devoted to mental philosophy." P. 373. (Other than his logic.)

This list may be extended by reference to pages 29, 30, 33, 66, 66, 67, 81, 83, 84, 86, 122, 143, 194, 244, 272, 294, 297, 319, 348, 380, 415, 455, 466.

Blakey's blunders in matters historical.

Besides omissions, chronological dislocations, and disregard of propriety and proportion in the amount of consideration bestowed upon different authors and periods, there are numerous distinct errors, of which we specify the following:

Socrates "spent a long life in teaching . . . what were the best rules and principles for guiding the judgment in the acquisition and promulgation of truth generally." P. 17.

"This huge mass of speculation (philosophy before Socrates) . . . had neither beginning, middle, nor end." P. 21.

"Following the Peripatetics, another class of logicians made their appearance, denominated Sceptics." P. 53.

"The Stoics do not appear to have entered very deeply into the logic of either Plato or Aristotle." P. 59.

The Stoics "took men as they found them. And hence it is that theories of every kind hung loosely about them." P. 61.

"St. Athenagoras." P. 99.

"His (Cassiodorus's) views (on logic) are contained in the treatise '*Rhetorica Compendium!*'" Pp. 107, 108.

"The Arabian logical philosophy, taken as a whole, is a compound of three leading ingredients—the Scripture doctrine as to the nature of truth, the Grecian dialectics, and the theories of the New Platonists." P. 112.

"The logical method of Aquinas, and his speculations on the nature of truth and evidence generally, are developed chiefly in his *Summa Theologica*, and in his *Commentaries* on some parts of the philosophy of Aristotle." P. 149.

"Its barrenness and formality soon became apparent." P. 154. He is speaking of Raymond Lully's *Ars Magna*, and contradicts himself in what immediately follows.

"James Zabarella (A. D. 1532) was a logician of some note." P. 181.

"Melancthon entertained no very high opinion of scholastic logic." P. 191.

The *Novum Organon* "gave a new and powerful impetus to logical investigations." P. 200.

"In respect to the syllogistic mode of reasoning, Leibnitz expresses himself a qualified admirer of it." P. 249.

"Archbishop Whately's Elements of Logic is one of the most important and influential logical publications of modern times." P. 454.

Similar blunders, many even grosser than these, may be discovered on pages 26, 54, 55, 58, 71, 76, 94, 95, 110, 125, 127, 140, 141, 160, 161, 169, 181, 195, 213, 220, 221, 246, 257, 271, 287, 329, 344.

Blakey's blunders in matters logical and philosophical.

So much space has been already occupied with the previous enumeration of Mr. Blakey's errors in regard to other subjects, and lapses in Logic and metaphysics, or in points involving those branches of science, require so much elucidation to render their enormity or even their existence sensible to the majority of readers, that we have collected in the note the references to Mr. Blakey's sins of this kind,* instead of writing out *in extenso* any of the long and tedious passages in which they are contained. If, therefore, we have not fully substantiated all our severe censures of this Historical Sketch of Logic, we have furnished to others an ample *apparatus criticus* by which it may be justified and confirmed. We have, therefore, no hesitation in taking leave of this volume,

* Blunders in Logic: Pp. xix, 13, 28, 35, 40, 68, 75, 78, 85, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 101, 107, 116, 119, 122, 130, 132, 145, 159, 202, 230, 245, 277, 455, 470.

Blunders in matters metaphysical: Pp. 27, 29, 31, 33, 45, 47, 69, 70, 72, 80, 91, 126, 127, 128, 134, 152, 153, 159, 178, 205, 206, 207–8, 210, 220, 248, 273, 284, 296.

As Mr. Blakey confounds Logic and Metaphysics together, these two classes of error in his book are frequently almost undistinguishable from each other.

with the declaration that it is good for nothing, and is entitled to commendation only for its paper and print. Let every one who desires to know something of the History of Logic, avoid it like the plague, and recur to the able and valuable treatise of St. Hilaire, *De la Logique d'Aristote*, so frequently referred to in the course of our remarks.

Art. II.—IRVING'S WORKS.

The Works of Washington Irving. 16 vols., 12mo. New-York: G. P. Putnam.

The name of the distinguished man whose works are placed at the head of this article, has, for a long time, been a household word in both hemispheres. For more than forty years, words of beauty and thoughts of purity have been constantly flowing from his classic pen; and all that we can do in the premises, is to hold up before mankind a model of beautiful sentiment and elegant writing. Washington Irving is the first of our writers who won a brilliant fame in countries separated from his own by the ocean. We had men whom Europe and the world honoured, long before he wrote, and who were reckoned brothers to universal humanity. The deeds of our heroes, and the practical wisdom of our statesmen, were everywhere admired as soon as men heard of them. Our energy and morality, our industry, our freedom, our intelligence, and our unexampled progress, were the wonder and envy of the nations. But no man was known solely for his ability to write his native tongue in an elegant and graceful manner, or for his power to awaken emotions of beauty, pity, tenderness, and mirth in the minds of others. The reputation of Irving is, therefore, in the minds of his countrymen, very much like the heart's estimation of a first love—an exaggerated remembrance of a delicious dream; or like the fond mother's dotings over the infant exploits of her first-born son, a gladsome picture of futurity, coloured by the magic glass of hope. He is the best beloved, as well as the oldest, of American writers, and the collection of his works marks an era in the history of our literature which ought not to be passed without due notice.

The writings, as collected and thus far published, embrace, in some sixteen volumes, fictitious works, such as tales and sketches; essays, moral, humorous, and sentimental; narratives of adventures and travel; biographies of eminent men; and histories, bur-

lesque and authentic. It is not often that a writer assumes to use his pen in so many and so various kinds of literature; and still less often is it that one succeeds. Southey wrote poetry, history, philosophy so called, fiction, and biography, and succeeded in all, so as to have made many enemies and few warm friends; and yet men will remember his biographies and profit by them, when they would willingly forget all else of his works. Scott wrote criticisms, fiction, poetry, and history, and made each nothing else than a kind of poetic fiction. And so of others; they have only excelled in one, or, at most, two departments; and even in those they have many who, if not cavillers, are only hesitating friends. But Irving seems to have shown that in each thing which he undertook he had a master's power, and has attained the height of ambition. In the whole of what he has written there is a vast variety of incident, an almost unexampled scope of design and construction, and a compass of subject and style which well might satisfy the pride of a writer, or the omnivorous curiosity of a fashionable reader. His writings embrace almost every species of literary composition, except that which proceeds with the majestic march of measured verse. There are the broadest and most ludicrously-strained caricature; the most genial and mirth-provoking humour; the keenest and the most unexpected sallies of wit; the tenderest and the truest sentiment; the sweetest, the most natural, and most heart-profiting moral reflection; the soundest and noblest lessons of practical wisdom; the loftiest and most enduring poetic imagery; the best and holiest morality; all written in words the smoothest and most bewitching, and conveyed in a style the most enchanting and soul-elevating. He is at once a master of all the weapons, and all the arts, of written eloquence. It is an honour to any country to have produced such a man, and a still greater honour to any age to have, in some good degree at least, appreciated him and his works.

The earliest work which it has pleased him to revise and reprint, is "Knickerbocker's History of New-York, from the beginning of Creation to the close of the Dynasties of our worthy Dutch Governors," first published in 1809. Irving had before this been engaged with one or two others in the publication of a series of humorous and sentimental essays, called Salmagundi; but he has not seen fit to claim his own particular share of these, and to incorporate them in the present edition of his writings. If we may judge of public opinion at that time by the alacrity with which the name "Knickerbocker" was adopted, we must conclude that the book was welcomed with a hearty enthusiasm. Indeed, for forty years it has been a universal favourite, and few books have been hailed with a warmer

greeting than its revised edition called forth. To this fact allusion is made in the Preface of this revised edition, with evident satisfaction. Irving seems to have been singularly fortunate in selecting topics for his works, and in the names by which to distinguish them; or perhaps the ability with which he has handled everything undertaken, has so dignified and ornamented it, that both the reality and the name by which he chose to call it have at once become classic. And is it not true, that this fact marks the distinction between a man of genius and a man of mere words? Will not the man of genius select his subject from the most commonplace things, and in developing it see, and cause others to feel, so many analogies and relations between that and all beautiful objects around it, that it shall at once shine with the beauty of perfection itself? Just as the moon, almost without form and void, having the glory of sun, stars, and azure sky to inwrap and mantle it, becomes the loveliest orb of night, and lives in men's hearts as in a world of love. Accident, whim, or mischief, may prompt such a man to write on this or that topic, and another even may suggest the plan; but when he works over the materials, he sheds on it his own glorious mental light, throws over it the warmth of his own genial heart, colours it with his own mellow fancy, till it becomes a living world, attracting wherever it moves, and adorning the whole hemisphere in which it appears. Men love it; they love its name even, and they will dignify with its name, in whole or in part, all things influenced by it.

Precisely thus it is with Diedrick Knickerbocker's History. It seems to have originated in a justifiable attempt to ridicule a very dull and egotistical book, printed more than forty years ago. This was a temporary occasion, and Irving very modestly and truthfully confesses that it was the leading design in his mind. But he could write nothing merely temporary, and when he began, the work at once outgrew the foundation, and sprang up to immortal beauty. Instead of a burlesque on a single insignificant book, and that to be laughed at for a day, we have a world of burlesque on all inflated historians and theorizers. We have satire, keen and biting, sparing no puffed-up dignity in state or in letters; but withal so good-natured and forgiving that every reader is made more charitable, instead of more censorious. Here is wit as honest as a gush of spring sunshine, once in a while somewhat coarse, but so sportive, and simple, and harmless, that all admire as they laugh, and grow more disposed to love than ever. And peeping out of almost every page is a humour so sly and hearty, that although it is now and then improbable, yet so well sustained, that none but a cynic can cavil at its excess, or complain at its vagaries. And then we find caricature,

so ludicrous and so strained, that we must laugh or die; and still so true to nature, and the original in life seems so closely followed, that we are often more than half inclined to believe the whole thing real, and are moved to tenderest pity by the most mirth-provoking of all writings. All feelings and their expressions, all emotions and their joys, are so naturally moved within us, and seem so completely to be our own property, or the result, at least, of our own activity, that we for the moment claim them as our own children, the beloved offspring of our own hearts, and not the cold and distant creations of another. This is the true prerogative of genius, to create its own thoughts in other men's minds; and to do this without awakening suspicion that the whole is not the spontaneous action of their own hearts.

The whole of what may be called the fictitious works of Irving are remarkable for this power. It lives in Knickerbocker's strange history of Dutchmen and governors, full of wrath and doubting. We laugh at the pictures of fight and debate, and, like children, wish we could have seen their High Mightinesses, and we dream how much more we should have laughed at the reality. We forget that genius has only painted the picture which we see in our individual minds. We see it, but, as with the rainbow, no other eye can see precisely our picture. Many of the tales in the Sketch Book, in Bracebridge Hall, in Tales of a Traveler, in the Alhambra, serve equally well to illustrate this idea. Every reader sees the wife for himself, the squire, the fair Julia, Ichabod Crane, Dolph Heiliger, or the weazen-faced story-teller, all for himself, and enjoys his view as though each one had been made by himself, feeling somewhat as Prometheus must have felt, when his fire, stolen indeed, had made his clay images to breathe and live. From the heaven of a god-like genius, we little men steal the fire that enlivens the clay-wrought images of our own brains, and then feel as though creative power were stirring within us.

The Conquest of Granada is a book of a very different character from Knickerbocker's History, and yet in one point they closely resemble each other. They both contain passages of irony the keenest and the most effective of anything in English literature. We cannot remember anything in Addison, or Steele, or Burke, on so broad a scale, so good-natured, so keen, and yet so mighty, as the proof of kingly titles to the lands of America, or fighting by proclamation, or zeal for religion in ambitious rulers, or official dignity, about which such timely essays are written in one or the other of these works. Fighting by proclamation has nearly gone out of practice, since the times when Bonaparte and the English ministers and European

sovereigns, and even our own good president, each sought to subdue the world by a solitary battle on paper in his own study. Both these books are sufficiently accurate as to dates and names, for the first does not stand at all on historical probabilities, and the last aims to be exact, and loses nothing thereby; but both necessarily colour and shape facts, and supply motives and occasions. Yet they are both full of lessons of instruction, dropped in slyly, the more welcome and the better remembered, since they seem to come because they cannot be kept out. And we venture to affirm of these two books, that although there is scarcely a fact, certainly not an entire transaction, which is not in some way coloured, or more or less distorted, still there are no truer histories than they. We mean, of course, that none give so good a picture of the deeds and the men of those days, and convey to the mind better lessons of instruction and wisdom.

Nothing, in many cases, is more false than a literal statement of what appears. Such a statement will lack unity and purpose, and no impression of life or end will be seen. But by omitting many trivial events, and by imparting additional interest to others, we may come to realize and appreciate the full force and tendency of a given event. This will give a wholeness and a heartiness to the narration, both of which are essential elements of its truth. Truth in history, then, is something more than literal accuracy as to event, time, place, and actors. It is such an arrangement of facts and actors as shall enable us to tell exactly how all things went on. An author, according to this, may shape his facts, as well as select them, and arrange them, not precisely according to the order of time, but when the whole fabric is done, the reader shall find in his mind a consistent idea of everything narrated. Our histories frequently do little more than narrate battles, and a few events of uncommon occurrence, and these are by no means capable of conveying any important truth. Many a trifling tale of the Revolution is by far truer than a pretentious history. It reveals the cause of the strength of that vast movement of the people, and thus lets us feel the truth in its simplicity. Historical truth absolutely requires that the mere outward facts shall not always be followed. The outside is not the man by any means. To present him as he is, you must show something more than the eye sees, something more than his mere acts; or, what is better, you must so show those acts as to bring out the spirit and character of the man. This, the evident facts, in their mere superficial relations and positions, will not do. A hypocrite can never be shown up by his deeds, or by his words alone; and the biography of such a man, which coldly narrates these in their every-day order and

seeming relations, would be as false as the hypocrite himself. But change the order of those deeds, omit a few words, and transpose both somewhat; put the accomplished result for the deed, or the motive for both, and a true picture may be produced, one which will be recognized and applauded; and yet we call this fiction. Some will say it is not true, for the outside of the picture does not correspond to the outside of the thing to be represented. The picture was not designed to represent the outside of the man, but the inside; and as it represents that truly and vividly, it is beyond question true. Is not the sneaking, drivelling hypocrite a base lie within? And why not then paint him as such? Not as an externally correct Christian, suspected of a want of conformity between his outward and his inner lives, but as one who is seen and felt to be a base imposture. The mean, selfish, canting policy of Ferdinand, in conquering the Moors of Spain, can in no possible way be truly represented by the mere facts. Whoever would expose this, must place the emphasis cautiously on the praises bestowed on the piety, the wisdom, the valour, and the patriotism of the warriors of the times. By omitting one, and dwelling upon another of the deeds which then transpired, we come to see that irony is here in its true place, and is truer than sober fact. We hesitate not, therefore, to declare that Irving's book is truer than Prescott's, Knickerbocker than Bancroft or Hildreth, and that the translator and annotator of Fray Antonio Aglipida is a more faithful historian than Hume or Robertson, those giants of sober fact and mighty argument.

There is about every man a peculiar presence, which is not revealed to us by either of the external senses, but which comes to us when we attain to a true sense of the man's characteristics and idiosyncrasies. So it is in the history of any particular time, event, or individual. To reveal it thoroughly to us, the author must go deeper than the eye can penetrate. He must set before us the characteristics and peculiarities which marked the best minds, or which disfigured the lives of the noblest men, and which were copied and multiplied in the daily conduct and acts of those who admired excellence and aped its external manifestation. Thus, in the age of Cromwell, historic truth must reveal to us the wilfulness, the energy, the self-denying zeal, and the ridiculous cant of the leaders of opinion. This may be done in the essay style, and will be so cold and tame, that no man will begin to appreciate it; or it may be set forth in the historical dramatic style, (to coin a term,) where events and scenes are described in part, and where the characters are, in part, made to reveal themselves. This latter way is not only the better, but it is

truer; and in this way has Irving revealed to us the picture of the times of the settlement and history of New-York, and the wars of the Moors and Spaniards for the possession of the beautiful Granada.

And the moral lesson taught by both these works—frequently made to appear in a stroke of keenest irony, or in a picture of broadest caricature—is the best and truest which any book teaches. It enters the mind so naturally, and remains there so intimately inwoven with every idea of the whole book, that we are far more profited than if the moral had been announced, and arguments long and learned had been adduced, in logical order, to sustain and enforce it.

The lives of Columbus and his followers, and of Mohammed and his successors, are really historical works, but of the common order and pattern of histories. They, indeed, are in name biographies, but as they each sketch and present to us the history of a grand movement of the race of mankind, in a particular direction, they ought by all means to be called histories. As these are on the exact model and in the precise form of all our common biographical histories, we have no disposition to dwell long upon them. They are works of great skill and beauty, but they only show Irving as a common labourer among other men, and we have no interest or intention to compare him with others, and prove his superiority. It is with his peculiar genius and gifts, and his labours which have really opened new veins in that mine of literature which so many others have worked, that we at this time have to do. And although in his historical works he is accurate and clear, concise and connected, and at the end paints the complete portrait of character, exactly as the several features, separately revealed, would appear if united, yet he is always so much like other men, that we should only be repeating what every one can say for himself.

The "Life of Goldsmith" is a strict biography—a book designed to represent the history of a single man. It represents this man, indeed, in his daily connexions and associations with other men, but, after all the multitude of others who appear, there is only one who centres all in himself. Take Goldsmith from the book, and it is a mass of sand, just as if you take a magnet from the center of a mass of iron filings, which adhere to it and form a ball, they resume at once their fragmentary state, and are ready to be blown away. Take Columbus or Mohammed from either of those works, and although you have taken away the crowning glory, you have not by any means destroyed the books. There is so much said and done by others, worth reading, that you still have a good and excellent

book. This work is a fine illustration of the peculiar beauties of Irving. It seems to have been a work of affection. A sense of gratitude and simple love prompted it. And it everywhere glows with radiant good nature, fine feelings of sympathy, and kind appreciation. The author has made good use, as, indeed, every writer of the lives of men of that day has been glad to do, of Boswell's Johnson. What, indeed, could a biographer do without the labours of that most stupid but most indefatigable collector of the sayings and doings of the literati, whom the reputation of Johnson brought together, and held in mutual sympathy and intercourse? But it gives us a better and a kinder idea of Johnson than Boswell does; and raises quaint, quiet, good, honest Goldsmith, out of that sour suspicion cast upon him by the "meanest of men and the greatest of biographers." We have said that Irving's loving heart prompted this task; and so we may say of his Columbus, and the tales connected with his own native city and the Hudson. Indeed, his affectionate nature instinctively, and of course naturally, throws a mellow radiance over all his writings, which makes us linger about them and admire. This fulness of love, clearly seen beaming upon the topic in hand, will lead us to promise a second reading, and anticipate the pleasure of many more. A writer who uses his intellect, instead of his heart, to supply all light thrown upon his subject, will reveal himself only to the mind, and the chances are, that when we read the heart will sleep; and he is a peculiar man whose attention will long be on the alert when the heart sleeps. "I sleep, but my heart waketh," expresses a mental state ready to take notice of the slightest outward or inward phenomenon. Irving, like other masters, always contrives to wake the heart, and afterward completely interests the intellect also. Thus, whenever we read about one of his heroes, especially about Goldsmith, we say, "See how he loved him." Although it is not so full as Prior's, nor so ambitious as Forster's Life, yet we have read it and kept awake, when we should have yawned and slept over the others; and in this respect we suppose we are by no means peculiar. In humour Irving has been compared to Goldsmith. But we confess that we see them alike in only a few particulars. There is the same quiet, sly, genial, good-natured love of laughter in both, and the same keen minute observation of men and things, together with a similar power of uttering quaint philosophy, in unexpected circumstances. But Irving has a broadness of caricature which does not belong to Goldsmith, a coarseness of wit which Goldsmith never shows, a bluntness and repulsiveness of irony in which the Englishman never indulges. In Irving there is often an attempt at a forcible conclusion of a sentence,

and a violation of good taste in composition, which we look in vain for in Goldsmith, who prunes away all needless words, and apparently forcible conclusions, most conscientiously. On the other hand, Irving sometimes surpasses almost any other writer in the power and effect of his morals. This is beautifully illustrated by the manner in which he exposes the meanness of the many practical jokes and deceptions played off upon poor Goldsmith by his fun-loving companions. An instance takes place at the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Burke charges Goldsmith with vanity and envy, and asks him if he did not say something very foolish when he passed unnoticed through a crowd which had gathered to admire and applaud some foreign ladies. Oliver, innocent and unsuspecting, is completely ignorant. "Why," says Burke, "did you not say, very peevishly, What stupid beasts the crowd must be for staring, with such admiration, at these painted Jezebels, while a man of my talents passes by unnoticed!" Goldsmith, in the honesty of his loving heart, cannot conceive such meanness in a friend, as would allow such a lie, and thinks it strange that he has forgotten the whole matter; he apologizes, and says, "It was very foolish; I do recollect that something of the kind passed through my mind, but I did not think I uttered it." Such is a good joke, so mean and so lying. And yet Irving makes the reader feel this as no sermon could. He tells the story in such a kind, affectionate way, that indignation instinctively swells up against the man who could play off on a friend anything so incorrigibly detestable.

The remainder of Irving's works consists of a variety of tales, sketches, and essays, all highly finished, and all pretending to be more or less fictitious, but in all of them the plan is descriptive, rather than dramatic. In many fictions the authors seem to allow each character to exhibit himself. Irving, on the contrary, is the showman whose voice you hear at all times, explaining everything and arranging everything. A good dramatist, like immortal Shakspeare, appears not on the stage; only his characters are seen; and it matters not what are the scenes or situations into which they are introduced, they act for themselves. The author never has occasion to tell us how they feel, or what motives prompt their acts; we learn this, as we learn the motive and feelings of our every-day companions, by their looks and actions. They thus become living creatures, for the writer has breathed into them the breath of life. The mere descriptive writer has to tell us, at every moment, how his creations will move and feel, and what motives and purposes actuate them. While we thus characterize Irving as a descriptive, and not a dramatic author, we do not mean to give him any slight

praise for excellence in his department. We very much doubt if any English writer has better cultivated this fertile region of elegant literature. His descriptions all possess that peculiar grace and beauty—truth to nature. They are, in fact, not exactly living and acting at our own place and in our own day, but we are sure they did live only a little time ago. The old Dutch governors and their retinues, the burgomasters and their dames, Ichabod Crane and Dolph Heiliger, and poor Rip Van Winkle, did actually live, and found the world somewhat rough and unsympathizing. Uncle Simon, the old Squire, the Captain, and Lady Lillebridge, all still live far away in old England, where Christmas games flourish and yule-logs burn.

Fictitious writings should always be fruitful of character, incident, and reflection. To say that short tales, such as most of those we find in Irving, are favourable to either character or incident, would not be true in any just sense. And yet in these an author may seize upon just such incidents as shall appear like pictures, and as shall unavoidably interest. He may select a crisis in his hero's life which shall display his character at a stroke. Thus he has one advantage, that as he passes over much in writing, his reader will scarcely think of passing over any in reading. But a writer of short tales and essays may especially be profitable and pleasing in reflection. As everything is short, and much is left to be inferred, each reader will feel disposed to hear every word. And this may perhaps be one grand reason why tales are so popular, and generally so profitable to the young. Much is left to be supplied by the reader's imagination; and who does not know how we love to be actively engaged in thinking while reading, rather than to doze in listless idleness? We wish, in this connexion, to remark that, although Irving abounds in pleasing characters, in amusing and striking incidents, and in profitable and interesting reflections, there is very little of what usually goes by the name of originality in his works. Almost everything is modelled after something else, and is only peculiar to him, so far as the language and reflection are concerned. Rip Van Winkle and Dolph Heiliger had both been inhabitants of this world before they lived in the Sketch Book. But they did not exactly feel as they did in their last existence. There are such things in literature as original characters. Such is Leather Stocking in Cooper, and Rebecca in Scott, and, perhaps, Schoolmaster Ichabod in Irving; but these are not common. It requires a genius, a poet, a real maker, to bring the fire from heaven to warm these into life, and to appoint them a mission on earth. This we call originality in its godlike sense and action. And in this sense

we may not pronounce our author noted for the noblest quality of genius. His originality lies in a different sphere. And for all practical purposes of accumulating instruction, and improving mankind in knowledge, or goodness, and virtue, it is of much more consequence what reflections flow through the mind, than what scenes, and incidents, or characters are presented to the eye. We call that preacher original, who can seize upon the history of saint or sinner, as it is narrated in God's word, and from the simple text derive great lessons of instruction, deducing therefrom reflections not before seen, or, at least, not so powerfully felt till then, and, by means of the moral influence of these, convincing men of duty, and compelling conscience to urge them to the immediate performance of that duty. We call the same man original, when from a survey of certain courses of action, he finds a new weight to throw into the scale, to make the rewards and incentives of virtue preponderate over those of vice. Shall we then deny originality to him who, from the common incidents and the familiar scenes of human life, can prompt in us such emotions, and call up in our minds such reflections as shall enable us to see a new and Divine beauty in the conduct and characters of our fellows, or as shall enable us to realize with more force our own connexion with humanity? And in these very points we think that Irving excels. He does, by some wonderful magic, succeed in calling a host of pleasing emotions into our minds, by the recital of the commonest tales and the most trivial incidents, and out of these he makes to grow naturally the most heart-profiting reflections.

The greatest charm in these works is thrown over them by a heart full of good-nature. Love is everywhere exhibited. If he is ironical, he is not bitter and uncharitable. However satirical he is, there is never the sneer of the cynic. However much he ridicules folly, he never attempts to taunt and deride it. Genial social feeling overflows from every page, and lurks in every tale and in every essay. Our author therefore is a good humourist, but not a fault-finder or a croaker. He does, indeed, seem to pour upon our eyes an eye-salve, which makes us see a long way into the hitherto dark and unknown recesses of the human heart; yet still he enchants those glances of our eyes, so that they can be no longer daggers, but become like genial sunlight to heal and enrich. He manages so, that, in very truth, you love your neighbour better, and your own pride is diminished. He is by no means a cynic who sneers at the same time that he reproves, and thus tempts you to justify yourself and your sin, and hate the author and your neighbour. He is a genuine humourist who compels you to hate and long to forsake

your follies, while, at the same time, he actually obliges you to love him and to think far better of all mankind. The faults to which a humourist is most exposed, are caricature and false combination; and while we admit that Irving has by no means kept aloof from these, he has, at least, made both caricature and ill-sorted combinations carry on their own face so good-natured and modest an air, that they neither misrepresent nor deceive. Irving's works may be arranged in groups, and every group will possess something peculiar running throughout the whole series. We shall in this way find the Hudson River Group, including Knickbocker's History, many of the stories of the Sketch Book, and a few tales scattered along through Bracebridge Hall and Tales of a Traveller. The English Group is based on Bracebridge Hall, and includes much of the Sketch Book, the Tales of a Traveller, the Crayon Miscellany, and the Life of Goldsmith. The Spanish Group is composed of the Life of Columbus, the History of Granada, the Alhambra, and the Life of Mohammed. The Western Group includes Bonneville's Adventures, the Prairie, and Astoria. The first group abounds in the best kind of humour; the second is somewhat humorous, and yet is fuller of genial description, and shows a higher range of thought; the third is the most ambitious, and aims more at communicating; the fourth is apparently more hastily written, and is more commonplace, both in thought and style. We may say of it that it is pleasing, contains much information, is always easy in its narrative, and graceful in composition. But that it displays any of his peculiar power, or that it is really worth reading twice, we do not honestly believe; that it will ever be reprinted we cannot imagine, except it may be twenty years hence, for the libraries of mere book-collectors, who, of course, always want complete editions. This suggests a very important inquiry in reference to Irving's works; how much of them will live and be read in the year 1956? We cannot, of course, say with any good degree of accuracy. But this we can affirm, without danger of successful contradiction, that nothing can be immortal in literature which is not truly a creation. A combination will remain for a time, but it has not in itself the elements of immutability. Thus a world, being a creation, produced only by an infinite power, is strangely different from a palace, which is only a combination. Or, to descend for an illustration, the Grecian order of architecture, called the Corinthian, is very different from a house with a two-columned Corinthian portico in front. The order was a creation, first brought before the world by the designer of it; and when men have conceived the beautiful idea, that creation can never die. The house with the Corinthian portico is only a combination, and will

never exist anywhere but on the one spot of ground on which its builder places it; the other, however, is so far spiritual and universal that everybody who once realizes the conception sees and loves it. Thus Shakspeare really creates. Prospero and his daughter Ariel, and Caliban, are true creations, and they live and abide so long as men know what life is. Addison's Cato, on the other hand, does not live; it is merely combined. Hence Shakspeare is read for the life and soul in him, and Addison is read for the polish and refinement which he exhibits. We gaze upon and admire a beautiful woman because she is alive; but we look upon a statue or a picture of a woman because it so nearly resembles life and perfection.

We affirm, therefore, that of Irving's books, many will survive, because they are alive; and many will perish, because they are imitations. Knickerbocker's History, the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Rip Van Winkle, Dolph Heiliger, are creations; most of the others, combinations. And while present and future generations owe him lasting gratitude for his beautiful histories and biographies, we fully believe that these will yet be superseded, or will be read by subsequent compilers alone.

Art. III.—BAYNE'S CHRISTIAN LIFE.

The Christian Life, Social and Individual. By Peter Bayne, M. A. 12mo, pp. 528. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855.

In his exposition of the Parable of the Tares, Professor Trench remarks, "that evil is not, as so many dream, gradually to wane and to disappear before good," but that both are to unfold themselves "more and more mightily, till at last they stand face to face, each in its highest manifestation, in the persons of Christ and of Antichirst." This truth, though obvious enough to the student of Scripture, there is reason to fear is, at least in one of its aspects, too little pondered at the present time. Even intelligent Christians betray a proneness to imagine that, because in the past Christianity has triumphed over Titanic forms of error, it will never be called to similar encounters; that, because its present status is one of influence and respectability, there is less need than formerly for wariness on the part of its friends. The tendency of this is to be deplored. The measure of success, which, on the day of carnage, turns the tide of battle, as foretokening victory, may inspirit for the final charge;

but if it be allowed to induce a relaxation, it will likely prove the cause of defeat. The success of Christianity hitherto may well inspire courage and relieve apprehension; but to fancy that there will be no more hard fighting is a mistake fraught with danger. The old spirit of antagonism still lives, and, in every shifting or temporary lull, is as much to be dreaded as on the open field. It behooves those who are set for the defence of truth, to watch narrowly every manœuvre of the foe. Especially is vigilance called for at the present time, when opposition has put on a friendly seeming, comes, so to speak, with a truce-flag waving, only, however, to deal a blow more deadly, because unexpected. Undisguised infidelity seldom ventures to show its scathed and battered visage; yet, with equal hostility, so concealed, however, as, without scrutiny, to escape detection, the infidel spirit was, perhaps, never more active. Our reference is not so much to those elaborate systems which, under pretext of refining Christianity, disrobe it of its essential glory, as to the spirit which animates much of the more elevated type of modern literature on both sides of the Atlantic. With a zeal and earnestness befitting a nobler mission, some of the mightiest intellects of the day have devoted themselves to the promulgation of opinions having a religious semblance, yet, in reality, as truly antagonistic to the Christian scheme as were those of Hume or Voltaire. As was to be expected, a multitude of satellites have clustered around these primaries, and, to the extent of their reflecting capacity, have diffused their rays till a whole section of our current literature is lurid with their baleful light. An able writer in the North British Review thus describes the literature in question:

"It is the extreme reaction against the character of our previous literature. Whereas the latter, with a somewhat atheistic indifference, nowhere sought a Divine meaning in things, this discerns a divinity everywhere, and pre-eminently in man himself, who is the great miracle of miracles, the true Emanuel. Whereas the one was content to rest on the mere surface and mechanism, the outward sensuousness and visibility of things, the other would penetrate to the living unity, the reality underlying all the confused phenomena of existence, *the great heart of the universe.* This, in now familiar phrase, is 'the Divine idea of the world,' which 'lies at the bottom of all appearance;' and men of letters, who rise to the consciousness of their true functions, and become interpreters of this 'Divine idea,' are, in the highest sense of the words, prophets and priests. It is impossible, therefore, to over-estimate the importance of the literary function. It is the one perpetual Priesthood, from age to age, teaching men that God is still present in their lives. It is the one true Ministry, ever presenting in new forms of beauty, in richer and more touching sermons, the eternal truth of nature and of life."

That this is a fair exposition of the character and tendency of the literature of which we speak, even random quotations would

abundantly confirm. And, if our judgment be not utterly at fault, a serious danger threatens Christianity from this quarter. The chief ground of our fear lies in the concession we are forced to make, namely, that this teaching asserts, only with undue emphasis, an all-important truth, heretofore too vaguely recognized. There is a definable sense in which divinity inheres in the universe, and especially in man. From the earth beneath, with its garnered treasures; from nature around, with its grand and beautiful forms, its voices of melody, softest in the zephyr, loudest in the thunder, but harmonious everywhere; from the solitudes of immensity, where shine afar unnumbered worlds, comes the attestation of an all-pervading divinity. Man, especially, is god-like, bears the Divine image. Now this truth, though embraced in our creeds, has, we are led to fear, with the mass of Christians even, lost its living force. It is our habit to look upon the universe as a mechanism, infinitely more perfect, indeed, than anything merely human, yet devoid of any special Divine significance. So far, therefore, as these *littérateurs* have succeeded in convincing men that all things tell of God, we accept their service with due thanks. But they do not stop here. According to them, this omnipresent divinity culminates in man, finds in him its only conscious manifestation. As a sequence comes the mandate, "Fall down and worship" him. The most gifted, or, more correctly, the most Divine man is the worthiest object of worship. And literature, being the interpreter of this ubiquitous divinity, becomes, in the exercise of its function, not merely religious, but *religion*, "the most authentic worship."

Now the peculiar danger from this teaching, of which we have confessed an apprehension, springs mainly from the fact that it contains an element of truth, capable of being so presented as to divert attention from the pernicious error in which it terminates. The nobility of man, and the grandeur of his terrestrial home, are themes likeliest of all others to be greeted with a cordial welcome. Yet, were the system of these *soi-disant* teachers broadly and determinately stated in their writings, were it explicitly affirmed that there is no being more Divine than man, the danger hence arising would be insignificant. We retain an unshaken faith in the strength and universality of that religious instinct which, as a stern voice in every human bosom, evermore appeals from such an affirmation. The consciousness of men, irrespective of creed or condition, is a testimony, variable only in strength, to the existence of something higher and more Divine than man. Not easily, therefore, can men be induced to accept a dogma so contradictory of their most sacred impulses, unless it be foisted upon them, unless the abhorrent

potion be rendered inviting by foreign mixture. And this is the precise manner of its presentation, at least in the writings of Mr. Carlyle. Nowhere does he, in systematic outline, develop his scheme. It is, for the most part, an undertone, only now and then rising to audible distinctness. The doctrine, which, if nakedly presented, would excite a general revulsion, is so interwoven with important and strongly-expressed truth, as to necessitate for its detection a keener discrimination than most persons are apt to exercise. In *quasi*-religious dialect, there is abundant talk about "Maker's laws," "Sinai thunder," "Gospels," "reverences," and the like; but, when the drift is ascertained, it is only too evident that the real meaning, of which this diction is made the vehicle, is far other than its use would naturally suggest. Under cover of belabouring the shams and inveracities of the age, occasion is sought to deal out blows, as fierce as deadly, against all that is most real and veritable within the range of human cognizance. Thus, as in the case of the olden apple, the goodly appearance of the bait constitutes its chief allurement. As the skiff, seemingly impelled by its "own sweet will," glides smoothly down some untried stream, its occupant the while, entranced with beautiful visions of the shore, being all unconscious of the nearing rapids and the cataract beyond, till, when too late, the roar of falling waters breaks the spell, so, there is reason to fear, the unwary who commit themselves to the current which, in the writings of this school, sweeps away with strong and majestic flow, amid surroundings of confessed truthfulness and beauty, toward the shores of a godless Pantheism, will, in like manner, be lured to destruction.

That this is no imaginary danger, the saddest proof lies open to the gaze of all who, with slight attention, inspect the character and tendency of prevalent opinions. The ease with which a plausible error makes its way among men was, perhaps, never more strikingly illustrated. Already its influence is wide-spread. The press, in a whole class of its publications, ranging from the sheet of daily issue up to the carefully-edited volume, is flooding the age with sentiments of which, amid whatever minor diversity, generic identity is predicable; sentiments whose essential characteristic is the assertion that all genuine improvement in men is merely a development of some latent good of their nature, and that this development can proceed independent of Divine spiritual aid. The pulpit, too, in some sadly notable instances, has lent itself to this unholy service. The result of the whole is that, in unwonted quarters, the concession that Christianity is what it claims to be is now withheld. In its stead we have the assertion, either explicit or by fair implication,

that Christianity is not the best, still less the sole, means of effecting genuine reform, as respects the individual or society. Hence it is either wholly set aside as superfluous, or, at most, is condescendingly invited to perform some under-service in the achievement of human melioration.

Believing that this result, relative to Christianity, is the ultimate goal—oftener concealed, however, than distinctly avowed—to which influences, at present widely diffused and busily at work, inevitably tend, we hail, with a degree of pleasure not excited by any recent publication we have seen, the book whose title stands at the head of this paper. If we do not misjudge, it bears the promise of an efficient counteraction of those tendencies which, with some minuteness, we have endeavoured truthfully to exhibit, certainly have not over-stated. To do this is the author's chief aim. Other forms of error are dealt with in the course of the performance; but the principal force of his argument is levelled against that lurking Pantheism, which, to so great an extent, now pollutes the sanctuaries of thought and feeling.

The author regards Mr. Carlyle as the Anglican exponent and chief propagandist of this modified Pantheism. Against his representation of it therefore, he mainly directs his attack. Overlooking the crowd of aping servitors who have gathered to his standard, he singles out and engages the champion himself, rightly judging that, if Goliath be slain, the Philistines will disband.

It can scarcely fail to conciliate those who witness this contest, as it transpires on his page, that he avows, and everywhere evinces, the highest appreciation of what Mr. Carlyle is, and has done. His admiration of his genius borders on extravagance. He regards the age as owing him an immense debt, in that he has brought to its recollection certain important, but nearly forgotten truths. He confesses to a personal obligation for the favourable influence of his writings on his own style and mode of thought. Surely, then, an eye so friendly will not discern errors were none exist. A mind obviously strong and healthy, free of eccentricity, will not capriciously turn against a friend. The blow that falls reluctantly, is not dealt without a cause. The manly fairness, too, which characterizes the manner of the controversy, can but disarm prejudice, and secure a favourable hearing for the results which in its course are reached. Few, indeed, are the instances of debate so serious being conducted in a manner so calm. Truth, rather than triumph, is the obvious aim. He states Mr. Carlyle's positions with an accuracy which no one, who has pondered his writings with sufficient care to get their meaning, can fail to accord; and then follows those positions to their

consequences with a logical directness which commands assent at every step. Gazing on his system with an eye that sees in it much to admire, he detects what seem indications of rottenness at the core. With a firm hand and resolute purpose he applies the probe; yet it is apparent that the discovery of radical unsoundness occasions only pain. But the discovery once made, and the danger clearly apprehended, he addresses himself, with an earnestness born only of sincerity, and, we venture to add, with a success clearly bespeaking rare abilities, to its exposure and eradication.

The form of the work is somewhat fragmentary; but this by no means impairs its unity. In fact, it is that particular arrangement which gives the book a seeming incoherence, that becomes, in the unfolding of the general argument, the chief instrument of its overwhelming force. To evince the superiority of Christianity as a procurer of social and individual regeneration, is the end proposed; and the whole discussion, whether by argument or exemplification, is made to subserve this end with singular felicity, and with cumulative force. The general method pursued may, with sufficient accuracy, be described as that of contrast. The current Pantheistic theory of individual and social reformation is brought into juxtaposition with that of the Bible. The agencies and modes of procedure peculiar to each are brought forward in full and lucid statement. The contrast, both as respects the theories themselves and their appliances, is fairly exhibited, and results undeniably in favour of Christianity. But the author does not stop here. He subjects each theory to the infallible test of actual working; and while, in this trial, the one is found wanting, the efficiency of the other is put in the clear light of demonstration, by exhibiting its effects in the life and conduct of eminently representative men. This, comprehensively, is the outline of the first two general divisions of the work. In the third, designated the Outlook, the Positive Philosophy is briefly examined. Reasons are assigned for regarding it as unqualifiedly atheistic; while the excellences which have already secured to it a wide popularity, and will, probably for years to come, preserve and augment it, are fully admitted. As with other antagonisms, however, this one is to be battled with, and overcome. Respecting the future contest, the inquiry, What is the degree of hope which may be safely reposed in the forces which Pantheism and Christianity, as alike holding of the spiritual, can respectively oppose to this formidable negation of all spiritualism? is far enough pursued to show that here, again, Christianity has the whole advantage. In the first skirmish Pantheism will go down; when the dust of battle has cleared away, Christianity will appear sole occupant of the field.

As it will be possible to dwell minutely on a few only of the more prominent features of the work, we have made this synoptic statement of its scope and method, in the hope that the reader may be led by it to procure the book, and become familiar with its treatment. To be successful in this, we would esteem a result only less to be coveted than the authorship of the work itself.

Pantheism ignores the Divine personality. The separate existence of a Divine Being once proved, the system is left without a foundation. To do this to the satisfaction of the candid is certainly possible. Confining himself to the testimony of conscience, Mr. Bayne draws out an argument little short of demonstration. Two considerations, the one a necessary law of mind, the other a phenomenon of consciousness, both, therefore, of the nature of axioms, compel the belief that conscience speaks by a delegated authority. The mind, by its very constitution, demands a cause for every effect. *Nihil turpius quam fieri sine causa quicquam dicere.* This is the law. The consciousness of men, throughout the ages, has witnessed to the fact that they have not regarded the voice of the inward monitor as final, as speaking on its own authority. They have ever seen it pointing to some power external to itself. Their actions, whenever it has spoken, are significant of this or of nothing. When its voice has been heard in tones of reproval, the victim has been made to bleed, the fire of sacrifice been kindled, in the hope of thus appeasing "some external power believed capable, in what way soever," of silencing their fears and allaying their inquietude. When its approving utterance has awakened a feeling of self-complaisance, this was deemed suggestive of a more glorious reward. "Before the eye, resting afar, as on the still evening horizon of a troubled day, there beamed out softly the Elysian fields, with their tranquil rivers, on whose banks rested heroes, and their unfading flowers that breathed balm odours through the cloudless air." This is the phenomenon. What is its explanation? It is clearly inexplicable, save as an instance of the working of that law which necessitates the finding of a cause for every effect. This constant endeavour of the human race, in ways manifold, to look outward when the voice has spoken within, was, therefore, the prompting of a conscious necessity, an instinctive outgoing of the mind in quest of some invisible power, from which the internal monition was believed to come. The fact, then, that conscience speaks with an authority not inherent, but derived, is thus linked with the consciousness of the race, and hence rests on evidence "whose assailing is the assailing of the possibility of truth." To *what* authority it refers can never be a question: there can be but One.

This argument is brief, but, we think, conclusive. Alone it is sufficient. It, however, does not exhaust the proof. Even for those with whom the distinct utterances of the Bible on this point have not the force of a decisive authority, there is additional evidence which can be evaded by no allowable shift. We merely glance at a single other argument, forbearing any lengthened statement of it. The perfection of human beings consists in their possession of intellect, sensibility, and will; of the attributes, that is, which constitute their *personality*. It is the possession of personal being that gives to man his superiority over all the visible creation. Whatever is destitute of personality, as is the All of Pantheism, is manifestly less perfect than man. But this contradicts the notion of God which even that system holds. As an essentiality of the perfection which must necessarily inhere in God, personality is, therefore, included.

It is the special boast of Pantheism, in all its modifications, that the theory which it holds respecting God, and man, and the universe, is, of all others, the most consonant with reason, and hence the worthiest to be received. But how utterly this boast lacks even the semblance of a true foundation, is made to appear by bringing its theory into contact with that of Christianity. Our author's execution of this task leaves nothing to be desired. His reasoning here has the finish of net-work, and his page glows with fervid eloquence.

It helps to a just appreciation of the surpassing advantage which Christianity here possesses, to conceive clearly the amount of information respecting God to which philosophy, in its farthest reach, is able to attain. To minds of the highest order, belief in a God has ever been a necessity—the one possible solution of difficulties infinitely more perplexing than that which such a belief involves. This belief enters the creed of the Pantheist as of the Christian; the difference being that, to the former, imagination, mistaken for reason, supplies the conception of what God is; while to the latter, the dicta of an authentic revelation furnish this conception. It were certainly not difficult to conjecture beforehand which conception would most approve itself to reason, and which consequently would have the advantage in its practical influence over mankind. But conjecture is not needed. The conception of each has been given a verbal expression, and their respective worth may be estimated by comparison. The utmost which even the high priest of Pantheism has been able to communicate concerning God is, that He is "the pure negation of all conceivability, associated with infinite and eternal lovableness," an idea, (rather a palpable absurdity), which, however suited to speculative dreaming, undeniably mocks the instinct-

ive yearnings of humanity, by shutting it up to a hopeless preclusion from all intercourse with God. Side by side with this impossible conception, place the disclosures of revelation, and it cannot fail to be perceived that a great accession of light is thrown upon the mystery. Inscrutable, incapable of being found out, to perfection, as the Infinite must of necessity be, yet Christianity so lifts the veil that, in no unmeaning sense,

"God is seen by mortal eye."

Apart from many sublime descriptive passages, the Bible furnishes two specific sources of information respecting God, from which as much may be gathered as is possible to finite comprehension. The first is the assertion that man was created in the image of God, and afterward, when this Divine similitude had been impaired, the specification of the constituents of its proposed renewal. Each of these, "knowledge, righteousness, and holiness," conveys a definite idea to the mind, and together they make up the sum of all conceivable excellence. The other and chief source of communication is the incarnation of the Godhead in the person of Jesus Christ. In him the Divine image is perfect. His recorded life is a mirror, in which whoever will may behold the Deity reflected in fulness and clearness of manifestation, compared with which all that is elsewhere shadowed can be seen only as faint and unsatisfactory. No wooing or questioning of nature, however fond or earnest, can call forth more than an inarticulate voice, or be rewarded with more than vague discovery concerning Him who fills the throne of the universe; but in Him, who was "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person," is revealed all that can be known. The aspect, however, in which the Divine man is to be viewed, as in the highest sense revealing God, is in his character of Redeemer. As manifestations of Divine power, and wisdom, and love, his miracles, and teaching, and sympathy have an impressiveness surpassing all that can elsewhere be discerned; but it is the consideration that he is the restorer to men of their lost inheritance, the medium through which each separate spirit of man may be brought into closest intimacy with God, that specially vindicates his claim to be "the light and life of men."

Quite independent of the teaching of any system, is the fact that the human race has ever felt itself to be bereft of some good, believed to have been its original birthright. To repossess itself of this lost inheritance, a glance along its history shows to have been an effort in which it has never ceased to toil, and a hope which it has never, in the darkest hour, abandoned. That sublime passage

of the apostle, "the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God," but recognizes and affirms a deeply graven truth of universal consciousness. Any system, therefore, claiming to meet the wants of men, must at least profess to show how this lost blessedness, so earnestly longed for, may be regained. To effect its recovery is that problem of the individual life, to solve which our author seeks to test the respective competence of the two systems under review.

Pantheism teaches that, at some period in his life, the Divine in man causes itself to be felt, and stirs the soul from its lowest depths; that, under a painful sense of imperfection, and of the insufficiency of the objects hitherto delighted in longer to afford him happiness, he is led to cast an anxious look around the universe, in the hope that some voice may be heard to soothe his agitations, that some light may break forth to point his way to a region of calm. At length deliverance comes; the storm subsides; the grim spectres which throng his path retire; the cloud which erewhile overhung his spirit lifts itself and floats away, revealing a sky serene and beautiful. The soul, wrapt in lofty musings, and attuned to harmony with the myriad voices and expressive silences of the universe, now reads, as in tracery of light, the great truths that the All is God, that itself is but an atom of the universal Divine, and that its happiness must henceforth be to lose itself in "unconscious, everlasting trance."

A state of inquietude and of subsequent repose, somewhat analogous to this, attends the saving experience of Christianity. "Awakened," in the words of Coleridge, "by the cock-crow, (a sermon, a calamity, a sick bed, or providential escape,)" the individual, hitherto at ease as respects his present and future condition, becomes suddenly alive to fearful apprehensions concerning both. The consciousness of shortcoming and of consequent guilt, the certain anticipation of a just retribution, occasion inward disquiet, sometimes reaching in its crisis an intense agony of spirit. Upon the soul, led by this painful discipline, this fear which is the beginning of wisdom, to prostrate itself in utter self-abasement before God, there comes a joy so pure and satisfying that the pangs in which it was born are forgotten, or take their place among the pleasant memories of its subsequent existence.

Now it needs but a glance to discover, in the last of these instances of conversion, a reasonableness and a hopefulness of good wholly wanting in the first. Of that darkness and sorrow which precede the soul's emergence into light and joy, Pantheism assigns no cause. Guilt is not recognized. All this convulsive perturba-

tion is merely the Divine in man, admonishing him to turn from the sensual to the spiritual. The transition, too, is equally unsatisfactory. Goaded as by pursuing demons, till it stands on the verge of despair, pressed down as by superincumbent mountains, the soul gathers its energies for a last struggle. Its prison trembles. Through rifted seams in the thick-piled darkness, light breaks in. With a confusion, as of routed warriors, its enemies retire. The soul is henceforth free. Now, at most, this is but a self-conversion. One determined effort of the individual will achieves the mighty deliverance. A single passage from Sartor Resartus will show that this is the light in which Mr. Carlyle regards it. "Mountains of encumbrance, higher than Ætna, had been heaped over that spirit: but it was a spirit, and would not lie buried there. Through long days and nights of silent agony, it struggled and wrestled with a *man's* force to be free: how its prison-mountains heaved and swayed tumultuously, as the giant spirit shook them to this hand and that, and emerged into the light of heaven."

Christianity affords a rational solution of that bitter experience through which the soul must pass to spiritual freedom. It represents men as the born thralls of sin; teaches that the depravity of the first pair has descended through the long line of their posterity, not one escaping: that, consequently, guilt attaches to the whole race. When the soul, by whatever means, is brought to a consciousness of this sad fact—sees itself a culprit before the righteous Judge—it is impossible to conceive its emotions as being other than of keenest anguish. Hence the agony which convulses the soul struggling into freedom, is fully accounted for by the fact of human guilt. But what is the end of this painful discipline? Is it to nerve the soul for a giant effort to free itself? Precisely the reverse, says Christianity. If this sharp schooling have not brought the sinner, in complete self-renunciation, to fix his eye on the One "mighty to save," its work is not yet done. Sharper must be the pangs; every reed must be broken; from the abyss of helplessness must come the cry, Save Thou, or I perish! To effect this is the office of sorrow.

But the point to be especially distinguished, and which, though everywhere implied in the discussion of our author, is not, we think, assigned a fitting prominence, is the essential nature of the change which, in each case, has taken place, and its probable avail toward the end proposed—the right formation of character. True, from the fact that, in the one instance, the power relied on for this end is evoked from within, while, in the other, it descends from above, he asserts the futility of the first, and strongly maintains the complete efficacy of the last. We grant that he makes his point good; but he would,

we think, have put it in a clearer light, had he endeavoured, not indeed to exhaust, but definitely to exhibit what is implied in the Christian conversion, as a *new birth*. Of this mysterious change itself it is possible to give no intelligible account; but, in what the vantage-ground for improvement, enjoyed by him on whom this change has passed, essentially consists, it were easy to show. A power from above is revealed in him. Under its workings he becomes a *new* man—his nature changed in its inmost principles. The balance, the nice adjustment, the correspondence, part to part, of his moral and intellectual being, hitherto deranged, are now restored. His spiritual vision, cleared of all film, readily discerns what his truest interest demands. His will chooses accordingly, and the power to execute his choice he now possesses. This rectification of his nature, Divinely superinduced, brings it within his power, nay, makes it his pleasure, to exercise that self-control and to cultivate those tempers on which the perfecting of that nature is conceded to depend. In addition, and what is worthy of especial note, this rectification is ever becoming more complete, and, consequently, its availableness to the end in question is constantly increasing. Spiritual growth is the condition of spiritual life—the necessary ground of its perpetuity. The force and variety of the figures used by the Saviour to illustrate the nature of his spiritual kingdom, clearly settle this. At one time it is grain springing up, growing, maturing, gathered into the barn. At another it is the mustard-seed spreading to the stately proportions of the giant tree, sheltering the fowls of heaven. Again it is a leaven diffusing itself throughout the mass. The change of man's nature, then, is not the whole of what religion proposes. It bears a relation to the finished result, similar to that which infancy bears to manly maturity. One is the beginning and requisite of the other; but, in each case, growth must secure the completion. Hence, the fact that the Divine life which the new birth inaugurates in the soul of man receives continual increment, renders increasingly certain the ultimate attainment of individual perfection.

The other instance of conversion ignores all idea of imparted power. Few writers, it must be granted, excel Mr. Carlyle in graphic power; and his writings, perhaps, contain no more glowing passages, than those in which he describes the serene blessedness of him who has broken away from the bondage of sense. Yet this sublime feat, it is boasted, is his own achievement. Some power hitherto existing, though unconsciously to himself, in the secret depths of his nature, has obeyed his call; and, in its strength, he has shivered his chains and emerged into freedom. Whatever

improvement is to follow must be in virtue of the growing might of this awakened power. To argue the impotence of such a reliance to effect any genuine reform, in the face of all that history utters, and our own experience confirms, were certainly a useless task. The marvel is that men of unquestioned ability should embrace a notion so absurd.

Even admitting, therefore, which yet cannot be done, that Pantheism discovers to men what it behooves them to do, or fail of their highest good, yet as it bids them attempt it in their own strength, demonstrably insufficient, it falls immeasurably below that Divine system which not only reveals infallibly what must be done, but furnishes such assistance as brings its performance within the power of the feeblest of our race.

The fairest way of testing whether Christianity be thus efficacious, is by experiment. To satisfy those who refuse to subject it to this test in their own cases, the fairest method remaining is to bring from the laboratory of actual life, where the experiment is being performed, those on whom the trial has passed, and to exhibit truthfully the process and result. If the subjects brought forward be sufficiently numerous to justify a fair induction, we see not on what ground any valid objection can be urged. Especially if the cases selected were those in which it was least likely that success would follow, and still the result is seen to be all that was claimed, it may be inferred, *a fortiori*, that it would be so in every case on which the influence of Christianity might be brought to bear. On this ground, substantially, our author puts his cause. After adducing what may be called the argumentative proof that Christianity is the true basis of individual character, he exhibits the experimental. Foster, Arnold, and Chalmers are his subjects. It may be doubted whether, as a whole, this selection is the best that could have been made. Some, at least, believe that Foster is not one of the happiest illustrations of the formative power of religion. If, however, there be somewhat in the impress left by him upon the world, which the friends of religion could wish to erase, there is vastly more in it to which they can point as powerfully attesting its benign efficiency. In one important aspect the whole group furnish the severest test of its power which even an enemy can in fairness demand. They represent a class least likely to be deceived. Accordingly, they refused to accept the Christian scheme till they had subjected its claims to a rigid investigation. They were assailed, each from a different quarter, and with great, though unequal violence, by the demon of doubt; and it was not without a painfully-purchased conviction of its truth, that their faith at last reposed on the Christian

foundation. So important does the author deem this phase in the individual history—this encounter with doubt—as, in the severest manner, testing the truth and power of Christianity, that he devotes a brief chapter to its consideration.

Our age is prolific of men of the George Fellowes type, who seem afflicted with a perverse proneness to doubt; men, in whose esteem truth is not a jewel of sufficient value to warrant a diligent search, or, if perchance it be found, to guarantee its retention. If contempt did not oppose, such would be fit objects for pity. As showing them in a true light, we quote the following:

"We have been forcibly reminded, in reflecting on certain of these, of a certain Arabian tale. We find there recorded the fate of a vessel, whose pilot unfortunately steered her into the too close vicinity of a magnetic mountain. The nails were all attracted, the planks fell asunder, and total wreck ensued. It is no uncommon thing at present to see a man sailing in the vessel of his belief, and appearing to do well enough. But he nears some new system of philosophic or theological thought, or comes within the influence of some man of overwhelming powers. This is the magnetic mountain. It at once draws out the connecting and riveting points of his faith, and his whole ship, himself sprawling among the severed timbers, lies scattered wide on the tossing sea. But he manages to gather together the floating wreck, he repairs his belief, and again sets sail. Lo! another magnetic mountain; the nails are again flying; again he lies discomfited among waves and mere confused planks. His courage does not quite fail, however; yet again he gets piece to piece, and, under a new phase, once more sets forth: and so it proceeds, mountain after mountain, and phase after phase, the whole voyage being taken up either in refitting, or in proclaiming that now at last a balmy and salubrious region has been entered, that all ships ought to sail on this tack, and that the last magnetic mountain (the head of the next just becoming visible in the horizon) is positively the last in the world."

But there is an honest doubt, and minds of the noblest type are oftenest its prey. Those who are most keenly and conscientiously solicitous to arrive at just opinions on all subjects, especially those of vital moment, are most likely to move with caution, to subject to a rigid scrutiny whatever asks to be believed. Matters of religious faith claim no exemption from this procedure; for, though the Christian scheme is miraculously avouched, it does not by miracle coerce belief. The road to conviction here is that which leads to conviction in other matters. It happens, therefore, very naturally in a world like ours, ripe with conflicting theories and opinions, that the effort to distinguish the true from the false is, to the sincere and cautious inquirer, frequently attended with the experience of a painful incertitude. It is no marvel if, amid the gloom which sometimes overhangs his path, and the contradictory voices which assail his ear, a wail, as of despair, should be wrung from his soul. But, if he be sincere and valiant, there is ordained for him "the breaking forth

of a great glory of deliverance and of dawn." If a victor here, he will be "strong forever."

Of this type are the men closen by our author to illustrate the transforming energy of the Christian faith. They doubted, but not willingly. They would have esteemed no price too dear to pay for the quiet of settled conviction; but they were shut up by a sublime intellectual necessity from accepting quiet till doubt was vanquished. This at length was done. The clouds broke and rolled away, baring a sky from out whose azure depths shone one light not again to be dimmed.

We forbear any minute criticism of the biographic sketches which make up a considerable portion of the book. A few general remarks must suffice. Mr. Bayne ignores the Boswellian theory of biography. He thinks it possible to bring within the limits of a review article all that need be said. It must be conceded that his success favours the correctness of this view. With admirable skill he seizes upon the distinctive points in the character of each man of whom he treats; and, as it is in their light that a correct estimate of the man can alone be formed, and his life understood, he labors to bring these into bold yet truthful prominence. This, it is not to be doubted, is the grand secret of biographic fidelity. In the degree that accuracy in detecting and estimating the main-springs of action is attained, will be the truthfulness of the attempted life-picture. The ground plan, so to speak, being clearly and accurately defined, it is easy to give the materials of the structure their natural and symmetric arrangement. That Mr. Bayne is eminently successful in the analysis of character, as also in seizing what may be called its determining forces, will be granted, we think, by all who carefully examine his performance. But in a method like his, which, eschewing minute detail, aims to present in one view the grand totality of the subject, another requisite is indispensable to complete success. The delineation must be picturesque. The narrative must reproduce the subject. To effect this demands a style epigrammatic and richly descriptive. If it cannot be claimed that, as a graphic limner, our author stands in the foremost rank, he must be allowed to occupy no mean position. If his characters do not move before us, as on the matchless page of England's great historian, as living men, they yet have a life-likeness easy to discern. To have succeeded in sketching, in so brief a compass, singularly truthful portraits of six men, who were "standard-bearers" in their day, is, we think, no small praise. That praise is his.

Deviating somewhat from the order of the book, we have aimed to give a connected view of the author's discussion, both by "state-

ment and illustration," of Christianity as the basis of individual character. We proceed to remark briefly on that portion of the work which considers its application to society. After establishing the proposition that "religion is the only stable basis on which a commonwealth can be reared," the author draws out and applies the Pantheistic and the Christian theory of social life. Pantheism being the assertion of man's divinity, and the man, consequently, in whom the Divine is most clearly manifested, being the worthiest to rule, it follows that, in a government constructed on this basis, his will would be supreme: all the rest would yield unquestioning obedience. The social theory of this school, therefore, is despotism. Mr. Carlyle does not shun, nay, he even glories in this consequence of his teaching. "Liberty," says he, "requires new definitions." "If thou do know better than I what is good and right, I conjure you, in the name of God, *force* me to do it; were it by never such brass collars, whips, and handcuffs; leave me not to walk over precipices."

Christianity recognizes government as a Divine institution, but gives an exclusive sanction to no particular form. It enunciates principles, however, relative to government, which, to the extent they are adopted and respected, tend to secure the best form and the wisest administration. It represents God as the supreme ruler; men as essentially equal; their perfection, as securing his glory, the end of their creation. To the gradual achievement of this perfection two agencies specially minister: the one a personal freedom by inherent right, of which none may be wholly deprived; the other, a necessary surrender, in some degree, of this freedom to society, as the price of protection to what is not surrendered. The end of government, therefore, on the Christian theory, is to secure, with the least encroachment of individual right, the largest measure of social good. To the attainment of this end, the agencies of Christianity jointly contribute; and when, through their instrumentality, our race shall have advanced to that state in which freedom and law will be synonymous, this end will be consummated.

Among the agencies for working this result, Christian philanthropy is deemed to hold a prominent rank. We have not space for an outline even of the clear exposition and able vindication which this well-abused agency receives from our author. We shall content ourselves with merely saying, that whoever would see Dickens, *et id omne genus*, whose vituperative assaults and absurd caricatures have done so much to bring philanthropy into disrepute, handled with decent severity; and whoever would see the more formidable argumentative ordnance of Mr. Carlyle silenced, his system of hero-worship proved absurd, his theory of law exploded, and that which

Christianity recognises triumphantly substituted, may, it is safe to promise, look into this part of the work with no fear of disappointment. Here, we think, the author's ability is most conspicuous. Many of his views are original. The reasoning is conclusive, and over it is thrown a spell as of fascination. Indeed, we would have difficulty in naming a production combining more of chaste eloquence and logical reticulation than this part of the work before us. If to refute error were to destroy it, there would be little need in future that the ground here occupied should be again gone over.

To mark the progress and illustrate the working of this benign agency, by sketching the lives of men whose chief distinction was their sublime devotion, through Christian impulse, to the bettering of their race, was a happy thought. The meliorating influences, which it was before maintained in theory that Christianity would shed upon the nations, are thus shown to be real. Waiving, for the time, the question of theoretic excellence, we here behold its practical embodiment. The streams of compassion are actually flowing. In the dungeon, at the scaffold, in the relations of life and the marts of business, as never before, the brotherhood of men is felt. As emulous of Him "who went about doing good," the sharers of his spirit are abroad in the world, bringing help to the needy, joy to the sorrowing, and hope to the despairing. Of this philanthropic movement, Howard is taken to represent the rise, Wilberforce the growing manifestation, and Budgett, with much else, the application to the relations of business. Of this trio, the first two have long enjoyed a world-wide renown; the last, more from the fact that the theatre of his action was not so conspicuous, than that his merits were less, is doomed, perhaps, to a more limited notoriety. It is not our purpose to speak minutely of their portraits as here drawn. Their full record is only in heaven; but what is here put down must, through all succeeding time, embalm their names in the holiest memories of the race. They have written, in deeds, the grandest comment which that saying of the apostle, "Faith which worketh by love," has ever received.

We are desirous of calling attention to a single point in the life of Budgett. Our author speaks in terms of praise of Mr. Arthur's work. He alleges, however, one grave objection. The extent to which the "born merchant" was wont to push his tact in trade, frequently became the cause of mortification to his slothful or less gifted competitors. This habit of using his talent to the utmost, heedless of the pain he might thus inflict upon his rivals, Mr. Arthur regards "as a defect" in his character. Mr. Bayne contends that this is the wrong way to explain the phenomenon, and is, in fact, an

imputation injuriously affecting his whole commercial character. We have not space to rehearse his manner of showing that, precisely in the fact that Budgett acted thus, is to be read one of the chief lessons which his mercantile career enforces. We refer to it merely to express the hope that his biographer will reconsider the view he was led to take. If truth will allow, the "Successful Merchant" ought, for the sake of his influence, to stand before the world without so serious "a defect." We, at least, have been convinced that truth demands that he be permitted thus to stand.

We have but little to say of that part of the work which treats of the Positive Philosophy. To be honest, our acquaintance with this system does not warrant any very positive utterance respecting it. What we do know favours the belief that our author's censure of it is somewhat too sweeping. He finds no difficulty in detecting, and uses no qualification in asserting, its blood-kin to that Atheism which makes the world "a workshop for the living, and, for the dead, a grave." Conceding all that is claimed for it in the domain of the physical, he asserts its "tendency to discrown man, and take the light off the universe." Allowing, however, that this judgment is correct, and further that, by reason of its systematic completeness, this phase of materialism is really the most formidable antagonism of the kind which Christianity has ever had to encounter, there is still no just cause of fear. Belief in the spiritual is, with the million, an intuition, and can in no way be destroyed. If once it shall come to be understood that Positivism ignores the spiritual altogether, men generally will ignore it. Whoever shall declare, be he even Auguste Comté, that "there is no God," may be sure of winning the distinction which of old the Psalmist accorded to the assertors of such folly; nor will it ever be in the power of any system founded on this declaration, whatever its merit in other respects, to inflict enduring harm on that system which, recognizing the spiritual, affords the only rational account of man's relation to it. Nay, it is not to be doubted that every such system, how great soever its seeming potency of evil, will be found, in the summing of results, to have brought its contribution of good to the one which it threatened so seriously to injure.

We suppose it likely that the intelligent Christian will find little in the work to strengthen his conviction of the preciousness of evangelical religion. A richer experience of its saving power can alone do that. And if it cannot be claimed that the author has added much to the *proof*, already perhaps complete, which is to satisfy others that Christianity is the only hopeful reliance of the human race, he must at least be allowed the praise of having swept aside

the aspersions which, from high places, have been cast upon it; as also of having shown, in a clear light, how unfounded are the pretensions of that Pantheistic spiritualism which, with loud trumpeting, has set up its claim to be the sole reliance. His work, moreover, is extremely opportune. At a time when men of confessed ability are pronouncing Christianity a failure, its agencies a "phosphorescence," and the Church a dead carcass; when, too, the unwonted license of thought, which now obtains, is apt to secure a hearing for any wildest vagary having the merest modicum of plausibility, it is well that the ground on which assertions must stand or fall, be calmly surveyed. This he has done, with what result we have more than once declared. But the mouth of slander will not be stopped, nor will a general assent that revealed religion is the only hope of men, be secured. This result is to be wrought by a power mightier than man's. But it will one day obtain. The indications of its coming are neither few nor insignificant. Christianity is silently demonstrating its power to renovate the world. Casting a glance over the unwritten history of the present, we cannot fail to discern, amid much to excite our sorrow, the one cheering fact, everywhere conspicuous, that our race is moving, not, indeed, with uniform pace, nor without some detours, yet with hopeful progress, toward a higher and improved condition. Equally obvious is the fact, that it is Christianity which impels and guides this onward movement. Her torch flames in the van of our marching kindred with a milder, yet clearer radiance, than of old led on the Hebrew exodus, and to it the eyes of men turn with hope. The conviction is growing, both in intensity and diffusion, that the aspirations of humanity can be met only by following where it leads. Silently, as leaven in the meal, the belief is diffusing itself among men, that the voice which speaks from heaven must point their way and control their exertions, if their destiny is to be fulfilled. The waxing might of the antichristian power may impede, but cannot imperil, this consummation. When it shall have come to a head, and, embodied in "the man of sin," offers battle to the Prince of truth, the long conflict, dating from the past eternity, will conclude with its everlasting overthrow.

We are sensible how little these remarks have been *à la mode critique*. But if we have dealt more in praise than is the wont of critics, we shield ourselves under the view that to commend where justice permits is, at least in theory, as much a function of criticism, as to condemn where justice requires. Bating the very occasional obtrusion of Calvinian peculiarities, we regard the book a masterly exhibition of the working of Christianity, as also a masterly refutation of prevalent error; and to say this with the least possible

qualification, we have deemed a better service to the cause of truth, than to offer strictures on some minor points, from which our assent is withheld.

We close with an allusion to the author. At present he resides in London, but Scotland, whose sons, among the dead and living, have performed so enviable a share of the world's substantial work, is his native country. He was born in Aberdeenshire, and graduated at Marischall College, in the city of Aberdeen. "He subsequently studied divinity at Edinburgh, where also he 're-studied' philosophy under some of the most eminent professors of that celebrated school. It is understood that he was particularly partial to the system of Sir William Hamilton, of which, indeed, there are indications in the 'Christian Life.'" His original purpose was to enter the ministry of the Free Church, of which he is a member; but this purpose he is understood to have relinquished for that of authorship. Except some review articles of great merit, the "Christian Life" is the first fruit of that determination. May he be encouraged to gird himself for further, and even better, service to the Church and to the world.

Art. IV.—ABBOTT'S NAPOLEON.

The History of Napoleon Bonaparte. By John S. C. Abbott. With maps and illustrations. In two volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

Mr. Abbott's "history" originally appeared in Harper's Magazine, and, consequently, had a very wide circulation before it took the form of a distinct publication. We also learn that it has had a large sale in its more dignified form; and it is probable that it has been more generally read, in this country, than any other account of the great warrior. It is, therefore, quite likely that a large portion of our young men and young women will receive their main impressions of the world's mightiest chieftain from Mr. Abbott's pages.

Under these circumstances it may not be amiss to inquire, whether the views of Napoleon's action and character presented in this "history," are such as should be generally accepted by our young people, and are consistent with the facts which the author has given to the world. The endowments of Napoleon were so splendid, and his action on society so brilliant and powerful, that our hero-worshippers, in the enthusiasm of their idolatry, have undertaken to make

him a perfect embodiment of all human virtues. Still we cannot avoid a feeling of surprise, that any one living under a popular government should claim him as a *champion of popular rights;* and, especially, that a Protestant minister of the Gospel should regard him as a friend of religion and a hater of oppression and of war.

Napoleon, it is true, restored the Catholic religion in France, proclaimed himself the friend and defender of the pope, and, at his death, called for an ecclesiastic to soothe his last moments and pass him safely across the Styx; but while it is true that there are evidences, in his conversations at St. Helena, to show that he was a believer in the Divine mission of Christ, and accepted the Christian theory, we do not find, either in his long career of ambition, or during the half dozen years of his imprisonment, or in his approaches to the grave, any evidences of a Christian character or a Christian spirit. If, therefore, as a monarch, he did anything for religion, his conduct will find an easy solution in the fact that he deemed religion to be a *power*, and adroitly determined to make it a prop to his throne. To sanctify his public acts in the eyes of the superstitious multitude, he called to his aid the benedictions of the soi-disant vicegerent of God, and thus used the Church to further his plans of conquest and his graspings after power.

But Mr. Abbott not only sets at defiance the common sense of mankind by making Napoleon a hero of Christianity; he also sets him forth as a lover of peace, a grand example of philanthropy, and a hater of war. In almost the first words of his preface he declares his strong admiration for his hero, because, among other things, "he endured all toil and hardship that he might *elevate and bless mankind;*" and because "he *abhorred war*, and did everything in his power *to avert that dire calamity.*"

It is not difficult for us to understand how the sacrifices and labours of such men as Paul, or Luther, or Wesley; or such men as Hampden, or Roger Williams, or Washington, have contributed to "bless and elevate mankind;" but we must confess to some dulness of apprehension in discovering how those horrible butcheries so graphically described in this "history," and which kept Europe in deep mourning for so many sad years, can have anything about them very *elevating* or very much calculated to *bless.* We should say, too, that if Napoleon *did all in his power to avert the calamities of war*, he was amazingly unsuccessful in his efforts. And, surely, if he *abhorred war*, as Mr. Abbott says, we have a right to infer that the Astors and Rothschilds must have hated money, and that the devil is, after all, the great enemy of sin.

But Mr. Abbott is evidently incapable of any correct criticism;

and after starting with a statement so utterly absurd, we need not be surprised at what follows. We find all through this "history" expressions like these: "Napoleon, *the people's devoted friend*"—"This great man stood firm as *the advocate of popular rights*"—"The sympathies of this great man were *with the people*"—"Napoleon still appeared, as ever, the dauntless *champion of popular rights*"—"The government of Napoleon was the *government of popular rights*"—"He considered that he had a right to demand the coöperation of those *popular governments* which his voice had called into being," &c.

Now we ask, what reliance can be placed on a work written with so utter a disregard of the truth of history? We should like to have Mr. Abbott, or any one else, explain in what sense Napoleon was a *champion of popular rights*. He may have been a despot by the *consent* of the people; he may have done many things to unfetter the public mind; the aristocracy of *merit* which he founded may have been a great improvement on the old aristocracy of *family*; but how a man who ruled from the centre with an iron sway, and openly declared his purpose to be *master*, can be set up as a champion of *popular rights*, is beyond our comprehension.

The *popular governments* which Napoleon's voice called into being, were such governments as Naples and Spain, which were held only by the power of the sword, and could not long be maintained, even by that. A really *popular government* we understand to be a government in which the people bear rule. Did they so rule under Napoleon? Let us see what answer he himself gives to this question, in his letters to Joseph, when he was King of Naples. "The people of Italy," says the emperor, "and, in fact, of every other country, if they do not feel that *they are mastered*, are disposed to rebel and murmur." Again, "The National Guard is a part of the people of France, and as long as I live I will be *master* everywhere in France." Still again, "I suppose, however, that they see there is some difference between the times of Lafayette, when *the people ruled*, and the present time, when *I rule*." And yet again, "I am well pleased with my affairs here, (at Paris.) It gave me great trouble to bring them into order, and force a dozen rogues to refund. I had made up my mind to have them *shot without trial*."

It is clear from these extracts, which might be extended to any amount, that Napoleon, in his plan of government, had no idea of consulting the people or considering their *rights*. He ruled France with other objects; and whatever those objects were, it is certain that *his* word was the law of the empire; that he set up and pulled down at pleasure; that he made war and peace without consulting

his people; that he deposed kings and crowned kings as he saw fit; that he distributed rewards and punishments with an imperial hand; and that he even shot down whom he would, without ceremony or trial. Such a man might be a great, a generous, a magnanimous *despot*, but he could not be a *champion of popular rights*.

Mr. Abbott is at great pains to prove that Napoleon was the victim of circumstances; that he was not responsible for the wars in which he was engaged; that they were forced on him by the combinations formed to put him down; and that efforts were unceasing on his part to obtain and preserve the peace of the world. There is a show of truth in this position, and yet it strikes us as essentially erroneous. All the circumstances of Napoleon's life show his love of glory and his greed of dominion. From the first the language of his conduct was not to be mistaken, and Europe was not long in understanding it. France, under his rule and by the aid of his brilliant campaigns, had suddenly swelled from its ancient limits to a mighty empire. Eugene, the son of Josephine, was Viceroy of Italy; Murat, his brother-in-law, was King of Naples; Joseph, his elder brother, was King of Spain; Louis, another brother, was King of Holland; and Jerome, still another brother, was King of Westphalia. The sixteen provinces along the valley of the Rhine, embracing some fourteen millions of people, had fallen under the protection of Napoleon; Genoa, too, had been annexed to France; and every new war seemed to enlarge the boundaries of the empire and cripple the other European powers.

These were circumstances too significant to be mistaken, and the question with the remaining nations was, *as to which should be absorbed next*. Italy had been conquered and was held by the sword, and the King of Spain and his son, having each appealed to Napoleon to settle their several claims to the throne of that distracted country, he pushed them both aside, and embraced the opportunity to put a prince of his own blood on the throne. These circumstances created a feeling of uncertainty and alarm in the royal households throughout Europe, and the several leading powers professed to regard Napoleon as aiming for universal empire, and so banded together, as by instinct, under the great law of self-preservation.

Mr. Abbott would have us believe that these combinations against Napoleon were in behalf of legitimacy and the Bourbons, and makes a point of the gross injustice of thus interfering with the internal polity of nations. But the outcry in regard to the usurpations of Napoleon was only the *feigned issue*. The *real* cause of complaint against France was much deeper. The restless spirit which con-

trolled the power of the empire had shaken Europe to its centre, and appeared to be grasping for a still larger dominion. Under the walls of Madrid he had said to the people of Spain: "If you do not like Joseph for your king, I do not wish to force him on you. *I have another throne to give him.*" Europe was anxious to know what throne he alluded to; and, as Austria was the power most contiguous, it was extensively rumoured that it was none other than the throne of the Hapsburgs.

Circumstances are stronger than words, and such circumstances could not fail to make their natural impression. It is then clear to us, however it may appear to Mr. Abbott, that Napoleon was mostly responsible for all these desolating wars, and that they were provoked by his policy. He arose by the sword, and he was a living elucidation of the principle announced by our Lord, that "They who take the sword shall perish with the sword." The vanity which caused him to delight in dazzling exhibitions of power, made war always welcome as the expected theatre of new triumphs, and his love of dominion made it welcome as the means of adding to his empire. But they produced their natural fruits in the combinations for his overthrow, and the persistent determination to rid Europe of his dangerous presence.

The career of Napoleon, it is no part of our argument to deny, must always strike the beholder with amazement. There is nothing to compare with it on the pages of history. He loomed up before the world in his first Italian campaign like a blazing meteor, at an age when other men are scarcely ready to take the first lessons in their profession. He was but twenty-six years old, and of a slight, effeminate form, when he appeared at Nice before the veteran generals of the French army as their commander. But his presence, even then, youthful and inexperienced as he was, made every pulse beat quicker and every heart leap with emotion. "Soldiers," said he, "you are hungry and naked: I come to lead you into the most fertile plains that the sun ever beheld;" and, scarcely were the words pronounced, when the order was given to advance. In fifteen days he planted his standards before Turin, and the Sardinians were suing for peace. In that brief space he had plunged down from among the snowy mountains into the midst of the enemy on the sunny plains, and, with a force scarcely more than one third of the foe, had fought six battles, taken fifty-five pieces of cannon, slain or wounded ten thousand men, and captured fifteen thousand prisoners. Such was the dawning of that career whose day was about to break on Europe and the world.

This was in his youth, when his blood flowed quickly, and hope

and glory were before him. But, in his case, riper years seemed only to quicken his energy and increase his capacity for the vigorous prosecution of his mighty plans of empire. At no time of his life was the *major* consideration neglected for the *minor*. No engagements, no plans of improvement, no pleasures, no domestic attachments, were permitted to stand between him and the proper moment of action. Thirteen years after he thus hurled down his forces, like a thunderbolt, against the Austrians and Sardinians on the plains of Italy, when he was at the height of his power, and surrounded by courtiers and flatterers in the most luxurious of modern cities, a dispatch was received announcing that the Austrians had crossed the River Inn, and were about to precipitate their legions on the friendly kingdom of Bavaria. The courier arrived at ten o'clock at night, and found the emperor in his palace, surrounded by a gay circle of friends. In less than two hours he was seated in his carriage by the side of Josephine, and thundering over the pavements toward the scene of expected conflict. In six days he was six hundred miles distant from his capital, and at the head of his army; and in a day or two after he fought a decisive battle, in which the Austrians were overwhelmed with defeat and their armies broken to pieces.

This attention to the main issue, at the proper moment, and with all possible vigor, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of this remarkable man. On his return from Vienna, after the brilliant campaign of 1805, in which he literally annihilated his enemy and dictated a peace from his very capital, and when he had certainly earned some title to a season of relaxation and the enjoyment of his laurels, instead of seeking the congratulations of friends, and the soothing voice of flattery, he plunged at once into a labyrinth of business, regardless alike of enjoyment and repose. The embarrassed condition of the Bank of France had given him serious inconvenience during his absence; and when he reached his palace at midnight, accompanied by his faithful Josephine, he sent at once for the minister of finance, and spent the whole night in looking into its condition. On the following day he called his council together, and sat with them for nine consecutive hours, till some plan was devised to meet the exigences of the state.

His wonderful activity was not confined to his campaigns. It was equally manifest in whatever occupied his attention. When the empire was at peace, he delighted to manifest his power in brilliant conceptions of public works; in the construction of monuments, roads, bridges, and public buildings; in reforming the internal polity of the nation; and in reconstructing and perfecting its laws. But

we need not dwell on the various modes by which he manifested his power, since others have done such ample justice to this part of his character.

We do not think it worth while to discuss the question, whether Napoleon was or was not a usurper. That he was the pride of France, that she bowed her neck willingly to his yoke, that he ruled by her consent, seems, at this day, hardly to admit of a question. She was proud of the lustre which he shed on the empire; she received him with acclamations when he returned penniless from Elba; she clung to him manfully in his misfortunes; she sent to St. Helena to recover and sepulchre his unhonoured bones, and she delights still to cherish the memory of his brilliant reign.

But all this does not, by any means, sanctify the great error of his despotic rule. The master of the plantation might as well boast that his slaves served him from choice and not from fear. If it is really so, what does it prove? Only this: that the manhood of the slave has been corrupted by his servitude; that the master has imbued him with such servile tastes that he clings to his bondage instead of aspiring after the noble independence of freedom. The mistake in the case of Napoleon was still more momentous. His power corrupted a whole people and retarded their growth toward independence and virtue.

Despotism is the greatest of all crimes, and its fruit is "evil and only evil, and that continually." Behind it lies oppression, and murder, and every conceivable form of woe. This was the great, master error of Napoleon's life. His grasp for dominion neutralized all his fine qualities, and made him the scourge of mankind. Admitting that, in all the relations of life not interfering directly with his master motive, he was, as Mr. Abbott maintains, all that was generous, kind-hearted, and noble, still how little will that do to square his accounts with the world! For what great purpose were all these desolating wars? What was the compensating good for this ocean of human blood, and the harrowing lamentations of that vast army of widows and fatherless children? What great end justified the slaughter of so many millions of people, and the despotic rule by which alone it could be accomplished?

A *strong government* always implies a *weak people.* A wise father only *governs* his children during the weakness of infancy, and trains them gradually to self-reliance as the parental government is to be withdrawn. So nations that are *governed* are always feeble, and what strength they have is not really in the nation, but in the ruling mind. It is easy to see, therefore, that political power, by which the world is so dazzled, is, after all, but a very weak engine

compared with individual intelligence, enterprise, and virtue. He, therefore, that would "bless and elevate mankind," must do it by developing in them the principle of self-reliance and self-government, and not by domineering over them. There was a time when governments seemed to think a nation would go to ruin unless its social, economical, and commercial operations were shaped by the ruling power. They undertook to control everything from the centre. They prescribed the prices of every commodity that was bought or sold, established the value of labor, and treated their subjects as mere machines. But the example of our own country shows that, to a certain extent, a nation which is governed *least* is governed *best;* that the ruling power is a clog to individual development, in proportion to its governing force; and that the true source of a nation's prosperity is to be found in the virtue, intelligence, and independence of its people.

The policy of Napoleon was not a policy to develop and build up a strong people. His object was not to do good to mankind, to develop the race to which he belonged, or to make men wiser or better. He sought only to dazzle and to fix attention on himself. In war he blazed through a campaign like a sparkling meteor: in peace he startled and amazed by his great conceptions of public works. In all his conduct he gloried in being able to do what others could not; and, feeling that he was superior to the rest of mankind, he deemed that he had a right to rule over them. This self-exaltation led him to take great risks and run fearful hazards, because the glory of the achievement and the renown which it brought to his willing ears, were great in proportion to the danger to be encountered and the inadequacy of the means employed. It also urged him on to the great error of absolute dominion. Such dominion concentrated the glory of the empire wholly in himself; and he delighted to be its sole and palpable bond of union, and to hold it together by his own power rather than by the ordinary means of prejudices, local attachments, principles, and institutions.

The court of Napoleon was patterned on this same idea of dominion and self-exaltation. His practical mind at once discarded a useless aristocracy; but still he must have a court as much more splendid than those of the surrounding nations, as the empire was more powerful. He must out-dazzle the kings of Europe, as well as out-fight them. This would be a means of illustrating his glory and the glory of France. Hence the old aristocracy of *family* was discarded, and a new aristocracy of *merit* instituted in its place. *Services* were his patent of nobility. The veterans of his army, the men of activity and energy who had sustained his throne, the

savans of science and the arts, were the stars in the brilliant court circle that thronged his palaces. The principle on which he acted is set forth in his advice to Joseph when he first ascended the throne of Naples. "In my opinion," writes this man of the world, "your throne will have no solidity unless you surround it with a hundred generals, colonels, and others attached to your house, possessing great fiefs of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Bernadotte and Massena should, I think, be fixed in Naples, with the title of Princes and with large revenues. Enable them to found great families. In a few years they will marry into the principal families of the country, and you will then be strong enough to do without an army."

This was the wisdom of a tactician, exercised on the policy of building up a throne in a conquered country. In that policy there was no thought of the welfare or development of the people. They were utterly forgotten in the more important business of exalting a house. Nor is this a solitary instance. The same spirit pervades all these letters of instruction. Joseph was an amiable and just man, and sought to rule mainly through the affections of his people. Napoleon, who held a tighter rein, wrote to him that "his conduct lacked decision." "It is not," said he, "by being civil to people that you get a hold on them." "If you do not begin by making yourself feared, you will suffer for it." "Disarm the population; send away all strangers; make your army rich." "I do not hear that you have shot any of the lazaroni, although I know that they have used their daggers." "The mere force of opinion will not maintain you in Naples. Take care that there are mortars in the forts and troops in reserve to punish insurrection." "Do as I did in Cairo: prepare three or four batteries, whose shells shall reach every part of Naples."

This was the wisdom of Napoleon. It was a wisdom that was quite consistent with the founding of despotic thrones and the arbitrary sway of a powerful chief; but quite inconsistent with the idea of Mr. Abbott, that Napoleon was a *champion of popular rights*, and the great benefactor of the masses of the people. He was, in fact, a great and glorious despot, ruling with an iron sway, and making everything bend to his mighty will. Under the peculiar influences of his education and the remarkable events that accompanied his rapid rise to power, he grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever seized the human heart.

"With the talents of an angel," says Young, "a man may be a fool. If he judges amiss in the supreme point, judging right in all else only aggravates his folly." Napoleon missed "the supreme point." He failed just where it was most important that he should

succeed. With endowments vastly superior to those of our own Washington, how immeasurably he sinks below him! The great American drew his sword only in defence of the rights of man, and when the object was gained returned it to his scabbard. The fruit of his wisdom, how it looms up amid the desolations of Europe's great battle-fields! It is written in every valley and on every hill-top throughout this vast domain. It lives in the heart of every freeman, and is to be a fountain of joy to millions yet unborn. It is a ray from the invisible, and its steady lustre forever illumes our firmament. Napoleon, on the contrary, swept the heavens with his brilliant train, and then left the world in darkness. In summing up his character, we are tempted to say of him, in imitation of the remarkable words of Pope, applied to the great Bacon, that he was the wisest, greatest, most brilliant, and most useless of mankind.

Art. V.—THE NEW TESTAMENT VIEW OF THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

If what we said in a former paper* upon the history of the "ten tribes" proves that they were not lost, but contrariwise that they did return, and became incorporated with Judah, so that the history of the Jews subsequent to the time of their reunion becomes one, it will relieve those Scriptures which are supposed to refer to the restoration of the Jews, and which have been embarrassed by the alleged loss of the ten tribes. For, if they are not lost, then it is not necessary to defer the fulfilment of those prophecies which are believed to relate to their recovery, to some remarkable, but future, civil and political revolution in the history of the Jews. Indeed, admitting the known existence of Israel, it will not be hazardous to believe that all those prophecies which refer to the secular condition of the Jews, have been fulfilled in the manner and at the time which has been specified. And we hope our readers will not startle at this suggestion; at least, that they will not prejudge us, but wait until they comprehend the grounds upon which we have felt ourselves justified in making it. We hope, in the course of the following brief discussion, to place before our readers some means by which they may be enabled to distinguish between those prophecies which relate to the secular affairs of the Jews, and those which are to

* July, 1855.

have a complete, and possibly an exclusive fulfilment in spiritual and religious benefactions. This ability to discriminate between the nature of the objects of prophecy, is very important to a satisfactory and just exposition of this part of Sacred Scripture; and, failing in this, many have been led into the extremes of fancy and error.

If, then, we would gain correct and satisfactory views of the purposes of God, as indicated in prophetic promises, we must first of all obtain a clear understanding of the condition of those who are to be benefited by his interposition, as the nature of the benefit is correspondent to the circumstances of those who are to be relieved. An inquiry, therefore, into the spiritual relations of the Jews, is of fundamental importance as a means of settling the sense of those scriptures which relate, or which are alleged to relate, to the subject of the *restoration* of the Jews.

What, then, is the doctrine of the Bible in relation to this point? The clearest and fullest account of their present religious state is that contained in the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. We need only allude to the following verses, to bring up to the view of our readers all that is material to the present state of the question. In verse 11, it is called a "*fall;*" in verse 12, a "*diminishing;*" in verse 15, a "*casting away;*" and in verse 17, they are said to be "*broken off;*" and in verse 25, it is declared that "*blindness in part hath happened unto Israel.*" It will not be doubted, we think, that these terms and phrases, severally, are used to denote the same thing; namely, the lapsed condition, the degradation, or the excision of the Jews from the covenant of redemption, and their consequent loss of the blessings accruing from the Messiah.

But, then, this "fall," this "breaking off" of the Jews must be understood of them in a collective sense, for individually they have had, and still have, the offers of life and salvation made to them. This is asserted, impliedly at least, by the apostle, he affirming his own experience in the faith of the Gospel in proof of it. See verses 1–5, inclusive. Notwithstanding that many of the Jews did receive the Saviour, the leaders, the great body of the nation, rejected Christ, and in return were rejected by him. This is clearly stated in verses 7–10. "Israel," the apostle says, "hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election [believers] hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded (according as it is written, God gave them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear) unto this day." By this quotation it is shown that their spiritual state is not the effect of their conduct merely,

but it is attributable, mainly, to a judicial act of God, inflicting a moral, and, in some sense, an intellectual torpor upon them for their rejection of his Son. And, indeed, does not the apostle unequivocally assert this, when he says, verse 20, "Because of their unbelief they were broken off?"

And, as if aware of the boldness of his declaration, and that he might forestall all cavilling upon the matter of it, he opens his argument with a parallel example; one, indeed, which the Jews had made a ground of improper boasting, to show that such a procedure against them was in perfect harmony with the principles of the Divine government. See chap. i, 21–28. In consequence of the idolatry of the Gentiles, "God also gave them up to uncleanness;" for their perversion of the truth, he "gave them over to a reprobate mind to do those things which are not convenient," and thus did "they receive that recompense in themselves of their error which was meet." The meaning of this passage, in a general sense, we understand to be this, namely, That God for cause, sovereignly withheld from the Gentile world those restraining influences which were necessary in order to preserve them from the evils here enumerated, as well also as from the inconveniences and sufferings which would naturally spring from the practice of this catalogue of vices.

But in the application of the principle, involved in the example, to the case of the Jews, the judicial act referred to by the apostle is to be primarily regarded as affecting their covenant relations to God. It is true that they suffered in their social and political relations, when God withdrew his gracious protection from them. But these were minor evils compared with the loss of his spiritual presence; of the grace which enabled them to see "light in his light." This loss of the medium of spiritual vision was the source of that "blindness" which "happened to Israel." The "spirit of slumber" ensued upon them when Jehovah withdrew the inciting influence of his mercy and truth. The thick veil which is upon their hearts, when they read Moses, is the cloud of unbelief and passion which shut in upon their souls, when the Sun of Righteousness veiled himself in the dark mantle of justice. The moral chill which now benumbs their spiritual nature will not end until their faith penetrates the cloud which enshrouds their soul, and directs to their hearts the vivifying influences of Divine love.

It must not be inferred, either in respect to Gentiles or Jews, that personal obligation to God is cancelled by public judicial blindness. Nor is it to be supposed that such a relation as has now been defined, precludes the possibility of their final salvation. It is no more impossible for a Jew to obtain forgiveness and everlasting mercy

without the faith of a Christian than it was impossible for a Gentile, before the introduction of the Gospel, to obtain final salvation without the faith of a Jew. The principle stated by the apostle, Acts x, 35, is a universal one, and diffuses its benign power over the whole history of our race, irrespective of the outward circumstances of the various tribes and nations of men. See also Rom. ii. If the doctrine contained in the declaration that "in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him," made it possible to a heathen to obtain acceptance with him, (never without influence of the atonement,) then it is possible for a son of Jacob still to secure eternal salvation through the free mercy of God.

We may be asked: What, then, has the Jew lost in respect to spiritual privileges, if he can yet obtain salvation by the law of ceremonies? And is he not exempted from the law of faith by that very curse which has shut up his heart to its light and love? What has he lost then? Much, very much! If he obtains pardon, it is not through the ceremonies of the law as its medium. The grace which once flowed through the Mosaical ritual no longer pours the streams of life around Jewish altars. The cloud of the Divine presence which once rested upon the nation, infolding that people in its smiles of light and joy, has departed, and their sky is dark and lowering. Their condition now is illustrated by the symbol of the Divine presence in the exodus from Egypt. The cloud which followed Israel, gave light and direction to their camp, but was to their enemies a veil which forbade their approach to the chosen ones of God. So the Jewish service which once shed a cheering and hallowing light upon the pathway of the nation, by the withdrawal of the Divine presence, becomes a cloud of darkness, and through their unbelief, inwraps them in penal gloom, sealing up their eyes to the glory of the cross. They lose, then, by the subtraction of all the moral efficacy which once resided in their law of ordinances; they lose, by their own refusal, all the spiritual comforts and hopes foreshadowed by their types as specified by their own prophets; they lose the covenanted protection of God, and remain a defenceless prey to their enemies; they lose the mediatorial guidance of Christ, and are left to wander in life without sun, moon, or star to guide and cheer them; in short, they lose all the direct spiritual benefits both of Judaism and Christianity as systems of religion. The Jews, then, stand, upon moral grounds, no way in advance of heathen nations in general. Where they have maintained the social elevation to which Judaism had advanced them, when Messiah came; or where they have exceeded that standard, they owe it to the power of Christianity manifested in its fruits in a general social state around

them, rather than to its direct influence upon the heart in their individual experience. In the same way the social condition of a pagan might be improved by the doctrines of religion, when, at the same time, he adhered to paganism. We will not say that the Jews are reduced to an intellectual level with pagans, for they have the knowledge of the true God, even though they have lost the efficacy of that system of grace through which Jehovah was pleased to reveal his favour. But we do say, that they are not within either the light or the protection of the covenant of redemption, which was made with Abraham, and executed by Jesus Christ. From that covenant they were "broken off." Thus have we presented a brief view of the spiritual condition and relations of the Jews since the day of their "fall," the nature of which is sufficiently illustrated by the character of the facts in which it is exhibited.

The peculiar and striking history of the Jews before their overthrow by the Cæsars, as well as their strange preservation as a distinct people in the unparalleled circumstances in which they have since existed, have contributed to make them objects of great interest both to the intellect and the heart of every true Christian. But high over all the clouds of their crimes and misfortunes beams the day-star of promise, that one day the Sun of Righteousness shall arise upon them with healing in his beams. By the light of prophetic promise, the future is seen to be pregnant with some great mercy, which is to unfold itself, in practical forms, over God's ancient people. What that denouement is to be, is a question which has taxed the ingenuity of men not less, perhaps, than it has been employed to discover the geographical situation of the "ten tribes." Nor have the theories to which resort has been had in order to interpret the promise of restoration been fewer or less fanciful than have been those which are employed to find Israel, whom, it has been thought by some, God has hidden in primitive secrecy and isolation. By some we are taught to expect their restoration in a reassumption of their former earthly inheritance in Palestine, and the revival of their temple service as it was celebrated before their "fall." By others that the promises are to be realized in a consummated union of the Jews and Gentiles in the resurrection state. Indeed, we know not how many notions have been put forth and advocated, as the means of answering the question which relates to the nature of the predicted restoration. That what we shall say upon this point will bear upon these theories, is easily foreseen; but we shall not attempt to trace them out, and confront them; as theories, they will receive no other than an incidental notice.

The general admission that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of a

restoration of the Jews supersedes the necessity of proof upon that point; but it is of fundamental importance to any efficient effort on their behalf, and especially is it necessary if the Church of Jesus Christ is under any specific scriptural obligations to make exertions for the illumination of the Jews, that we know what the Bible teaches respecting the promised restoration; otherwise our labour may be useless, if for no other reason, from the fact that it is misdirected. The true issue, then, is made up upon the single consideration of the nature of that restoration of the Jews which is promised in the Bible. And here our distinctions should be clear, and our definitions carefully stated, in order that the relevancy or irrelevancy of the proof which may be offered upon the point can be easily and fully appreciated. In stating the proposition which we shall hereafter attempt to prove, we begin with that which we exclude from the question itself.

First, then, we do not mean by the restoration of the Jews, that they will be recovered from their dispersion abroad among the nations of the earth, and collected together in the land of Palestine. It is possible they may assemble there at some future time, and resume the social and political sway of that country; but if this should occur it would be entirely incidental to the purpose of the promise of restoration.

Secondly: Nor do we mean by the restoration of the Jews, that there will be a revival of the Mosaic ritual, or of the sacrificial system, either in Judea or elsewhere upon the face of the whole earth. The end of the types and ceremonies of that dispensation has been attained, and they, consequently, have been abolished by Him who ordained them. There can, therefore, be no important reason for their renewed celebration.

Thirdly: Our simple and entire proposition is this: *Christianity will become the religion of the Jews in the sense that it now is the religion of any portion of the Gentile world; as it is of this nation and Great Britain.* Not that every individual Israelite will become holy, but as a people they will receive the Messiah, and, with us, worship him as Lord and Saviour. This, we think, is the prevailing meaning of all those Scriptures which relate to this subject; and it will be our aim to make this sense apparent to our readers. But before proceeding to consider the proof itself, either circumstantial or textual, we must settle some rule of exposition by which we are to decide what is, and what is not, proof in the case. And this will be especially important to that class of our readers who incline to the opinion that there may be a double sense in prophecy. In our paper upon the history of the "ten tribes," we think we made

out one sense clearly in relation to those Scriptures which were quoted upon that point, but several of those texts are thought also to have reference to the point under discussion in this article. Now, if there is another meaning in the Scriptures in question, it is desirable, if it be possible, that we know what that sense is. And where shall we be as likely to find it as in the New Testament Scriptures? At least, it is due to our faith and understanding that we carefully examine them in relation to this interesting topic; for, if they speak at all upon this point, what they utter will be a solid foundation for our judgment in the matter.

The following rule of exposition we hold to be indisputably true, and it is also an absolutely safe guide in the interpretation of all questions to which it legitimately relates, namely: *That when any ancient prophecy, or subject of prophecy, is commented upon in the New Testament, the comment is to be received as the sense or meaning of the prophecy itself*, regardless of any seeming discrepance between the verbality of the announcement, and that of the recorded fulfilment.

There is such obvious truth and justness in this rule, that we shall not stop to argue its truth, nor for the present to make any qualifications of it. But, for the sake of illustrating its application, we will cite an example from that class of prophecies which relate to the coming of the Messiah and the establishment of his kingdom in the earth. Now every student of the Bible knows that the diction of the prophets is burdened with hyperbole, that it is embellished in the highest degree with the poetic imagery of the East. A false conception of the meaning of their seers led the Jews to expect, through the coming of the Messiah, that they were not only to be released from their subjection to Rome, but, also, that through his wisdom and influence their national character was to be elevated and adorned. The sad fruits of that error, in part, constituted the ground of their present dispersion. But to the example. The "*feast of fat things*, the *wine on the lees*, of *wine well refined*," instead of having been realized in *sensual* enjoyments, is fulfilled, nevertheless, and offered to us, in the appropriate language of the Gospel, as the "*kingdom of God*," which "*is not* MEAT *and* DRINK, *but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*" Here the difference between the language in the prediction, and that in which the fulfilment is recorded, is not, in our opinion, more striking than will be found to exist in relation to the language in which the subject of Jewish restoration is announced, and the verbiage of the New Testament comment upon it, if, indeed, this subject is ever embraced in the scope of Old Testament prophecy. Of course, we speak

now of a secular restoration. We do not affirm, positively, that it is not embraced in ancient prophecy, and yet we will venture the prediction that in half a century from this date, few, if any, will believe that any trace of this doctrine, in any form, can be found in any testimony of higher antiquity than Jesus Christ and his holy apostles.

The intimate relation subsisting between the Old and New Testaments, which is assumed in our rule, is the only true basis upon which we can found a theory of exposition that will be safe in the final conclusion to which we shall be conducted by it. This, we think, none will dispute; nor will any doubt that the last pages of revelation shed a light so clear and steady upon the purposes of God toward our race, that any early doubtful intimations of his designs may be unhesitatingly resolved by that which is so transcendently manifest in the teachings of Jesus Christ, who, having been in the "bosom of the Father, hath revealed him."

But does the New Testament really treat of the restoration of the Jews? For, if it does not, then the exposition which we are about to give upon this subject cannot receive any aid from the rule which we have laid down, even had we demonstrated its truth beyond any exception in its application. For the rule relates to those subjects only, which Christ or his apostles have expounded in their recorded teachings. Consequently, if they, or either of them, have not settled the meaning of ancient prophecies which are said to relate to this subject, why then the subject itself does not fall within the influence of the rule, and hence cannot be affected by it. But, on the other hand, if they have spoken upon the subject of restoration, whether in exposition of prophecy, or by revelation, and if what they have set down respecting the nature of the restoration of the Jews is plain in diction and relevant to the particular point under discussion, then our canon, that the New Testament doctrine exhibits the meaning of all antecedent Scriptures relating to this subject, has legitimate authority to settle this long-mooted but deeply-interesting subject.

It will be seen, by the character of the rule which is to govern us in the investigation of the evidence in this case, that our argument upon it is to be framed chiefly out of the evidence contained in the New Testament. Of course, then, it will only weigh in favour of our position in the minds of those who receive the New Testament as of equal authority with the Old. But if we shall succeed in giving a right direction to the faith of Christians, and thereby aid them in a legitimate application of their own instrumentalities in order to bring about the great event in question, our purpose will be answer-

ed and our labour compensated in this honest effort. It is to influence the minds of Christians that we write; for we are precluded a hearing with the descendants of Abraham, by their denial of the authority of the New Testament, and with infidels, by their denial of all plenary inspiration.

Let us now proceed to our argument upon the main question; and let the reader bear in mind, that the testimony which we are about to bring forward upon the subject of the Jews' restoration, is designed to show the nature of the change which is to be effected in their relations, rather than the fact that they will be benefited by the fulfilment of the scriptures which relate to their future condition. It is, indeed, an unnecessary task to collect proof upon the single point of fact that they will be restored, so generally is this admitted by Christians. But the other branch of the subject, namely, the nature of their restoration, requires both proof and illustration. And in order to appreciate the New Testament bearing upon this point, we must first discriminate between the real and the assumed purposes of that covenant from which they were cut off. For if it can be made to appear that its objects are spiritual, and not secular, it would be safe to infer that the restoration is to be to this form of the Divine favour, rather than to any civil and social distinctions. Consequently, too, a full justification will hereby be given for construing all the evidence upon the subject in the New Testament in accordance with this assumption, unless it can be shown that an undoubtful necessity exists for another and different course of exposition. There is no doubt in our own mind that there were two covenants made by God with "the father of the faithful." The first is recorded in Gen. xvii, 1–14, and is expressed in the following terms:

"And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.

"And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.

"And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying,

"As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations.

"Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee.

"And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee; and kings shall come out of thee.

"And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant; to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

"And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.

"And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee, in their generations.

"This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you, and thy seed after thee: Every man-child among you shall be circumcised.

"And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you.

"And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed.

"He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised; and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.

"And the uncircumcised man-child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant."

The second and latter covenant, which we choose so to denominate because subsequently enacted, is recorded in Gen. xxii, beginning at the 15th verse. For the convenience of the reader we will quote it:

"And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time,

"And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son:

"That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies:

"And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice."

Our readers will see at a glance that the objects of these two covenant engagements, and the conditions upon which the benefits are stipulated, are entirely distinct and dissimilar from each other. Indeed, they are so different, that this fact in itself is sufficient to show a plurality of covenants. Let us look at them for a moment. In the first, God engages to give Abraham a *numerous posterity*, and the *land of Canaan* for a possession. In the second, he promises to make Abraham the progenitor of the Messiah, here entitled a "SEED *in whom all the earth should be blessed.*"

In the first covenant, the condition upon which was suspended the benefit promised, was that Abraham, together with every male child in the successive generations of his posterity, should be circumcised. But in respect to the second covenant, so far as God was pleased to connect the gift of the Saviour with human conduct at all, the special consideration which gave Abraham his distinguishing relation to Messias, was of a nature to preclude any failure in the accomplishment of the covenant engagement through human obliquity. And as if to anticipate every possible human contingence, the Lord applied the test to Abraham, and thereby proved him to be worthy of

the distinction which he was to enjoy as "the father of the faithful," before he had visibly chosen the medium of descent for that "SEED in whom all the nations of the earth" should "be blessed." "Because thou hast done this thing," said Jehovah, "and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son," and because "thou hast obeyed my voice, I will bless thee, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The immutable purpose of God secured the Redeemer to the world, and the faith of Abraham secured to him the honour of being the progenitor of that "seed" which was to bruise the serpent's head; and thus Abraham becomes "the father of us all."

But in the first covenant, the condition upon which the perpetuity of the possession rested, contained in itself a contingence out of which might arise a forfeiture of the promised inheritance.

This is clearly expressed in chapter xvii, 14, where it is said, "and the uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant." This, it is conceded, was said of an individual, but what is here said of an individual would be equally true of the nation, if the conduct of the nation should become like that of the individual, for which he would be cut off.

The great primary object of the second covenant was redemption from sin through the sufferings of Jesus Christ. This is made certain by the language of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, chapter iii, 16. "Now," he says, "to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many, but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." This language incontestably establishes the distinction which we have made between the objects of these covenants, and settles the question relative to the design of the second covenant which was made with Abraham.

But how are we to understand the language of the promise, that "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed?" Here, certainly, is a boon for the world. Here is a comprehensiveness in the promise which could not have been fulfilled in the honour and distinction which resulted to the Jews from the peculiar government under which they were settled in the land of Canaan; nor in the elevation and felicity flowing from the possession and celebration of the Mosaic ritual. For Judaism as such was never intended to benefit the world. It was only a preparative medium of the world's Saviour. Indeed, it contained no provision for its propagation among mankind. It had no elemental power of expansion. The fact that its rites were confined to the temple in Jerusalem, by Divine command, is sufficient to show that its benefits were limited to the Jews, only as individual Gentiles might choose to enter into

the commonwealth of Israel, agreeably to the conditions which had been prescribed in the law.

The truth is, the dignity and moral value of the ritual system were derived from the grand object of the later covenant, by having been made the preparative medium of that "seed" in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed. The spirit of the engagement into which God had entered with Abraham, was to furnish through him the means of the world's illumination—to lay a foundation for the world's hope—through him to open the treasures of infinite benignity and grace to the family of man. Now, so far as Judaism could go to benefit man, to elevate his character and hopes, it was the inheritance of the Jews alone. Not so the grace of the Messiah. When he came he threw down the wall of partition, and effaced the line of family distinctions which God had drawn by receiving the Jews into covenant relation with himself. Henceforth there was to be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, in respect to the Divine favour, but, as Messias has declared, there shall be "one fold and one shepherd."

If what has now been said is a true exposition of this interesting point, it will be seen at a glance that practically, and agreeably to the great purpose of the covenant, it has never yet been completely fulfilled, either as it respects the Jews or the Gentiles; and especially in relation to the descendants of Abraham. They do not as a nation enjoy the grace and privileges of the Gospel. Individual Jews have been made partakers of salvation through faith in the Son of God; but the Hebrew nation, as such, remain in doctrine and order just what they were in the days of the prophets, as far as outward circumstances will allow. The reason of this is soon told.

By their unbelief they were "broken off" from the covenant of grace, exscinded from the good olive-tree, and by consequence have *missed* the Messiah. "Nevertheless, when" they "shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away," (2 Cor. iii, 16,) "for God is able to graft them in again," and "if they abide not still in unbelief" they "shall be grafted in," and "so all Israel shall be saved."

Here, in our opinion, is the true and whole idea of the restoration of the Jews. It is their being recovered from their present "fall" and "blindness" to a joint possession and occupancy, with the Gentiles, of the covenant of redemption by Jesus Christ. Sure it is, that the event of their restoration is necessary to fill up the outline of covenant engagement. The Gentiles have been grafted into this covenant, and the regraffing in of the Jews with the Gentiles is the doctrine of the apostle, stated and illustrated in the eleventh chapter of Romans.

We now proceed to consider some evidence bearing both upon the fact and the nature of the Jews' restoration.

And we will begin with one passage from the mouth of the great Prophet of the Church. It is Matt. xxiii, 38, 39. After having recapitulated the history of the guilt and corruption of the Jews, from the days of Abel to the time when they shed the blood of Zachariah before the altar, our Saviour uttered the most pathetic lament over the doomed city and nation, that ever escaped lips upon earth, but with the same breath pronounced a prophetic promise, whose growing light relieves the blackness of the clouds of Divine wrath, and the judgments which still enshroud them. "Behold," he said, "your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." This may have been the awfully interesting moment when the Saviour resolved to conceal his Divine character and the evidences of his benignant mission from them; when "blindness in part happened to Israel." If so, then it was that the Divine glory arose and departed from *his temple* and it became *their house*. It was no longer the sanctuary of Jehovah. He had withdrawn himself from it, and now, when desolate, he had bequeathed it to them. Sad emblem now of their godless state. "Henceforth ye shall not see me," (as if remembering the covenant of his own lips,) "till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The state contemplated by the latter member of this prophetic announcement, is undeniably one of admiration and joy. It foretells the recognition and joyful admission of the glorious character of Jesus Christ by the Jews, whom as a nation he had just denounced. Their pronouncing him blessed would be a reflex action of that grace by which they shall be quickened to life and faith in the Son of God, when graffed in again upon their own good olive-tree. It will be impossible, without doing the grossest injustice, both to the language itself and to the context, to appropriate this prophecy to the events which shortly thereafter took place, when the sign of the Son of Man appeared in the overthrow of their city and nation. Equally inadmissible would be the attempt to interpret it by the revelations of the day of final judgment. Neither the crushing judgments of God, inflicted through pagan power, nor the awfully sublime disclosures of final retribution, by the hand of Jesus Christ, can be an occasion of such rapturous, felicitous admiration as that here foretold by the Saviour. This prophecy, then, must be regarded as a star of hope to Israel, shining with a steady promise of recovery to the ancient covenant, and of a full fruition in the fruits of Messiah's exaltation.

Passing by, for the present at least, numerous testimonies, similar

in character and import, in the written teachings of Jesus Christ, we shall proceed to examine the elaborate views of St. Paul upon the point, contained in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. And if our readers desire to feel the full force of the apostle's reasoning, and of the evidence which he gives upon the subject, they must keep in mind what we have said concerning the present moral condition and relations of the Jews, namely: That by a judicial act of God they have been "broken off" from the covenant of redemption. Hence the apostle prefaces his argument with this question: "Hath God cast away his people?" To this he replies, in his accustomed strong negation, "God forbid," and immediately adduces his own experience in proof of the assertion that "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew," "for I also am an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin." Now it is impossible to understand St. Paul as speaking of anything else than the grace of Jesus Christ received through faith in his death. Hereby he now had fellowship with God, and that not by the law of righteousness, but "by the faith of the Son of God," revealed in the fulfilled covenant which the Lord Jehovah had made with their father Abraham. But if God has not cast away his people, "What then" (verse 7) is the condition of Israel? This the apostle answers by saying, "Israel [meaning the body of the Jews] hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election [believers] hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." The meaning of this passage may be expressed thus: Many Jews, among whom the apostle includes himself, had embraced Christianity, and were rejoicing in the blessings of redemption; but the whole number of believers was so inconsiderable a minority compared with the nation, that the apostle says, "Israel hath not obtained" the blessings of the covenant. And in this case it was, as it had been in the days of Elias; when that prophet made intercession to God against Israel for their idolatry, some had adhered to the worship and service of God. "even so then," adds Paul, "at this time there is a remnant according to the election of grace."

The question, therefore, which is asked, and impliedly answered, in the eleventh and twelfth verses, must relate to the great body of the nation, who, the apostle says, (verse 7,) were "blinded." The case is stated thus: "I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid; but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy. Now, if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness." To the general reader there may seem to be a discrepance in this statement of the

apostle; for he says, "they have not stumbled that they should *fall*;" and then, as if admitting a misstatement in the declaration, proceeds to add, that "through their *fall* salvation is come unto the Gentiles." A little critical attention to this passage will not only remove the appearance of contradiction in the words of the apostle, but will also evolve the full force of the first step in his argument in support of the doctrine that Israel shall be restored, or "graffed in again" upon the root from which they had been broken off.

The word "fall," which is thrice used in these verses, is rendered from two different words, the latter of which, although derived from the same root, is materially modified in its signification by being used with a prefix. When the apostle asks, "Have they stumbled that they should *fall?*" he uses the word πέσωσι, (pesosi,) which is derived from πιπτω, (pipto,) and means to *perish*, as when one perishes who falls in battle; (see Luke xxi, 24;) or to be punished, as in Rom. xiv, 4. But when he answers his own question, (verse 12,) he employs the word παράπτωμα, (paraptoma,) which signifies an offence or trespass, as in Rom. v, 15, and 18, where the sin of Adam is so denominated. By using this latter term to express the sin and lapsed condition of our common progenitor, the apostle designed to show that the "offence" of our first parent, though a grievous trespass, was not a fall beyond recovery. Using the same term in relation to the defection of Israel, St. Paul clearly shows that they had *not fallen beyond recovery*, but that they had committed a great fault; that they had fallen into a mischievous offence, for which they had been "broken off," and, consequently, had not obtained that which they sought for. Hence, although they had stumbled and fell, it was but a stumbling from which they might be recovered. For "if they abide not in unbelief" they "shall be graffed in again," (verse 23.) Adam fell, but God raised him and his posterity up "again," "through the free gift of one unto justification of life." Israel also has stumbled, but has not perished, for his offence is not of a nature to preclude his recovery, any more than was the fall of Adam. Verbally their guilt is alike, and God is able to graff them in again "into their own olive-tree," (verses 23, 24.)

The nature of their offence, in the apostle's argument, lies at the foundation of the proof that the Jews shall be restored to the covenant from which they were broken off, as hereby it is shown to be possible for them to be saved; and it clearly illustrates the sense of St. Paul's words, when he says "that God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew," (verse 2.)

Secondly, From the *possibility* of their recovery, shown by the nature of their *fall*, the apostle proceeds to prove that Israel's res-

toration is highly *probable*. The following quotation will exhibit the groundwork of the second degree of the argument by which his general conclusion in relation to their ultimate restoration is maintained. Beginning with verse 15, he proceeds to verse 25 inclusive, to say:

"For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?

"For if the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.

"And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert graffed in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree;

"Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.

"Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in.

"Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear:

"For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.

"Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.

"*And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be graffed in: for God is able to graff them in again.*

"For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree: *how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive-tree?*

"For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits,) that *blindness in part* is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in."

We have italicised such portions of this passage as we desire the reader to reflect upon, as it is not our intention to comment upon the whole of the quotation. The specific proof, we may just say in passing, all goes to sustain the general doctrine that Israel shall be graffed in upon the covenant of redemption, and that the idea of their reinstatement in the Abrahamic grace is no more preposterous than that a scion from a wild olive-tree should be graffed upon the root of a good olive-tree. Without pretending to decide precisely in what light the apostle regarded the casting away of Israel as a ground or an occasion of reconciling the world, it is natural and just that we assume that, in a manner, the fall of the Jews did redound to the riches of the Gentiles; and, in turn, the recovery of Israel will greatly enlarge the joy and felicity of the world. Now, if the apostle did not anticipate their restoration to a joint possession of the riches of *the* covenant to which the Gentiles had been exalted in the "goodness" of God, what propriety is there in his question: "What shall the *receiving of them* be but life from the dead?" And then, how could this joy—the joy of recognition—of mutual interests and aims,

be attained if they were not to be received again upon the very root into which the Gentiles had been graffed; the same root from which Israel had been "cut off?"

And we may be permitted to ask, in this connexion, did the believing Gentiles inherit, through the Jews, any other than the spiritual benefits of the covenant? The theocracy, the temple, the ritual, in a word, all that pertained to "the law of a carnal commandment," was abolished. The entire systems of their political and social organizations were swept away by that storm which their seers had heralded in prophetic admonitions. The riches which had been made over to the Gentiles, or rather to which they had been called by the ministry of the apostles since the Jews had "judged themselves unworthy of everlasting life," (Acts xiii, 46,) were then nothing else than the blessings of knowledge and salvation, "which were brought unto them by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

Again, the *probability* that Israel shall be restored ultimately to this inheritance, is shown by the logical significance of the figure of the "*first-fruits*." "For if the first-fruits be holy, the lump is also holy."

In order to see the argumentative force of this figure, as applied by the apostle to the matter now under discussion, it will be necessary that we illustrate the signification of the figure itself. This can be done easily by referring to Exod. xxii, 29, where the law relating to this point is stated in the following language: "Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors: the first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me." In Leviticus xix, 25, after defining what the "first-fruits" are, a reason is given for the precept just quoted, namely: "That it [the land] may yield unto you the increase thereof." The moral purpose of this law, then, must have respected the weakness and dependence of man principally, if not wholly; and its enactment was intended to connect his faith and feelings, doubtless, with the purposes and ways of God in his benignant providence. Hence, by offering the *first-fruits* of the tree or vine, by a figure, they consecrated the after fruits, or the whole harvest to God, and thereby acknowledged their dependence upon their Maker; and, also, they in this manner implored his blessing to enable them to secure the whole harvest. This done, the offering of the first-fruits became a *pledge of the harvest*, for it was supposed, and justly too, that when piously done, the Divine blessing was secured for that purpose.

In a sense corresponding with this, the same figure is used by St. Paul, in reference to the doctrine of the resurrection, in 1 Cor. xv, 20, in which he says, "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become

the *first-fruits* of them that slept." If any regard is to be paid to the law of emphasis, in the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, perhaps no example can be stated where it is more applicable than in the present instance. For to confine the meaning of this passage within the simple historical fact that Christ was the first to rise from the dead, would be to make it supremely insignificative. Manifestly the scope of the apostle's argument requires us to understand him as affirming the universal resurrection of the race, whom, in his mediation, the Saviour represented. (See verse 23.) The resurrection of Jesus Christ became, then, the pledge and assurance of our own resurrection.

These illustrations of the law of the "first-fruits" will enable us to see the argumentative force of the figure when used by the apostle in relation to the future restoration of Israel to his forfeited covenant blessings. He says, in Rom. xi, 5, that there is "a remnant according to the election of grace;" and in verse 7, that which the "election" had "obtained" Israel had missed. Those Jews, then, who had embraced Christianity were the *first-fruits* of the nation; indeed, they formed the *root* and basis of the Christian Church, historically, for the first converts to the Gospel were Israelites, so that the Church of Christ was founded upon them. If, then, the apostle uses the figure in question only as a mere decoration to his discourse, it would be solemn trifling, equally void of meaning and honesty. But the whole context shows that he considered the "first-fruits" of Christianity among the descendants of Abraham, then already gathered to the covenant, a pledge that "all Israel shall be saved." For "as the branches follow the nature of the root, so do the Jews follow the condition of Abraham and the holy patriarchs with respect to the outward privileges of the covenant. Was the root holy? so are the branches holy; not inherently, but federally holy, being consecrated and separated from the world unto the service of God. If, then, Almighty God, by entering into covenant with Abraham, hallowed to himself all his posterity, even as the first-fruits hallowed the whole lump," even so the gathering of the first-fruits of Israel unto God in Christ Jesus, has become the pledge of the redemption of the ancient people, "for God is able to graff them in again . . . . into their own olive-tree."

Thirdly: But the argument of the apostle does not stop with *probabilities*. It ranges higher, and attains a climax in the sublime heights of *certainty* itself. Indeed, what we have already said will be seen to wear very much the air of decisiveness, if it be remembered that the apostle was writing under the influence of a plenary inspiration, which gave to his conclusions the whole authority of a

revelation from God. And it is important to keep this fact in mind, otherwise we may come to regard his doctrine as only the deduction of an expert reasoner, and, consequently, wanting in that authority which ought to settle our faith in this matter.

In verses 23 and 24 he states a conclusion drawn from the premises upon which we have already commented. It is in the following words, namely: "And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be graffed in: *for God is able to graff them in again.* For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree, how much more shall *these, which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive-tree.*" When the apostle says that God is *able* to graff them in again, he not only asserts a power which implies the moral propriety of the thing to be done, but his language also includes the idea of a disposition in God which is actively engaged to secure the object anticipated. A parallel use of the word *able*, by the apostle, occurs in Heb. vii, 25. Here he reasons from the disposition of Christ, manifested in his mediation for sinners, to the conclusion that it is proper to save them "that come unto God by him." At least the ideas of power and disposition are so blended that they constitute the ground of the sinner's hope. This mode of argument the apostle uses in reference to the restoration of the Jews. The fact that their fall was not an irrecoverable one; that God had only broken off the branches; that his goodness had been shown upon the Gentiles who were destitute of merit; that the fulness of the Divine compassion toward Israel had been restrained only by their own unbelief; and that "as concerning the Gospel, they are enemies [only] for your sake; but as touching the election, they are [still the] beloved for the fathers' sake," from these facts the apostle justly concludes that the "*natural branches shall be graffed into their own olive-tree.*"

If what the apostle had thus far said could be justly considered as having no higher authority than that of a legitimate deduction from the facts of the case, it will be impossible, we think, to deny to him, in his testimony in verses 25 and 26, the complete moral evidence of prophecy itself. "For," he says, "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits,) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved." Here, then, is a solemn and explicit declaration that "*all Israel shall be saved.*" But his language, we think, is to be interpreted as relating to the nation at large, for the scope of the subject requires this construction. The apostle is discussing general relations and

general issues. The "fulness of the Gentiles" means the nations of the earth as nations; and, in like manner, "all Israel" is to be understood in reference to their recovery in a sense corresponding with the use of the term "Israel" when the apostle speaks of their "fall." Their being "saved," in the sense of the word as here used, will be fulfilled in their accepting Christ as their Lord and Saviour, whereupon they will be "grafted again" upon the covenant which God made with their father Abraham. This construction of the passage appears the more necessary by what St. Paul affirms concerning the instrumentalities by which their restoration is to be accomplished. In verses 30 to 32 he holds the following language: "For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief; even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all." Here, certainly, it is clear that in some important way the Gentiles are to be the *agents* of the recovery of Israel, and the nature of the means to be employed is very plainly intimated by the phrase "your mercy;" that is, by the employment of such efforts and influences as will remove their unbelief and prejudice, which are the great existing barriers to their salvation through Christ Jesus.

The passages from the Scriptures which have now been quoted, are so clearly, and so directly related to the doctrine under discussion, that to ourselves, at least, it seems unnecessary to multiply them further. For if those cited, together with this obviously natural and just exposition of them, fail to produce in the mind of our readers convictions corresponding with our own, in relation to this general subject, we shall despair of disabusing their minds of the influence of traditive opinions and prejudices. It is possible, however, that in some instances we have been too general in our statements, and we may also have assumed too much in reference to the familiar acquaintance of some of our readers with the general grounds of this question, both with respect to the Scripture evidence, and the true means by which its logical import and its relations to this subject are made to appear.

We trust that our readers are now prepared to appreciate a summary view of the whole of the preceding argument, upon not only the subject-matter of this article, but also the influence which the evidence in relation to the history of the "ten tribes" should exert upon the doctrinal subject of the Jews' restoration. That the ten tribes were included in the *restoration* to their *rights* and *franchises* in the land of promise, at the close of the Babylonish captivity, coextensively with Judah, is a position which we must be

allowed to think incontrovertible by a just exposition of the Bible evidence bearing upon this point. We entertain no doubt that those predictions and promises contained in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which disclose marked intimations of Divine benignity, to be realized in the social and political conditions of the Jews, were fulfilled antecedently to the coming of Jesus Christ. And this class of blessings belonged exclusively to the Jews. But the other, and only class of objects, namely, *spiritual influences*, which we commonly call the *grace of God*, belong equally to Gentiles and Jews. These latter promises were fulfilled in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, at least so far that the covenant of grace was executed, and life and salvation are offered to the world. And now let it be borne in mind, that the two classes of predictions specified, comprise all the testimony in the Old Testament which can, by any possibility, be considered as yielding evidence upon the subject of the Jews' future restoration. If, therefore, any new light is to be found anywhere upon this point, it can be found in the New Testament only. But if Christ and his apostles, or either of them, give no intimations that, in some distant future period of the world, the Jews, as a nation, are to be brought back to "the land which God gave to their fathers," in fulfilment of prophecy, it follows inevitably that there is no evidence to support this notion; then, no such occurrence is to take place, and the whole idea is a mere hypothesis. And what does either Christ or his apostles say upon the subject of the recovery of the "ten tribes" from their alleged penal seclusion and isolation; or what of the gathering together the nation in the "land of promise," and their reorganization in any peculiar social and political form; or, indeed, of their being brought into that land at all in fulfilment of prophecy? Not one word, we unhesitatingly reply, is said in relation to anything of the kind! Nor, indeed, does either of them say anything which contains the thought by implication even, much less do they openly teach the doctrine of a *secular restoration* as the event which is to fulfil the language of prophecy, nor, indeed, as the necessary cognate of a spiritual restoration of the Jews to the ABRAHAMIC COVENANT.

We may now repeat what has been before intimated respecting the chronology of prophecy, namely: That any prophetic promise of grace, which overlaps the period in which Messias was to appear in the world, foretold an inheritance designed for a common occupancy by both Jews and Gentiles. Such scriptures from the Old Testament cannot, therefore, be pressed into the service of a dogma, which goes to secularize the great objects of prophecy in relation to the future condition of the Jews.

And now, moreover, it is appropriate and important that we refer to the rule which has been illustrated already, and by which we are to be guided in making up our final verdict upon the general issue. If, then, those predictions which we have shown have been fulfilled in a restoration of the "house of Jacob" from their captivity in Babylon by the hand of Cyrus, are thought to contain another sense, then the teachings of Christ and his apostles settle that meaning to be a restoration to the *covenant of grace* in the sense maintained in this discussion, as they do not anywhere give forth opinions contrary to the doctrinal sense of their own language, which we have quoted, and shown to be exclusively spiritual in its application. But it is only that class of prophecies which promise *spiritual blessings* that can be claimed to be yet unfulfilled, and surely there are no discreet minds which will pretend that such scriptures prove a *secular restoration* of the Jews. We do not concede that any prophecy has a double sense; but if it were allowed that those scriptures which speak of the exaltation of the Jews have a twofold meaning, it would make nothing for the doctrine against which we are reasoning, because the "New Testament" comment shows that no other than spiritual grace can flow from the covenant into which the Jews are to be "grafted again." The announcements of Isaiah Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, so far as their predictions influence the secular rights of the Jews, have been fulfilled, and their verifications are recorded on the page of history. These same prophets, when foretelling the coming of Messias, and the benefits which were to follow the establishment of his kingdom, open a door of hope to the world; set out "a light for the Gentiles," and invite to a "feast of fat things made for *all people*."

This latter class of prophecies sheds a light upon human history which converges to the day of the Son of man, when the Immanuel should be revealed, and thence diverges over all the "nations of the earth." But in neither of these classes of evidence is there any proof of a secular restoration. Now unless there is other light upon the subject than the teachings of Christ and his holy apostles, it does not exist at all, for they do not hint even a hope of such an event.

There are, indeed, ancient predictions, whose light, for a time, is intercepted by the unbelief of Israel, but it breaks forth again in the refined exhibition of Christ and his apostles, like the benign sunbeam when the storm-cloud has passed away. Such is the character of the Danielitic prophecies concerning the "kingdom" of "the Son of man." (Dan. ii, 44; vii, 14, 18, 27.) Such, also, are the doctrinal sentiments inculcated in the prophetic parables of the Saviour. See Matt. xiii, 24–33, and their parallels. But not a word any-

where, so far as we are able to discover, in any New Testament writer, about an earthly inheritance. Now is it at all likely, if, in fact, the reappearance of the Jews in Palestine, and their national settlement in their former earthly inheritance, is a necessary harbinger of their recovery to the covenant of redemption, that no mention would be made of such an event by any one of the New Testament prophets?

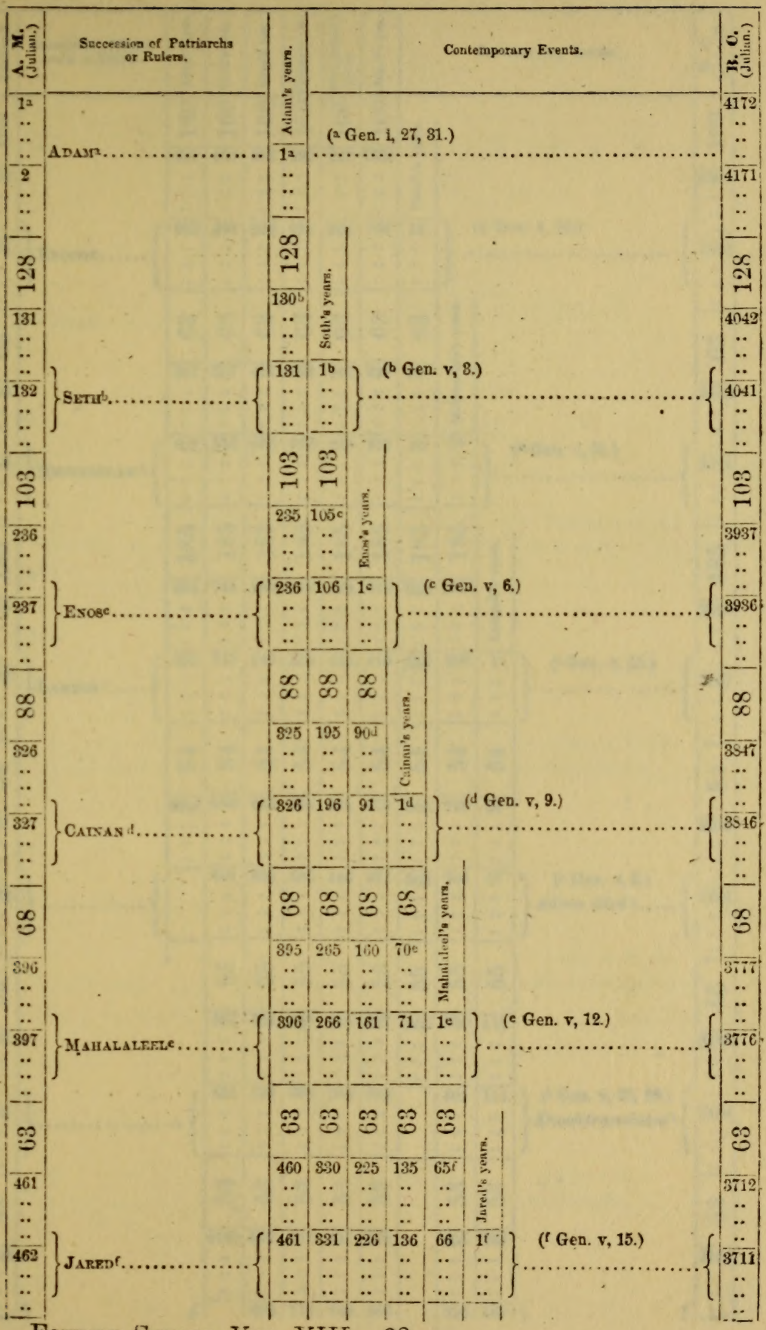
And our readers are to remember that there is no falling back to Old Testament predictions for the proof of this hypothesis, for the testimony which relates to their civil and social conditions has been verified already in their recovery from Babylon, while those predictions that infolded spiritual privileges belong equally to Gentiles and Jews. And there can be no mistaking their theological signification, as the matter of these announcements is a subject of daily experience by every true believer. What he feels of the renewing and exalting power of the Gospel, is a true exponent of that restoration which awaits the descendants of Abraham. The riches of that hope and consolation which we derive from the stock of the good "olive-tree," Israel, when they shall turn unto the Lord, shall receive as a common "inheritance with the saints in light."

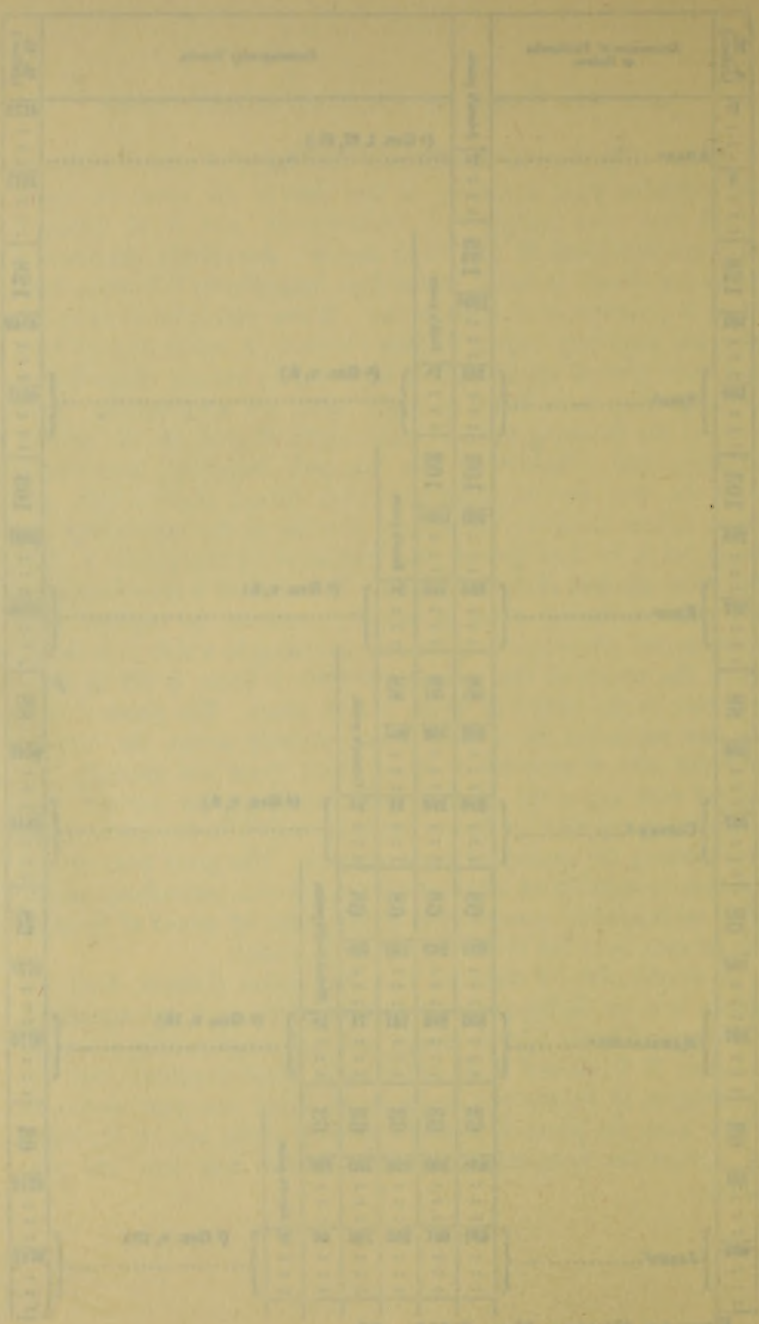
New-York, 1856.

Art. VI.—TABLE OF BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

N. B.—The years of the different eras begin at narrow points of the calendar year, according to the time of the event, or epoch, which they were designed to commemorate; and in all instances they are antedated to that fixed season; accordingly, fractions of years are always included in the date immediately following them, so as to preserve an accurate series. These principles of computation are positively known to have obtained in many ancient eras, and their general application is admitted by various chronologers, although they have failed to carry them out consistently. Each year, in the following table, is accordingly divided, for the sake of accuracy and convenience, into quarters, beginning respectively with the first days of January, Nisan, (about April), July, and Tisri, (about October), the ordinal number, in the appropriate era, being set in the first quarter, and continued by two points, (. .), in the other quarters of the same year. Every event is placed opposite the quarter, during which it actually occurred, its nominal date being in the current year of the era, according to which it is dated; when the season of the year is doubtful, a brace is set to those quarters, in the course of which it took place. The years of each era are separated by a dash drawn entirely across the column. For the sake of economy of space, those years not specially connected with any event in Scripture chronology, are omitted, their place being supplied by figures, set transversely in the columns, and representing the number of years omitted. The proof texts of each date are inserted in an adjacent column, between parenthesis marks. This mathematical *construction* of the years, by means of the middle column, tests the chronology at many points.

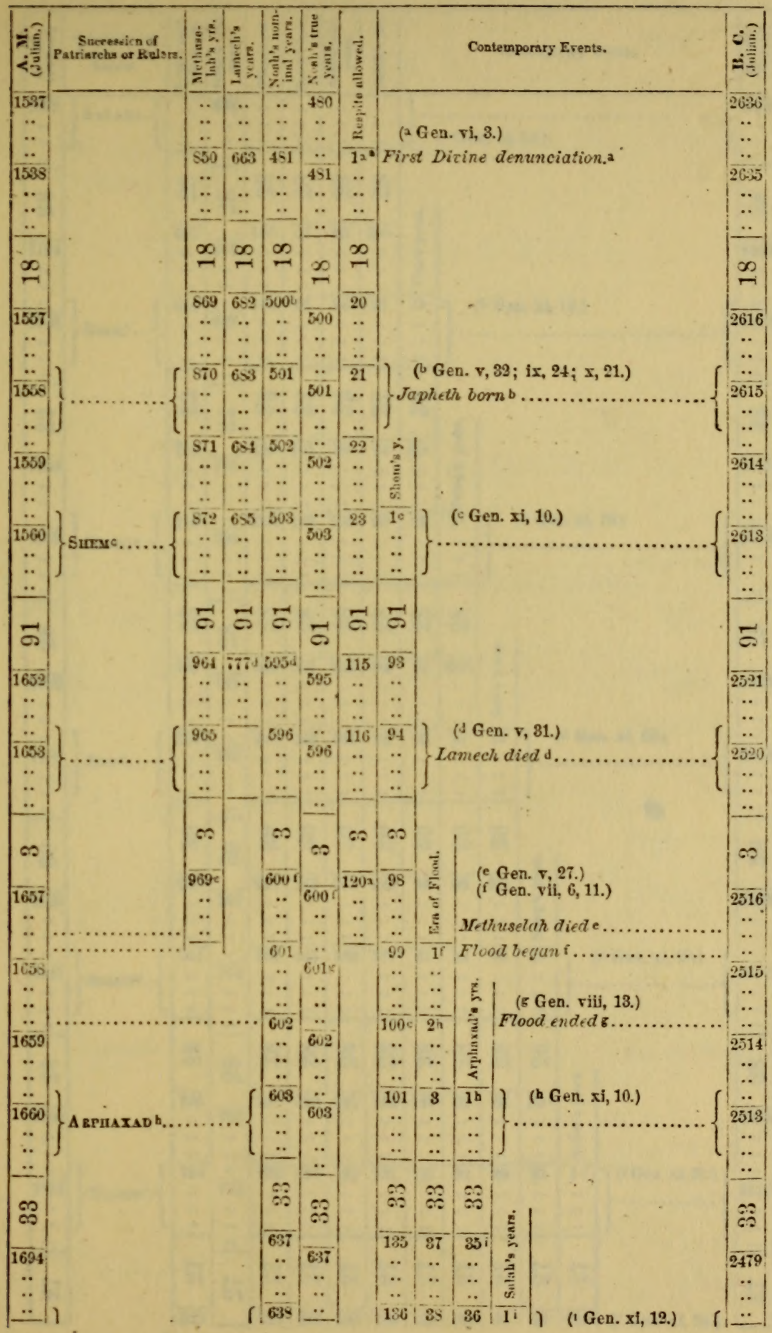
It should also be observed that Dr. Jarius (Introd., &c.) has shown it to be highly probable that an omission of one consulship has occurred in the Roman annals, and that, consequently, all events between B. C. 45 and A. D. 161 (except those connected with the destruction of Jerusalem) ought to be dated one year earlier, in which case, the years of Daniel's seventy weeks, and of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, should likewise bear date one year earlier.

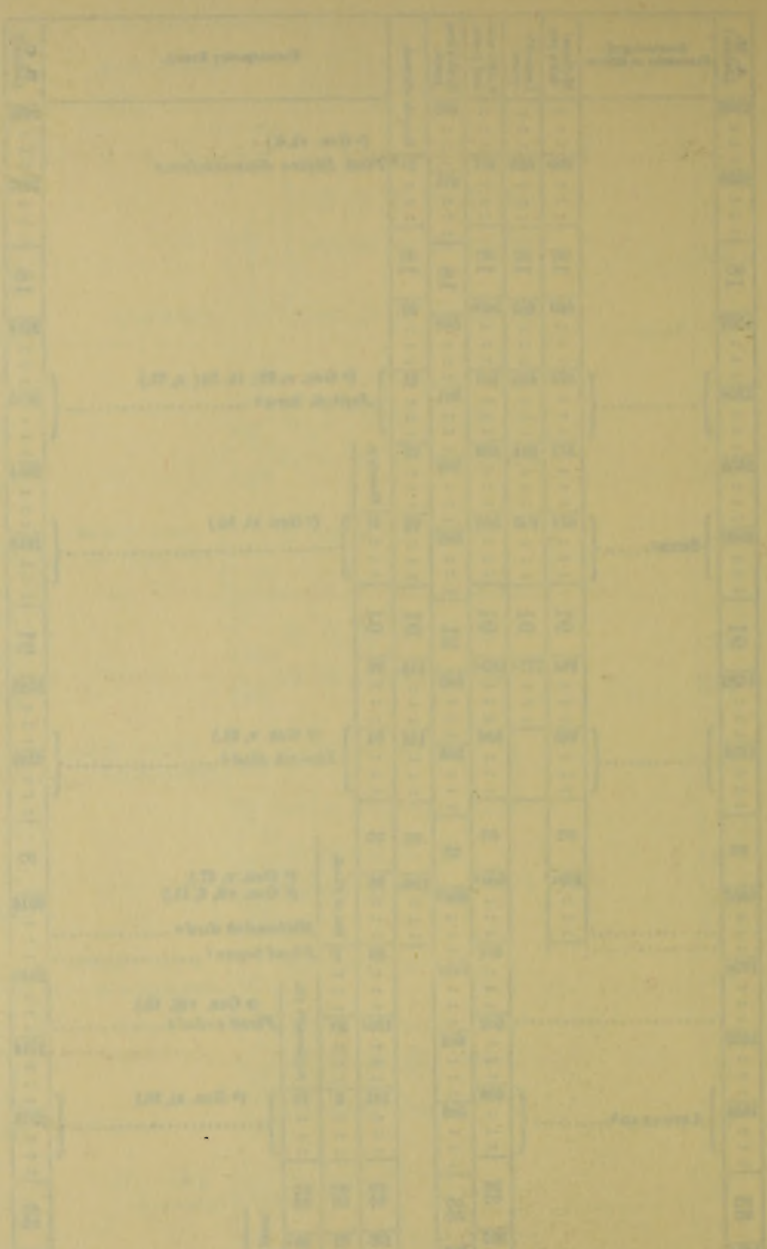

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Adam's years.
Seth's years.
Enos's years.
Cainan's years.
Mahalaleel's years.
Jared's years.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
(a Gen. i, 27, 31.)
ADAM[a]
(b Gen. v, 3.)
SETH[b]
(c Gen. v, 6.)
ENOS[c]
(d Gen. v, 9.)
CAINAN[d]
(e Gen. v, 12.)
MAHALALEEL[e]
(f Gen. v, 15.)
JARED[f]



A.M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Adam's yrs.	Seth's yrs.	Enos's yrs.	Cainan's yrs.	Mahalaleel's years.	Jared's yrs.	Enoch's years.	Methuselah's years.	Lamech's years.	Contemporary Events.	B.C. (Julian.)
160		160	160	160	160	160	160					160
622		622	492	387	297	227	162[g]					3550
623		623	493	388	298	228	163	1[g]			([g] Gen. v, 18.)	3549
624	Enoch[g]											
63		63	63	63	63	63	63	63				63
687		687	557	452	362	292	227	65[h]				3485
688		688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1[h]			3484
689	Methuselah[h]										([h] Gen. v, 21.)	
185		185	185	185	185	185	185	185	185			185
874		874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187[i]			3298
875		875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1[i]		3297
876	Lamech[i]										([i] Gen. v, 25.)	
54		54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54		54
930[k]		930[k]	800[k]	695	605	585	470	308	243	56		3242
931												
932			801	696	606	586	471	309	244	57	([k] Gen. v, 5.) *Adam died.*[k]	3241
55			55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55		55
987			857	752	662	592	527	365[l]	300[l]	113		3185
988												
989			858	753	663	593	528		301	114	([l] Gen. v, 22, 23.) *Enoch translated*[l]	3184
53			53	53	53	53	53		53	53		53
1042			912[o]	807	717	647	582		355	168		3136
				808	718	648	583		356	169		

A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Seth's yrs.	Enos's yrs.	Cainan's yrs.	Mahalaleel's years.	Jared's yrs.	Methuselah's yrs.	Lamech's years.	Contemporary Events.	Noah's nominal yrs.	Noah's true years.	B. C. (Julian.)
1044									*Seth died.*[a] (a Gen. v, 8.)			3129
12			12	12	12	12	12	12				12
1057			821	731	661	595	369	182[b]				3116
1058	NOAH[b]		822	732	662	597	370	183		1[b]	1	3115 (b Gen. v, 8.)
82			82	82	82	82	82	82		82		82
1141			905[c]	815[c]	745	680	453	266		84	84	3032
1142			816	746	681	454	267	85	(c Gen. v, 10, 11.) *Enos died.*[c]	85	85	3031
93			93	93	93	93	93	93		93		93
1236			910[d]	840[d]	775	548	361	179		179	179	2937
1237			841	776	549	362	180		(d Gen. v, 13, 14.) *Cainan died.*[d]	180	180	2936
53			53	53	53	53	53	53		53		53
1291			895[e]	830[e]	603	416	234			234	234	2882
1292			831	604	417	235			(e Gen. v, 16, 17.) *Mahalaleel died.*[e]	235	235	2881
130			130	130	130	130	130	130		130		130
1423			962[f]	735	548	366				366	366	2750
1424			736	549	367				(f Gen. v, 20.) *Jared died.*[f]	367	367	2749
112			112	112	112					112	112	112
			849	662	480							


A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Methuselah's yrs.
Lamech's years.
Noah's nominal years.
Noah's true years.
Respite allowed.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
(a Gen. vi, 3.)
First Divine denunciation.a
(b Gen. v, 32; ix, 24; x, 21.)
Japheth born b
Shem c
Shem's y.
(c Gen. xi, 10.)
(d Gen. v, 31.)
Lamech died d
Era of Flood.
(e Gen. v, 27.)
(f Gen. vii, 6, 11.)
Methuselah died e
Flood began f
(g Gen. viii, 13.)
Flood ended g
Arphaxad b
Arphaxad's yrs.
(h Gen. xi, 10.)
Salah's years.
(i Gen. xi, 12.)

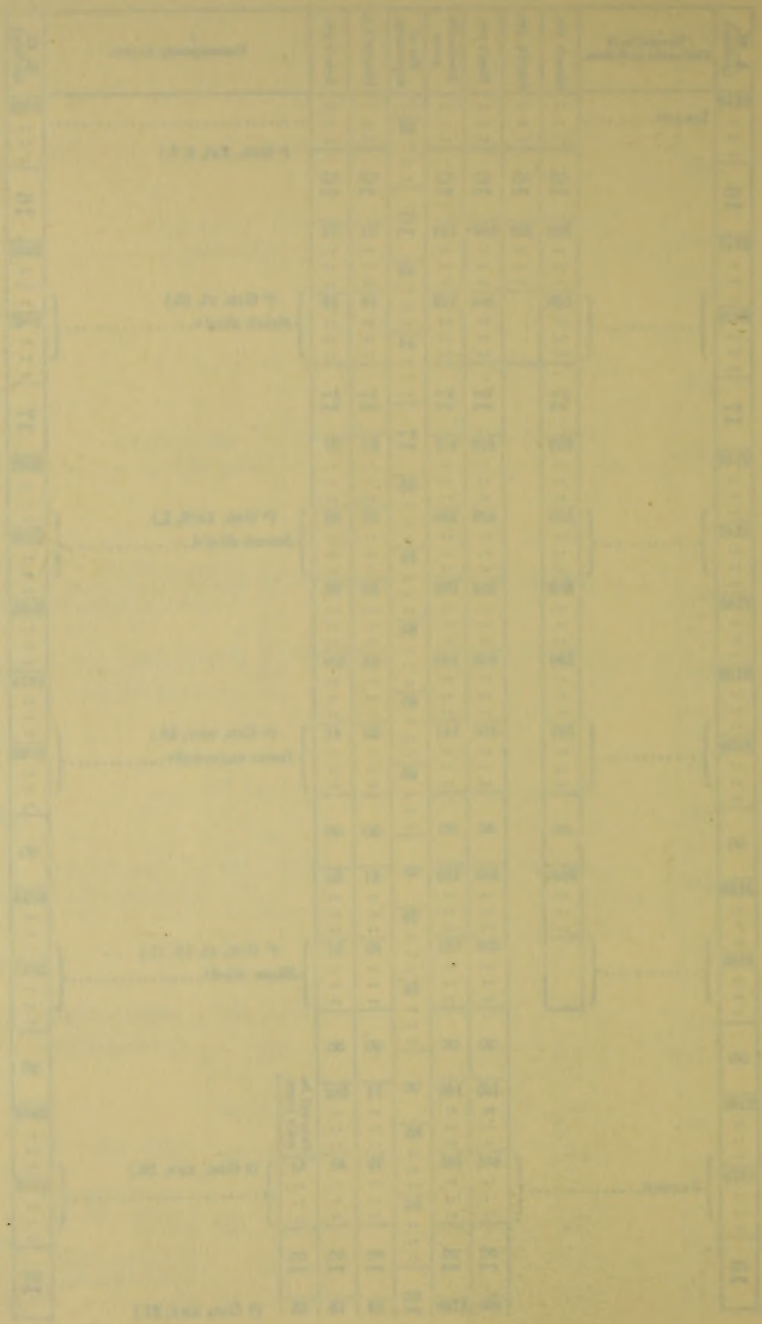


A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Noah's nominal years.	Noah's true years.	Shem's yrs.	Era of Flood.	Arphaxad's years.	Salah's yrs.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
1695	SALAH[a]	..	638	..	..	..	..		2478
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	(a Gen. xi, 12.)	..
28		28	28	28	28	28	28		28
1724		667	..	165	67	65	30[b]	Eber's years.	2449
..		..	667	..	..	..	..		..
1725	EBER[b]	668	..	166	68	66	31	1[b] (b Gen. xi, 14.)	2448
..		..	668	..	..	..	..		..
32		32	32	32	32	32	32		32
1758		701	..	199	101	99	64	34[c] Peleg's years.	2415
..		..	701	..	..	..	..		..
1759	PELEG[c]	702	..	200	102	100	65	35 1[c] (c Gen. xi, 16.)	2414
..		..	702	..	..	..	..		..
28		28	28	28	28	28	28	28 28	28
1788		731	..	229	131	129	94	64 30[d] Reu's years.	2385
..		..	731	..	..	..	..		..
1789	REU[d]	732	..	230	132	130	95	65 31 1[d] (d Gen. xi, 18.)	2384
..		..	732	..	..	..	..		..
30		30	30	30	30	30	30	30 30 30 Serug's years.	30
1820		763	..	261	163	161	126	96 62 32[e]	2353
..		..	763	..	..	..	..		..
1821	SERUG[e]	764	..	262	164	162	127	97 63 33 1[e] (e Gen. xi, 20.)	2352
..		..	764	..	..	..	..		..
28		28	28	28	28	28	28	28 28 28 28 Nahor's years.	28
1859		793	..	291	193	191	156	126 92 62 30[f]	2323
..		..	793	..	..	..	..		..
1851	NAHOR[f]	794	..	292	194	192	157	127 93 63 31 1[f] (f Gen. xi, 22.)	2322
..		..	794	..	..	..	..		..
27		27	27	27	27	27	27	27 27 27 27 27	27
		822		320	222	220	185	155 121 91 59 29[g] (g Gen. xi, 24.)	

A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Noah's nominal years.	Noah's true years.	Shem's yrs.	Era of Flood.	Arphaxad's years.	Salah's yrs.	Eber's yrs.	Peleg's yrs.	Reu's years.	Serug's yrs.	Nahor's yrs.	Terah's years.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
1879		..	S22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(a Gen. xi, 24.)	2294
1880	TERAH[a]	S23	823	821	223	221	186	156	122	92	60	30	1[a]		2293
68		68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68		68
1949		S92	S92	390	292	290	255	225	191	161	129	99	70[b]		2224
1950		S93	S93	391	293	291	256	226	192	162	130	100	71	(b Gen. xi, 26, 29.) *Haran born.*[b]	2223
46		46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		46
1997		940	940	438	340	338	303	273	239	209[c]	177	147	118		2176
1998		941	941	439	341	339	304	274		210	178	148	119[d]	(c Gen. xi, 19.) *Peleg died.*[c]	2175
1999		942	942	440	342	340	305	275		211	179		120	*Nahor died.*[d]	2174
7		7	7	7	7	7	7	7		7	7		7	(d Gen. xi, 25.)	7
2007		950[e]	950	448	350[e]	348	313	283		219	187		128	(e Gen. ix, 28, 29.)	2166
2008				449		349	314	284		220	188		129	*Noah died.*[e]	2165
2009				450		350	315	285		221	189		130	Abraham's years. (f Gen. xi, 32; xii, 4; Acts vii, 4.)	2164
2010	ABRAM[f]			451		351	316	286		222	190		131	1	2163
8				8		8	8	8		8	8		8	8	8
2019				460		360	325	295		231	199		140	10[g]	2154
2020				461		361	326	296		232	200		141	11 (g Gen. xvii, 17.) *Sarah born.*[g]	2153

A.M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Shem's yrs.	Arphaxad's years.	Salah's yrs.	Eber's yrs.	Reu's years.	Serug's yrs.	Terah's yrs.	Abraham's years.	Era of Sojourning.	Ishmael's years.	Isaac's years.	Contemporary Events.	B.C. (Julian.)
6		6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6					6
2027		468	368	333	303	239	207[a]	148	18					2146
2028		469	369	334	304		208	149	19				([a] Gen. xi, 21.) *Reu died*[a]	2145
21		21	21	21	21		21	21	21					21
2050		491	391	356	326		230[b]	171	41					2123
2051		492	392	357	327			172	42				[b] Gen. xi, 22, 23.) *Serug died*[b]	2122
32		32	32	32	32			32	32					32
2084		525	425	390	360			205[c]	75[d]				([c] Gen. xi, 32.) ([d] Gen. xii, 4.) ([e] Exod. xii, 40; Gal. iii, 17.)	2089
2085		526	426	391	361				76				*Terah died*[c]	2088
										d1[e]			*Promise to Abraham*[d]	
9		9	9	9	9				9					9
2095		536	436	401	371				86[f]					2078
2096		537	437	402	372				87		1[f]		([f] Gen. xvi, 16.) *Ishmael born*[f]	2077
2097		538	438[g]	403	373				88		2			2076
2098		539		404	374				89		3		([g] Gen. xi, 12, 13.) *Arphaxad died*[g]	2075
9		9		9	9				9		9			9
2108		549		414	384				99[h]		13[h]		([h] Gen. xvii, 24, 25.)	2065
2109		550		415	385				100[k]		14		([i] Gen. xviii, 10.) ([k] Gen. xxi, 3, 5.) *Circumcision.*[h] *Isaac promised*[i]	2064
		551		416	386				101		15	1[k]		

A.M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Shem's yrs.	Salah's yrs.	Eber's yrs.	Abraham's years.	Era of Sojourning.	Ishmael's yr.	Isaac's yrs.	Contemporary Events.	B.C. (Julian.)
2110	ISAAC[a]					26				2063
16		16	16	16	16	16	16	16	(a Gen. xxi, 3, 5.)	16
2127		568	433	403	118		32	18		2046
2128		569		404	119	43	33	19	(b Gen. xi, 15.) *Salah died*[b]	2045
17		17		17	17	44 17	17	17		17
2146		587		422	137		51	37		2027
2147		588		423	138	62	52	38	(c Gen. xxiii, 1.) *Sarah died*[d]	2026
2148		589		424	139	63	53	39		2025
2149		590		425	140	64	54	40[e]		2024
2150		591		426	141	65	55	41	(e Gen. xxv, 20.) *Isaac married*[e]	2028
8		8		8	8	66 8	8	8		8
2159		600[f]		435	150		64	50		2014
2160				436	151	75	65	51	(f Gen. xi, 10, 11.) *Shem died*[f]	2013
8				8	8	76 8	8	8		8
2169				445	160		74	60[g]		2004
2170	JACOB[g]			446	161	85	75	61	Years and Jacob's years. 15 (g Gen. xxv, 26.)	2003
13				13	13	86 13	13	13	13	13
				460	175[h]	13	89	75	15 (h Gen. xxv, 27.)	



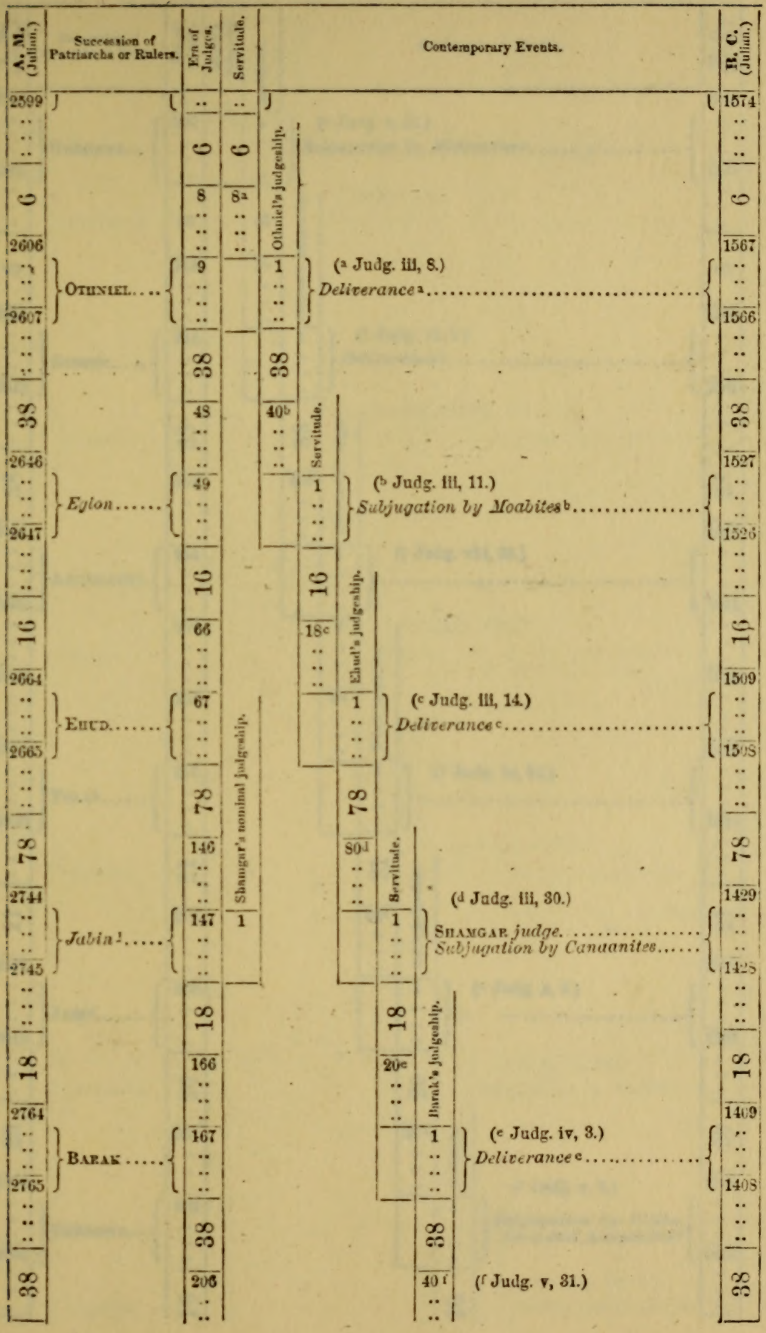
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Eber's yrs.	Abraham's years.	Era of 8 Jubilees.	Ishmael's years.	Isaac's yrs.	Esau and Jacob's years.	Jacob's service.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
2184		..	..	..	..	..	..			1989
..		..	..	100	..	..	..			..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..			..
..		461		..	90	76	16		(a Gen. xxv, 7.)	..
2185	.....	..		..	..	..	..		*Abraham died*[a]	1988
..		..		101	..	..	..			..
..		..		..	..	..	..			..
2		21		..	21	21	21			2
2185		464[b]		2	93	79	19			1985
..		..		..	..	..	..			..
..		..		104	..	..	..			..
2189	.....			..	94	80	20		(b Gen. xi, 16, 17.)	1984
..				105	..	..	..		*Eber died*[b]	..
..				..	..	..	..			..
19				19	19	19	19			19
2209				..	114	100	40[c]			1964
..				125	..	..	..			..
..				..	115	101	41		(c Gen. xxvi, 34.)	..
2210	.....			..	..	..	..		*Esau's first marriage*[c]	1963
..				126	..	..	..			..
..				..	..	..	..			..
21				21	21	21	21			21
2232				21	137[d]	123	63			1941
..				..	..	..	..			..
..				148	..	..	..			..
2233	.....			..		124	64		(d Gen. xxv, 17.)	1940
..				149		..	..		*Ishmael died*[d]	..
..				..		..	..			..
12				12		12	12			12
2245				..		137	77			1927
..	.....			162		..	..		*Jacob's flight*[e]	..
..				..		138	78	1[e]		..
2247				..		..	..	..	(e Gen. xxxi, 41; xxx, 25; xli, 46; xlv, 11; xlvii, 9.)	1926
..				163		..	..	..		..
..				..		..	..	..		..
5				5		5	5	5		5
2253				..		144	84	7[f]		1920
..				169		..	..	..		..
..	.....			..		..	..	..	(f Gen. xxix, 20, 27.)	..
2254				..		145	85	1[f]	*Jacob's marriage*[f]	1919
..				170		..	..	..		..
..	.....			..		..	..	..	*Reuben borne by Leah*	..
..				..		146	86	2		..

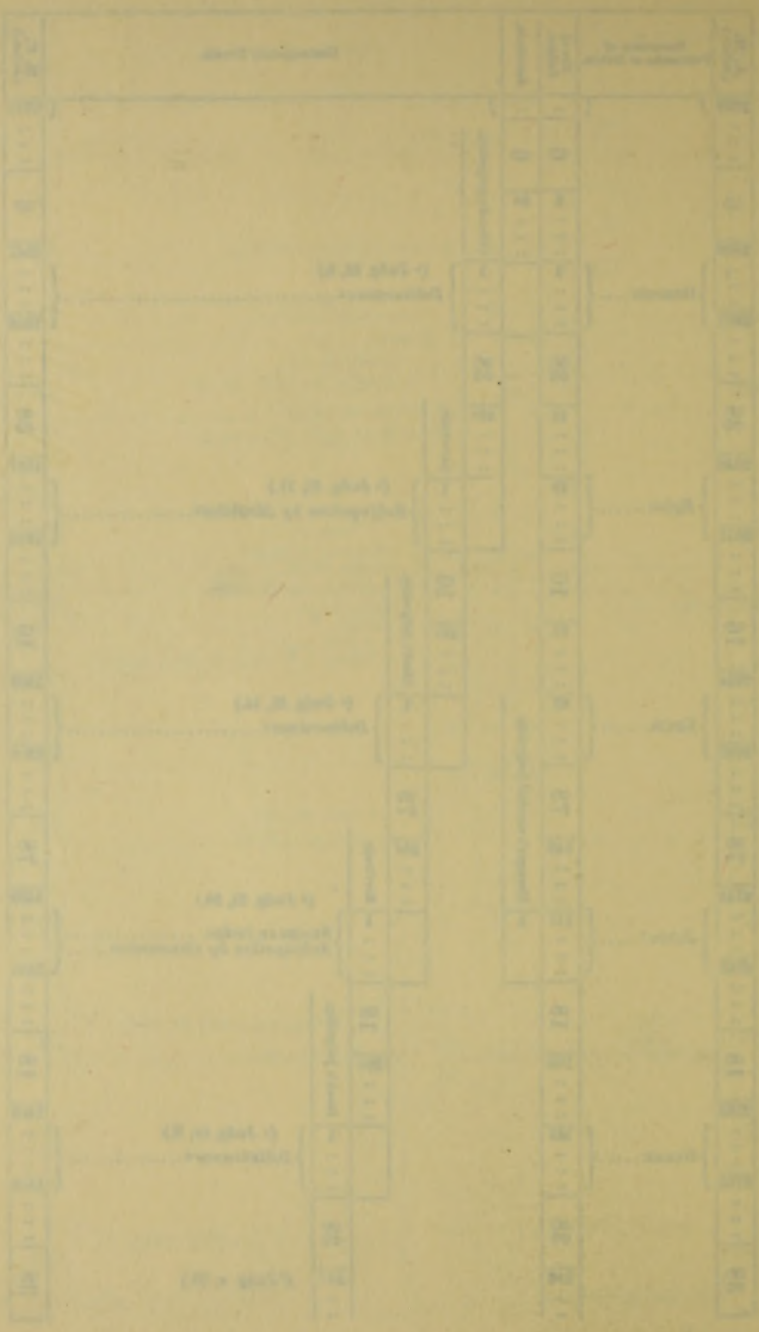
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Era of Sojourning.	Isaac's yrs.	Esau and Jacob's years.	Jacob's service.	Joseph's years.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
2255		..	..	..	..			1918
..	.....	171	..	..	..		*Simeon borne by Leah*.....	..
..		..	..	..	..			..
..		..	147	87	8			..
2256		..	..	..	..			1917
..	.....	172	..	..	..		*Levi borne by Leah*.....	..
..	.....	..	..	..	..		*Jacob married Bilhah*.....	..
..		..	148	88	4			..
2257	.....	..	..	..	..		*Judah borne by Leah*.....	1916
..	.....	173	..	..	..		*Dan borne by Bilhah*.....	..
..		..	..	..	..			..
..	.....	..	149	89	5		*Jacob married Zilpah*.....	..
2258		..	..	..	..			1915
..	.....	174	..	..	..		*Naphtali borne by Bilhah*.....	..
..	.....	..	..	..	..		*Gad borne by Zilpah*.....	..
..		..	150	90	6			..
2259	.....	..	..	..	..		*Issachar borne by Leah*.....	1914
..	.....	175	..	..	..		*Asher borne by Zilpah*.....	..
..		..	..	..	..			..
..	.....	..	151	91	7[a]		*Zebulon borne by Leah*.....	..
2260		..	..	..	..			1913
..		176	..	..	..			..
..	.....	..	..	..	..		*Dan borne by Leah*.....	..
..	JOSEPH[a].....	..	152	92	1	1[a]	.....	..
2261		..	..	..	..	..		1912
..		177	..	..	..	..	(a Gen. xxx, 25.)	..
..		..						..
..		..	4	4	4	4		..
4		4	157	97	6[b]	6		4
2266		..	..	..	..	..		1907
..		182	..	..	..	..		..
..		..						..
..	.....	..	158	98		7	*Jacob's return*[b].....	..
2267		..	..	..		..		1906
..		183	..	..		..	(b Gen. xxxi, 41.)	..
..		..						..
..		..	9	9		9		..
9		9	168	108		17[c]		9
2277		..	..	..		..		1896
..		193	..	..		..		..
..		..	169	109		18		..
2278		..	..	..		..	(c Gen. xxxvii, 2.)	1895
..		194	..	..		..		..
..	.....	..	..	..		..	*Joseph sold*[c].....	..
..		..	10	10		10		..
10		10					(d Gen. xli, 1.)	10
2289		180[c]	120		29		*Butler and baker's dream*[d].....	1884
..		..	..		..			..
..		205	..		..			..
2290		..	..	121	30[e]		(e Gen. xxxv, 28.)	1883
..	.....	..	..	..	..		*Isaac died*[e].....	..
..		206	..	..	..			..
..	.....	..	..	122	31		*Joseph promoted*[f].....	..
2291		..	..	..	..	Harvests of plenty and dearth.	(f Gen. xli, 46.)	1882
..		207	..	..	..	1		..
..		..	..	..	..	..		..

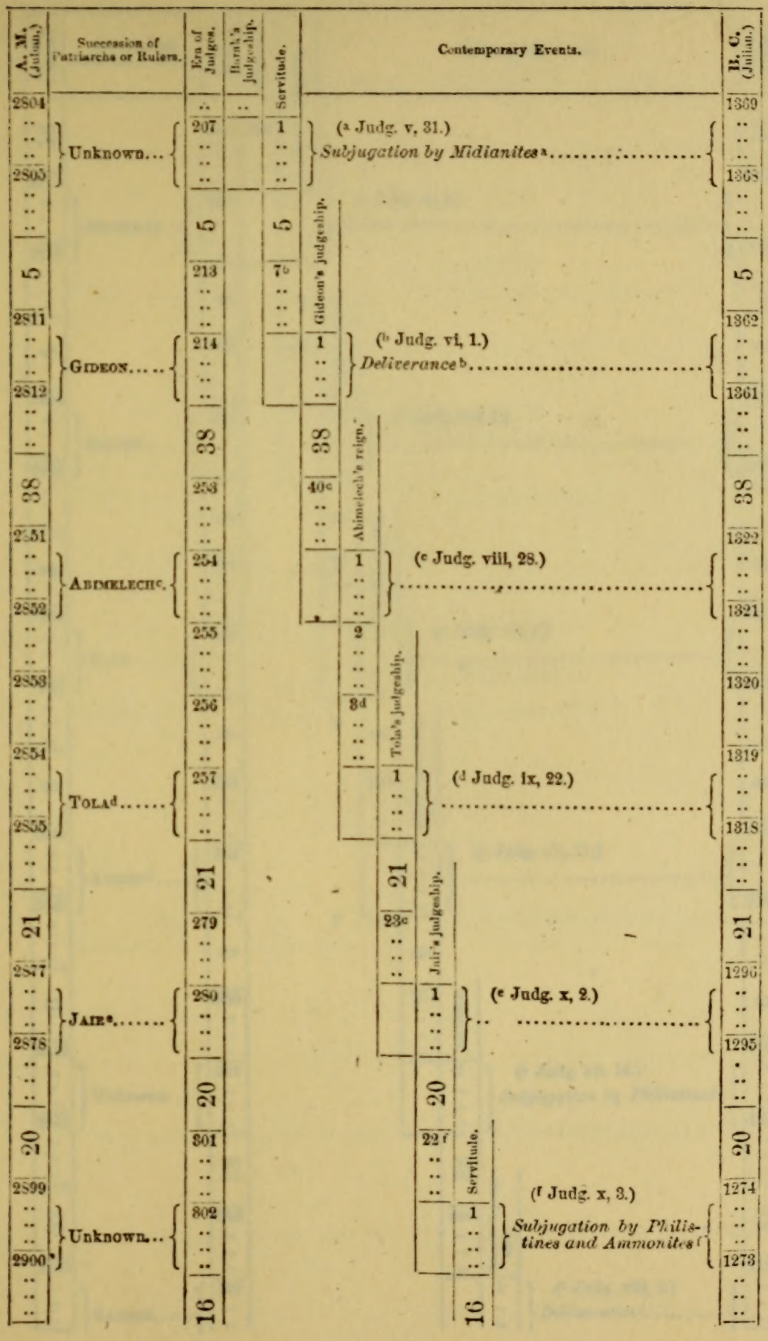
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Era of Sojourning.	Esau and Jacob's years.	Joseph's yrs.	Harvests.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
5		5	5	5	5		5
2297			123	37			1876
		213			7[a]		
2298			129	38			1875
		214			1[a]	([a] Gen. xli, 53, 54.)	
			130[b]	39		*First descent into Egypt*[a]	
2299		215			2[b]	([b] Gen. xlv, 11; xlvii, 9.)	1874
			131	40		*Removal to Egypt*[b]	
2300		216			8		1873
3		3	3	3	3		3
2304			135	44			1869
		220			7		
11		11	11	11			11
2316			147[c]	56			1857
		232					
2317				57		([c] Gen. xlvii, 28.)	1856
		233				*Jacob died*[c]	
52		52		52			52
2370		286		110[d]			1803
2371						([d] Gen. l, 26.)	1802
		287				*Joseph died*[d]	
63		63	Moses's years.				63
2435	Moses[e]		1				1738
		351				([e] Exod. vii, 7; Deut. xxxi, 2.)	
38		38	38				38
2474			40[f]			([f] Acts. vii, 23.)	1699
		390					

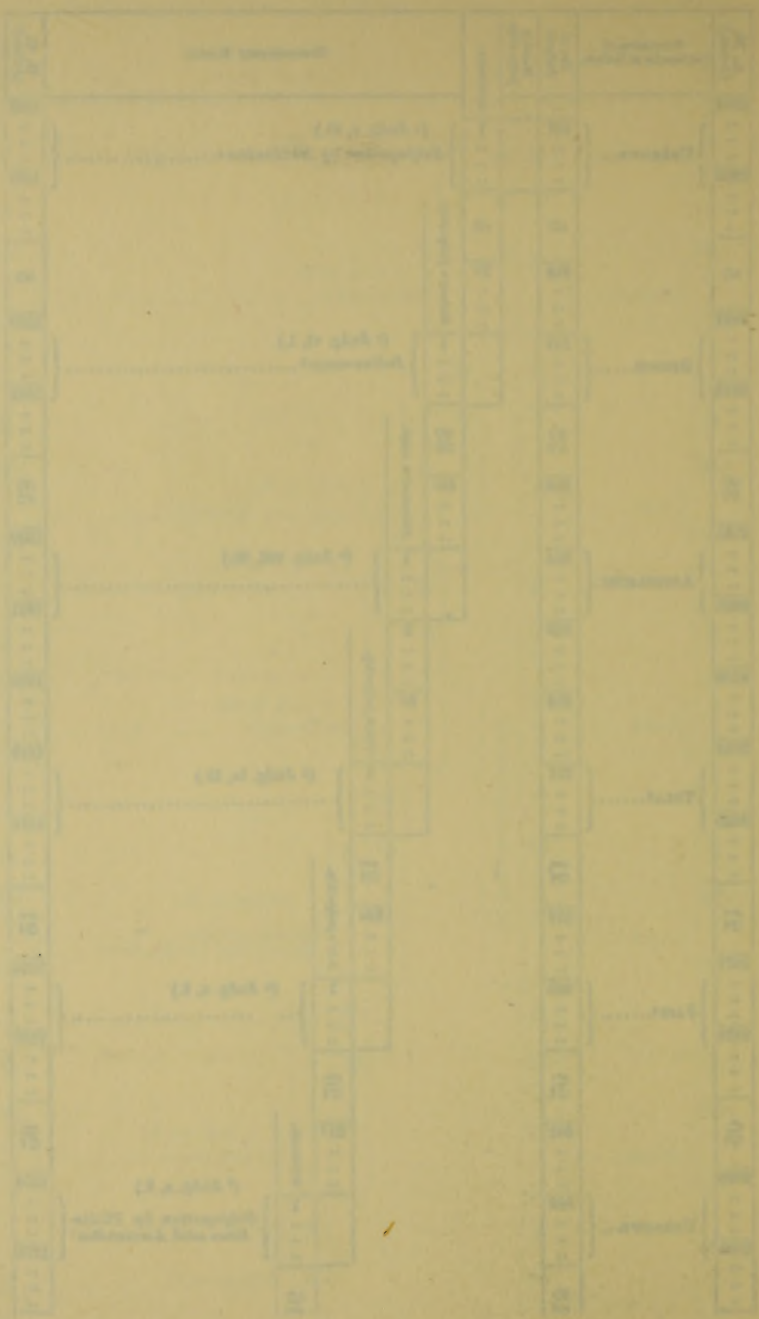
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Era of Sojourning.	Moses's yrs.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
2473	.....	..	41	*Moses's flight*[a]	1698
..		391	..	([a] Acts vii, 23.)	..
..		..	..		..
38		..	38		38
2514		38	80[b]	([b] Exod. vii, 7; Acts vii, 30.)	1659
..		430[c]	..		..
2515	.....	..	81	*Moses commissioned*[b]	1658
..	.....	..	..	EXODE[c]	..
..		..	..	([c] Exod. xii, 41.)	..
2516	.....	..	82	([d] Deut. ii, 14; Josh. xiv, 7.)	1657
..	.....	..	..	*Tabernacle set up*[e]	..
..		..	..	([e] Exod. xl, 17; Num. ix, 1.)	..
37		..	37		37
2554		..	120[h]	([f] Num. xx, 1.)	1619
..	.....	..	..	*Return to Kadesh*[f]	..
..	.....	..	..	*Aaron died*[g]	..
..		..	..	([g] Num. xxxiii, 38.)	..
2555	JOSHUA	..	..	*Moses died*[h]	1618
..	.....	..	..	*Eisode*[i]	..
..		..	..	([h] Deut. xxxiv, 7.)	..
..		..	..	([i] Deut. i, 3; xxxiv, 8; Josh. iv, 19.)	..
4		..	4		4
2560		..	6		1613
..		..	..		..
2561	.....	..	7	([k] Josh. xiv, 10.)	1612
..	.....	..	..	*Conquest completed*[k]	..
17		..	17		17
2579		..	25		1594
..		..	..	([l] Josephus, Antiq., V, i, 29.)	..
2580	} Anarchy ..... {	..	1	} *Joshua died*[l] ..... {	1593
..		..	..		..
16		..	16		16
2597		..	18[n]		1576
..		..	..	([n] Josephus, Antiq., VI, v, 4.)	..
2598	} *Chushan-Rishathaim* ..... {	..	1	} *Subjugation by Mesopotamians*[n] ..... {	1575
..		..	..		..

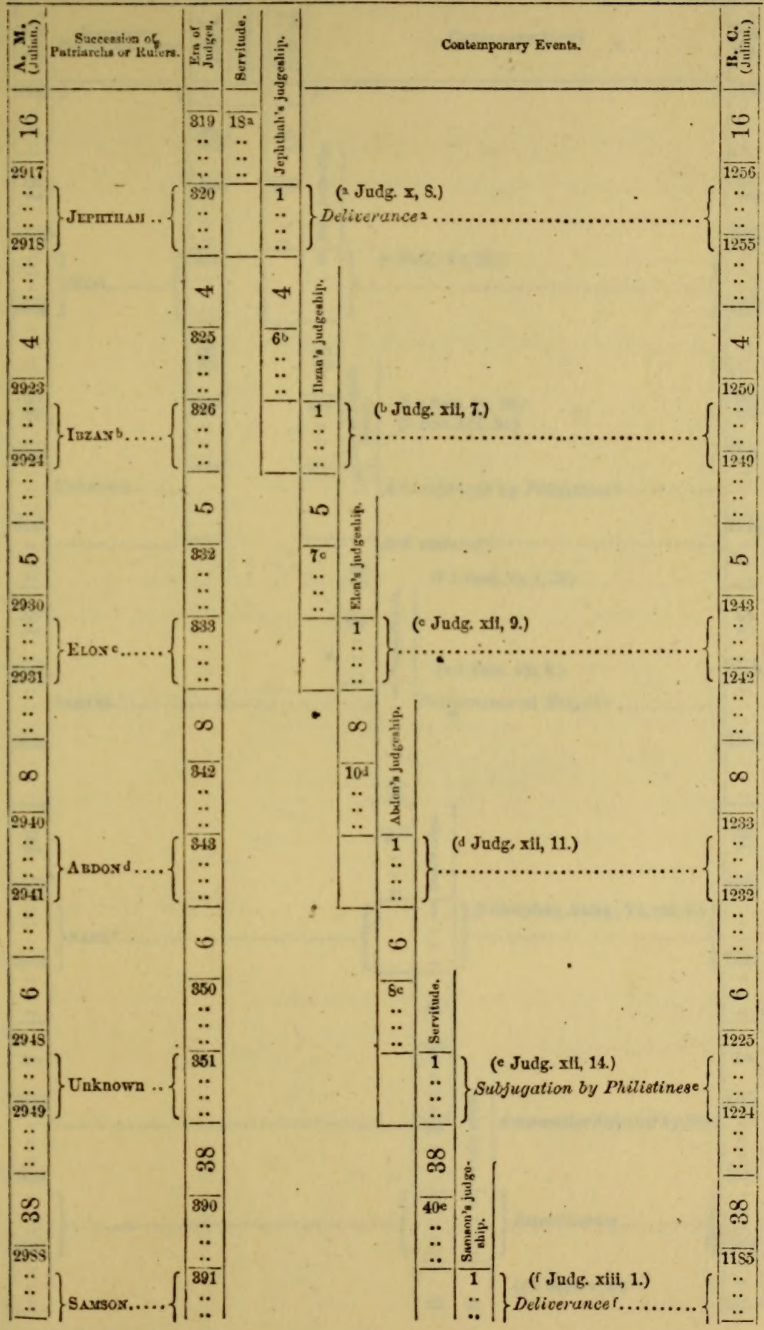
Joshua's rule. | Anarchy. | Era of Judges. | Servitude.

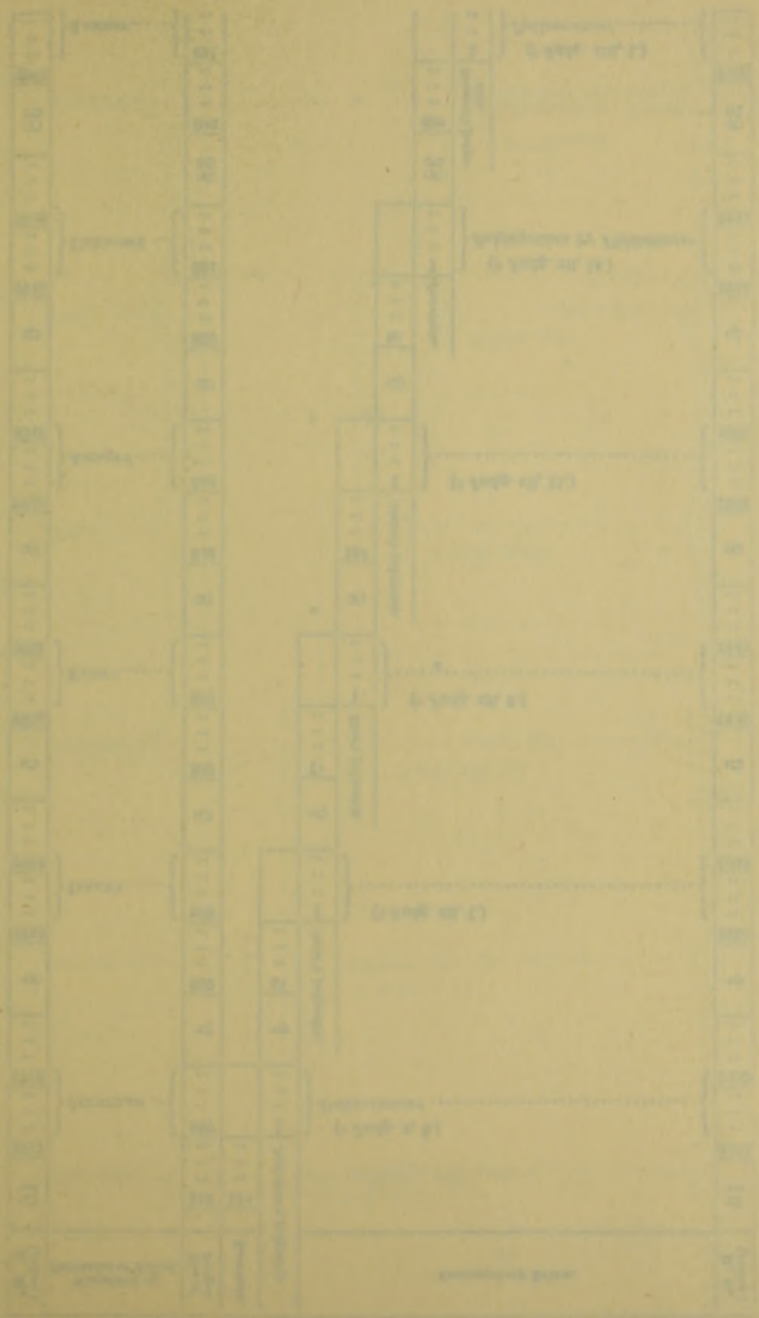

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Era of Judges.
Servitude.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
2599
6
2606
Othniel
2607
38
2646
Eglon
2647
16
2664
Ehud
2665
78
2744
Jabin
2745
18
2764
Barak
2765
38
6
8
9
38
48
49
16
66
67
78
146
147
18
166
167
38
206
6
8a
1
38
40b
1
16
18c
1
78
80d
1
18
20e
1
38
40f
Othniel's judgeship.
Servitude.
Ehud's judgeship.
Shamgar's nominal judgeship.
Servitude.
Barak's judgeship.
(a Judg. iii, 8.)
Deliverance a
(b Judg. iii, 11.)
Subjugation by Moabites b
(c Judg. iii, 14.)
Deliverance c
(d Judg. iii, 30.)
Shamgar judge.
Subjugation by Canaanites
(e Judg. iv, 3.)
Deliverance e
(f Judg. v, 31.)
1574
1567
1566
1527
1526
1509
1508
1429
1428
1409
1408

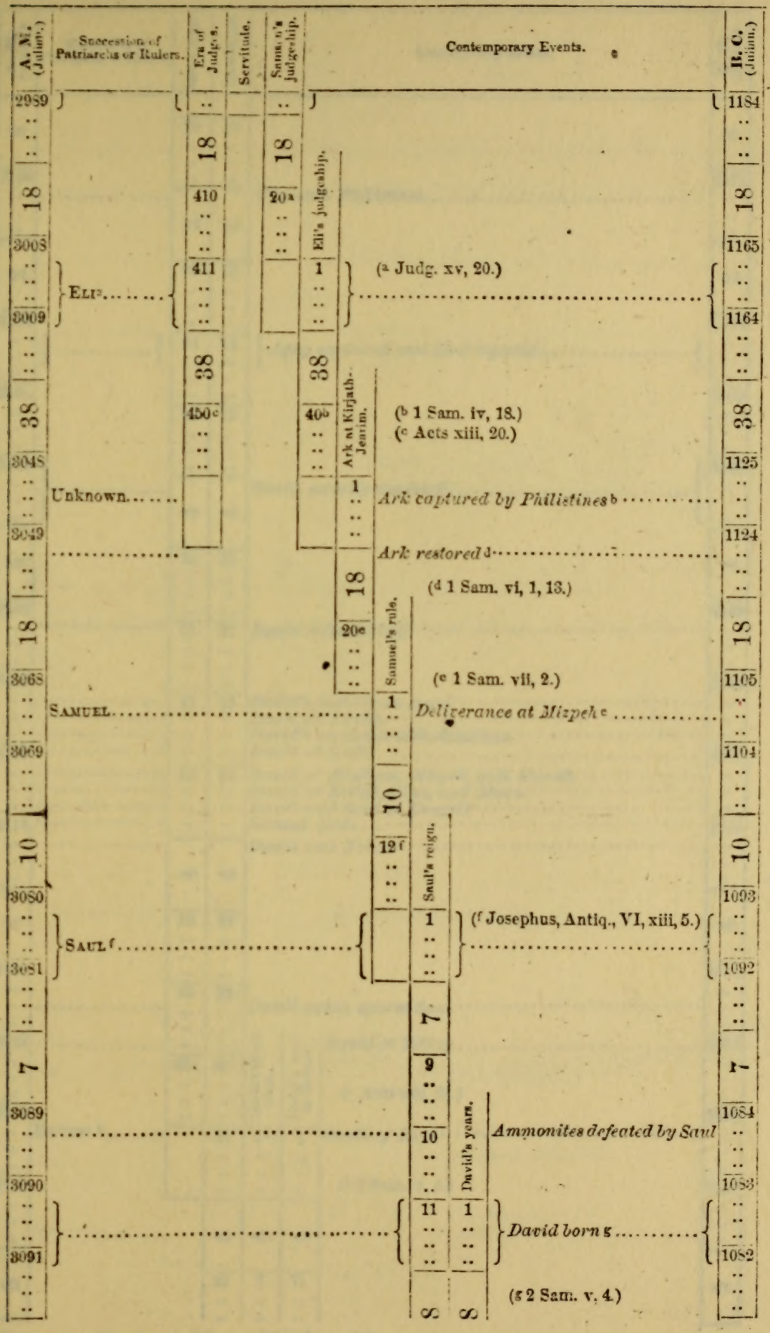


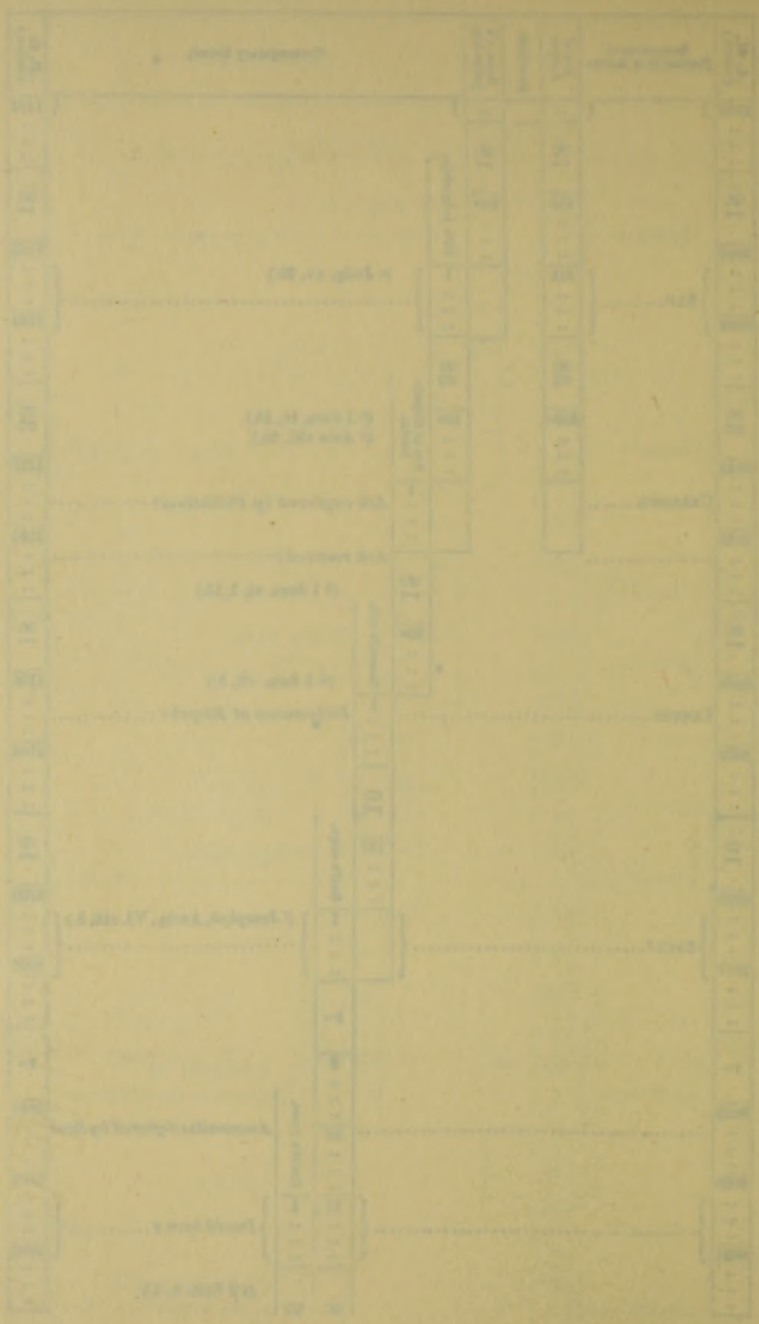

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Era of Judges.
Barak's judgeship.
Servitude.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
2804
2805
2811
2812
2851
2852
2853
2854
2855
2877
2878
2899
2900
1369
1368
1362
1361
1322
1321
1320
1319
1318
1296
1295
1274
1273
Unknown...
207
5
213
214
38
253
254
255
256
257
21
279
280
20
301
802
16
1
5
7c
1
38
40c
1
2
3d
1
21
23e
1
20
22f
1
16
(a Judg. v, 31.)
Subjugation by Midianites a
Gideon's judgeship.
Gideon....
(b Judg. vi, 1.)
Deliverance b
Abimelech's reign.
Abimelech.
(c Judg. viii, 28.)
Tola's judgeship.
Tola d
(d Judg. ix, 22.)
Jair's judgeship.
Jair e
(e Judg. x, 2.)
Servitude.
(f Judg. x, 3.)
Subjugation by Philistines and Ammonites f
Unknown...




A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Era of Judges.
Servitude.
Jephthah's judgeship.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
2917
2918
2923
2924
2930
2931
2940
2941
2948
2949
2988
Jephthah
Ibzan
Elon
Abdon
Unknown
Samson
319
320
325
326
332
333
342
343
350
351
390
391
18a
1
4
6b
1
5
7c
1
8
10d
1
6
8e
1
38
40e
1
Ibzan's judgeship.
Elon's judgeship.
Abdon's judgeship.
Servitude.
Samson's judgeship.
(a Judg. x, 8.)
Deliverance a
(b Judg. xii, 7.)
(c Judg. xii, 9.)
(d Judg. xii, 11.)
(e Judg. xii, 14.)
Subjugation by Philistines e
(f Judg. xiii, 1.)
Deliverance f
1256
1255
1250
1249
1243
1242
1233
1232
1225
1224
1185



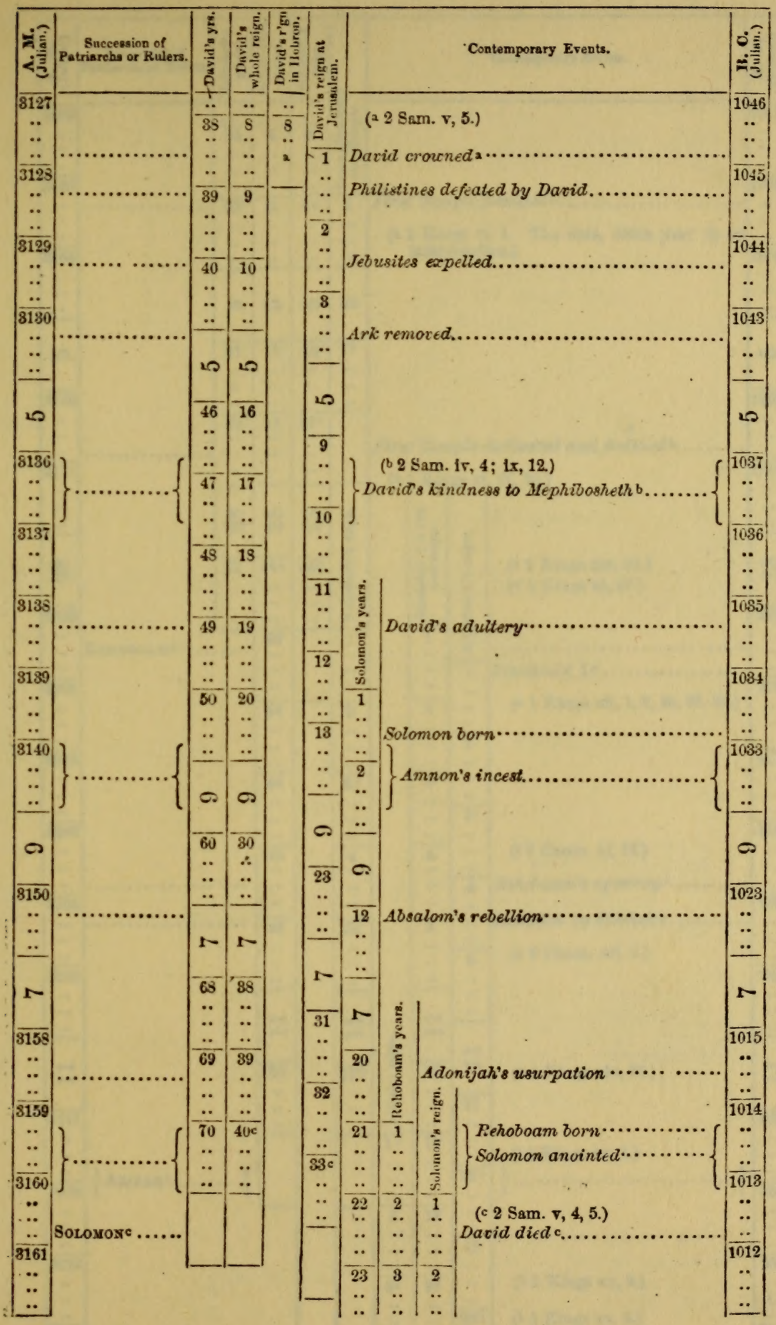

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Era of Judges.
Servitude.
Samuel's Judgeship.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
Eli's judgeship.
Ark at Kirjath-Jearim.
Samuel's rule.
Saul's reign.
David's years.
ELI
Unknown
SAMUEL
SAUL
(a Judg. xv, 20.)
(b 1 Sam. iv, 18.)
(c Acts xiii, 20.)
Ark captured by Philistines b
Ark restored d
(d 1 Sam. vi, 1, 13.)
(e 1 Sam. vii, 2.)
Deliverance at Mizpeh e
(f Josephus, Antiq., VI, xiii, 5.)
Ammonites defeated by Saul
David born g
(g 2 Sam. v, 4.)

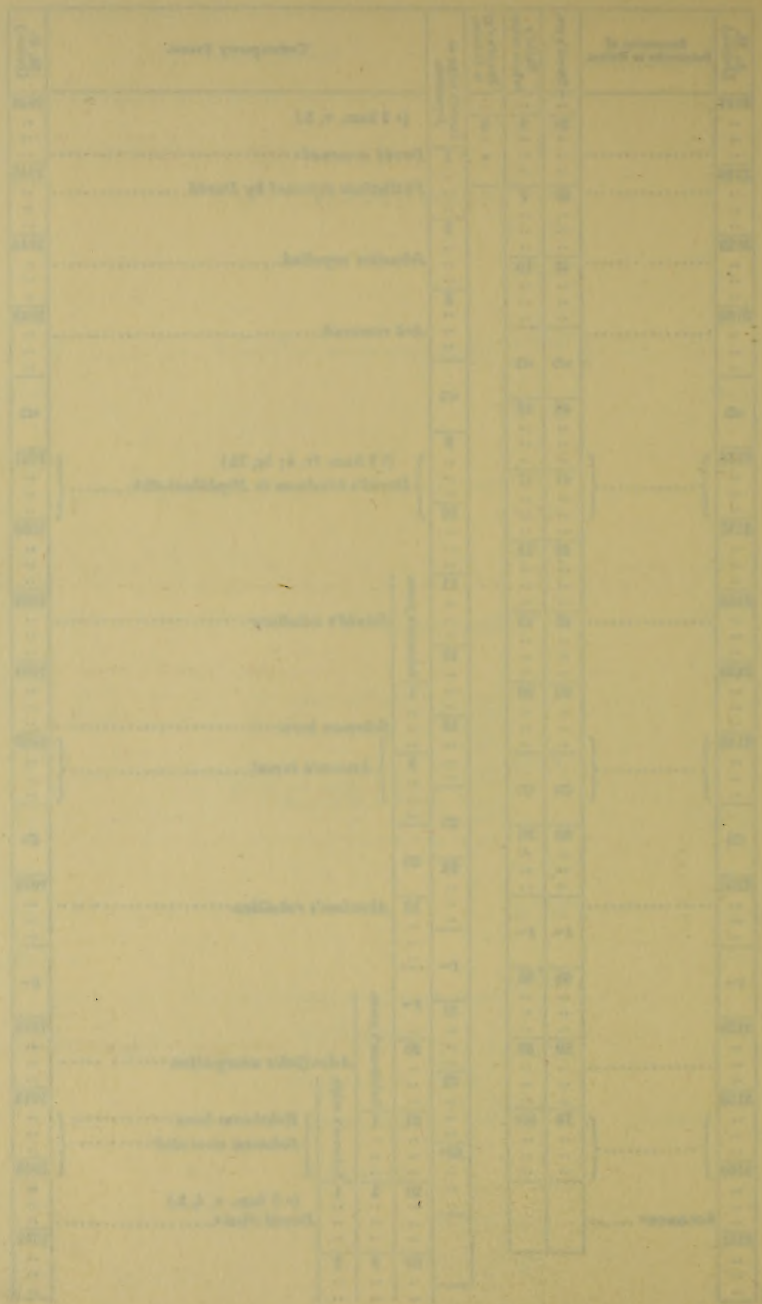


A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Saul's reign.	David's yrs.	David's whole reign.	David's reign in Hebron.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
3100		20	10			*War with Philistines*	1073
3103		23	13				1070
3104		24	14			*Agag captured and Saul rejected*	1069
3105		25	15				1068
3110		30	20			*David secretly anointed*	1063
3111		31	21			*David kills Goliath*	1062
3112		32	22			*David's flight from court*	1061
						David at Naioth	
						David's covenant with Jonathan	
						David at Gath	
3113		33	23			*David at Adullam, Mizpeh, and Haroth*	1060
						David at Keilah, Ziph, and Maon	
						David and Saul at En-gedi	
						Samuel died	
		4	4			*David and Nabal*	
3118		88	28				1055
3119		39	29			*David again spares Saul*	1054
3120		40[a]	30[b]			*David at Ziklag*	1053
3121	DAVID[a b]		31	1[b]	1	*Death of Saul*	1052
		5	5	5	5		
5			37	7	7[b]		5

([a] Acts xiii, 21.)

([b] 2 Sam. v, 4.)

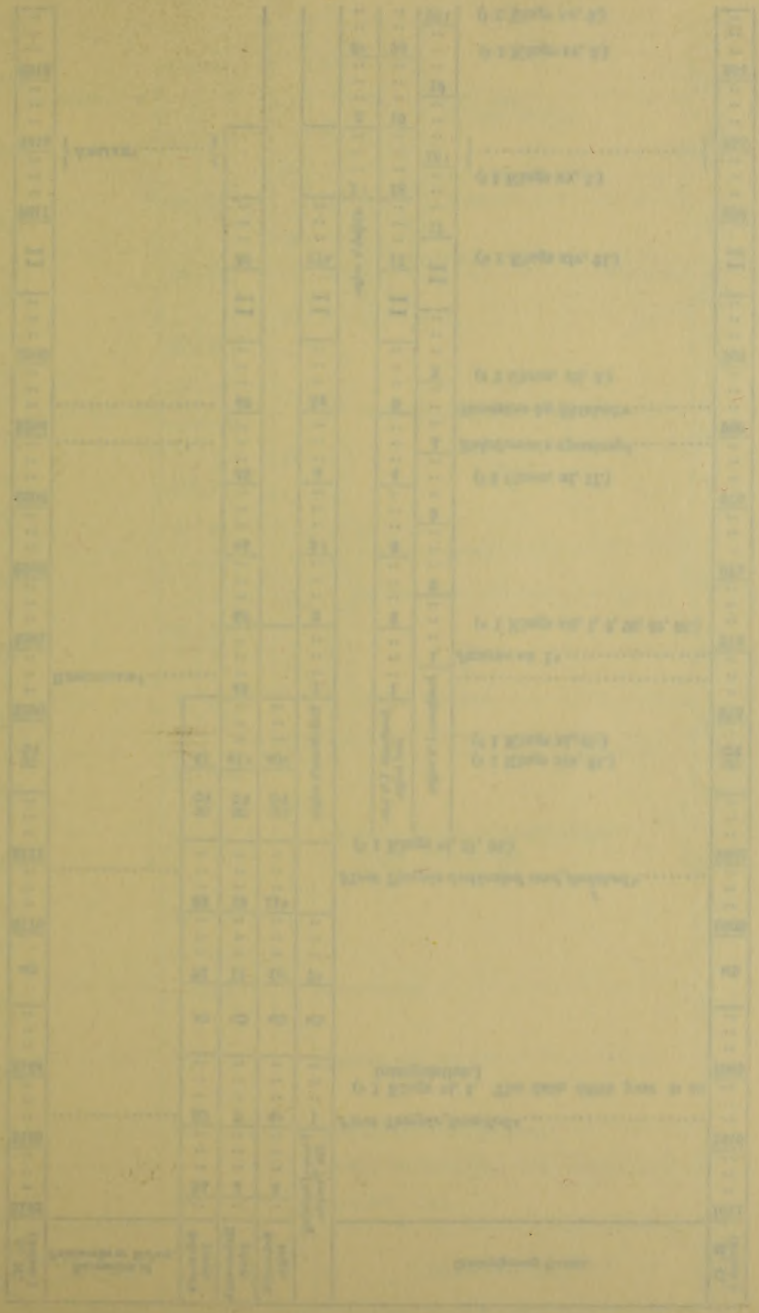

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
David's yrs.
David's whole reign.
David's r'gn in Hebron.
David's reign at Jerusalem.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
(a 2 Sam. v, 5.)
David crowned a
Philistines defeated by David
Jebusites expelled
Ark removed
(b 2 Sam. iv, 4; ix, 12.)
David's kindness to Mephibosheth b
David's adultery
Solomon born
Amnon's incest
Absalom's rebellion
Adonijah's usurpation
Rehoboam's years.
Solomon's reign.
Rehoboam born
Solomon anointed
(c 2 Sam. v, 4, 5.)
David died c
Solomon c

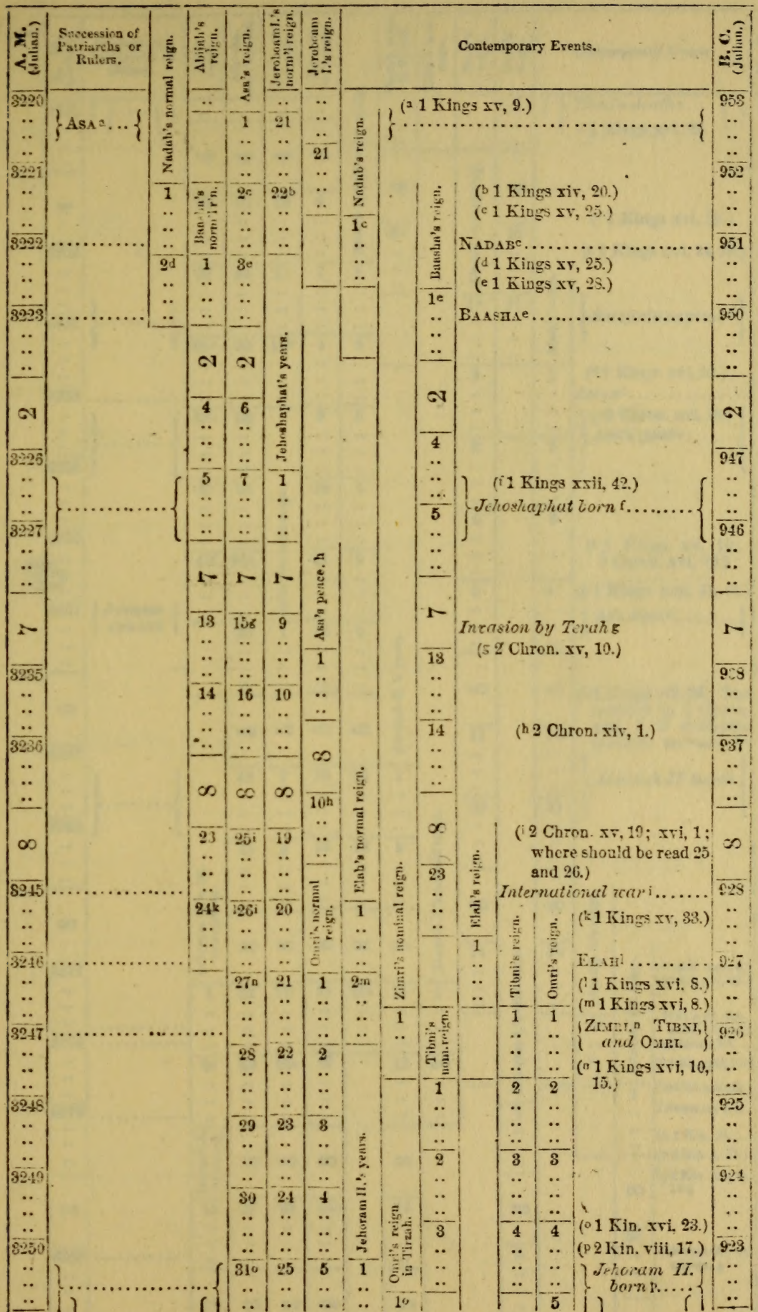


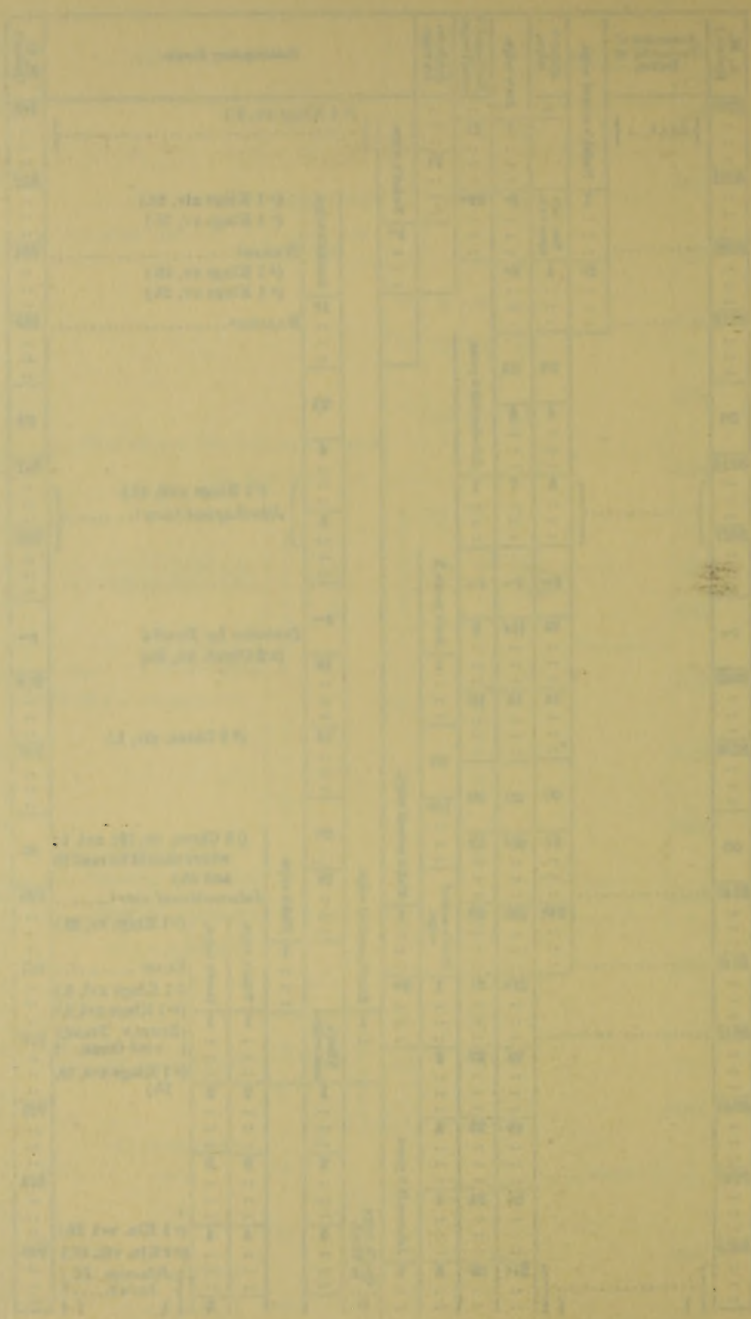
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Solomon's years.	Rehoboam's years.	Solomon's reign.	Years of building the Temple.	Contemporary Events.	Jeroboam I.'s normal reign.	Jeroboam I.'s reign.	B. C. (Julian.)
3162		..	..	..					1011
..		24	4	3					..
..		..	..	..					..
3163		..	..	..					1010
..	.....	25	5	4[a]	1	*First Temple founded*[a].....			..
..		..	..	..	..	(a 1 Kings vi, 1. The date, 480th year is an interpolation.)			..
3164		..	..	..	..				1009
..		5	5	5	5				..
5		31	11	10	7[b]				5
3170		..	..	..	..				1003
..		82	12	11[b]					..
..	.....	..	..	..		*First Temple dedicated and finished*[b].....			..
3171		..	..	..		(b 1 Kings vi, 37, 38.)			1002
..		28	28	28	Rehoboam's reign.		Jeroboam I.'s normal reign.	Jeroboam I.'s reign.	..
28		61	41[c]	40[d]		(c 1 Kings xiv, 21.)			28
3200			..	..		(d 1 Kings xi, 42.)			973
..	Rehoboam[d].....		42		1	.....	1	1	..
..			..		..	Jeroboam I[e].....	..	..	..
3201			43		2		2	..	972
..			..		..	(e 1 Kings xii, 1, 2, 20, 32, 33.)	..	2	..
3202			44		3[f]		3	..	971
..			..		..		..	3	..
3203			45		4		4	..	970
..			..		..	(f 2 Chron. xi, 17.)	..	..	..
..	.....		..		..	*Rehoboam's apostasy*[f].....	..	4	..
3204			46		5[g]		5	..	969
..	.....		..		..	*Invasion by Shishak*[g].....	..	..	..
..			..		..	(g 2 Chron. xii, 2.)	..	5	..
3205			..		..		..	..	968
..			11		11		11	..	..
11			58		17[h]		17	11	11
3217			..		..		..	17	956
..			..		..		..	..	..
..	Abijah[i].....				1[i]		18	..	..
3218					..		..	18[i]	955
..					2		19	..	..
..					..		..	..	..
3219					..		..	19	954
..					3[k]		20	..	..
..					..		..	..	..
..					..		20[l]	..	..

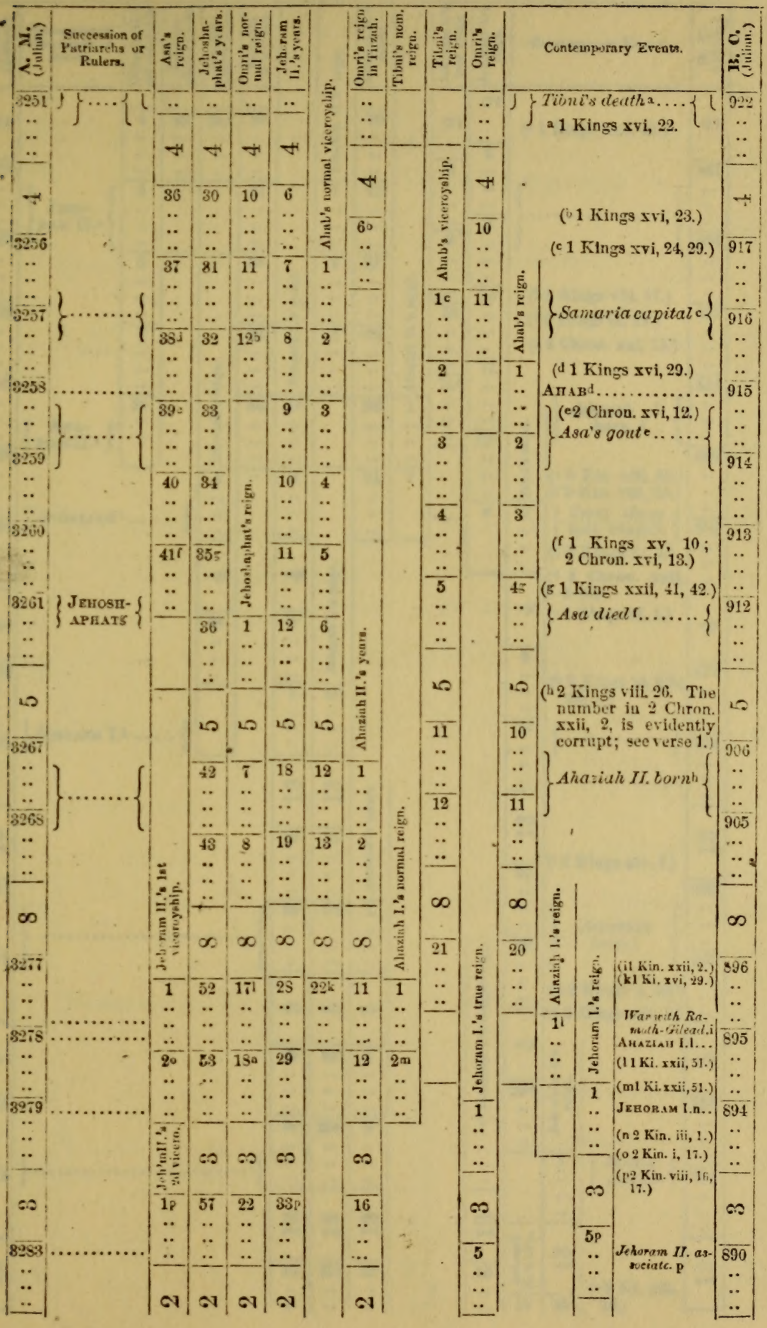
(k 1 Kings xv, 2.)

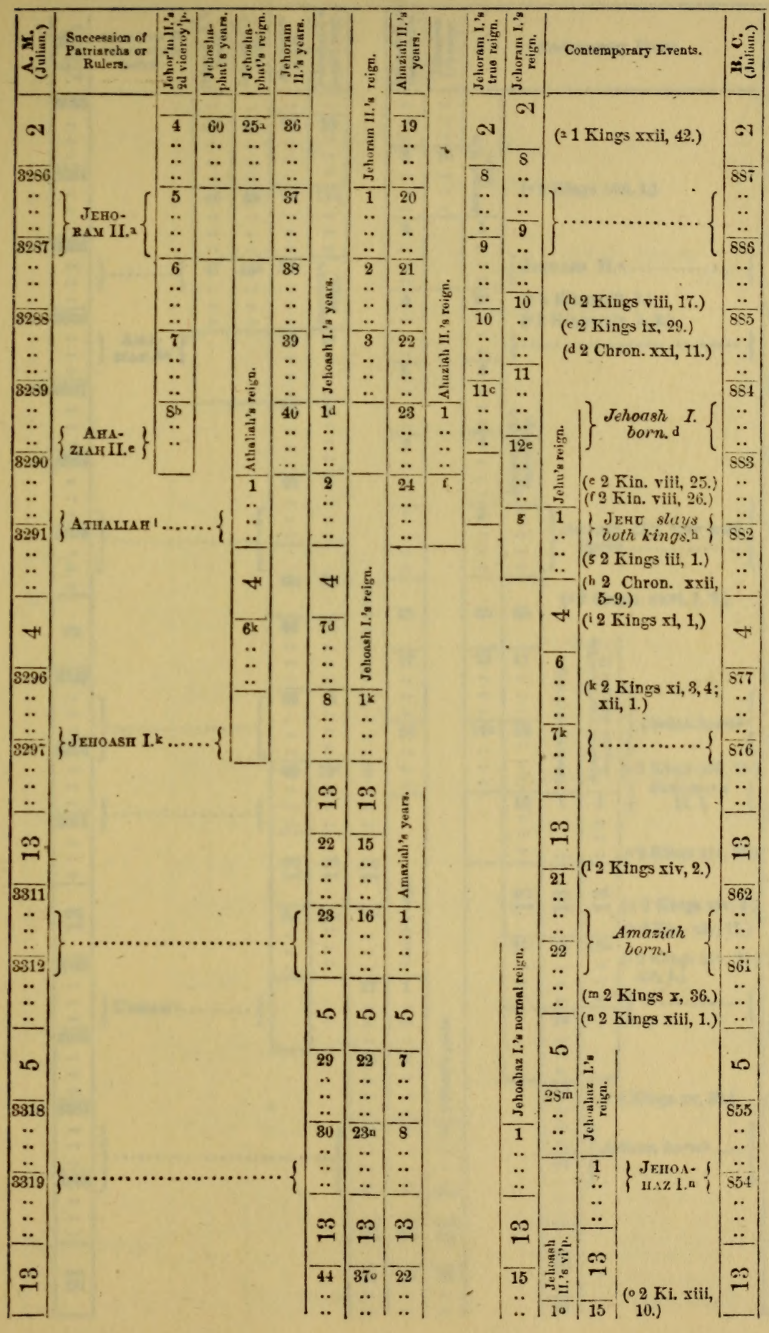
(l 1 Kings xv, 9.)

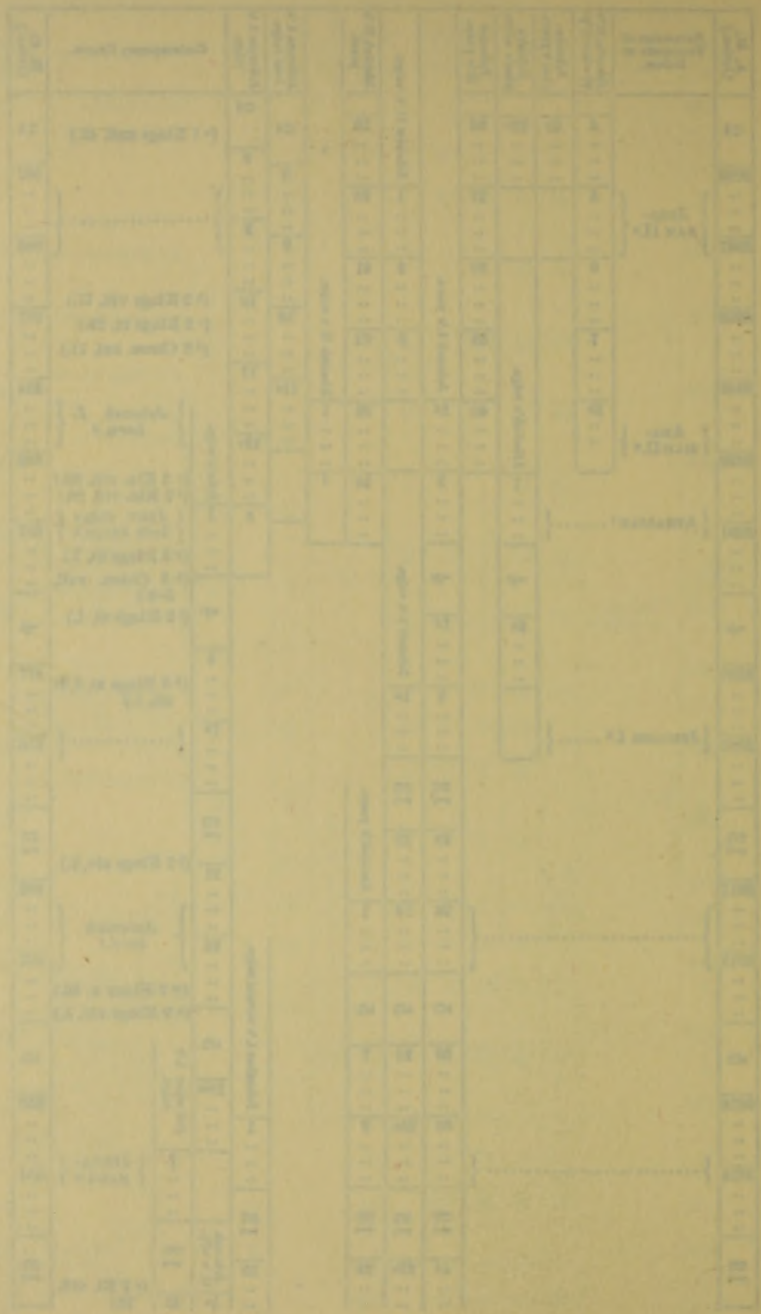


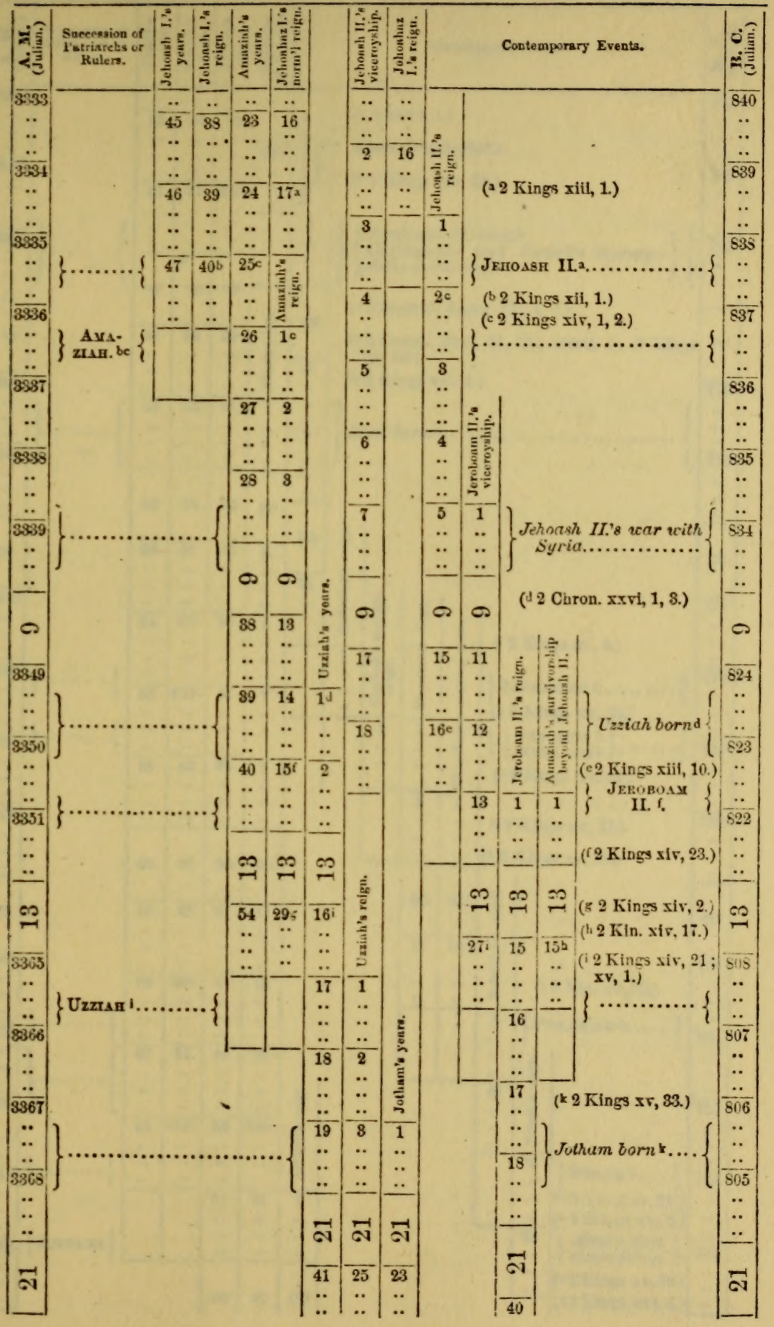

A.M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Nadab's normal reign.
Abijah's reign.
Asa's reign.
Jeroboam's normal reign.
Jeroboam I.'s reign.
Contemporary Events.
B.C. (Julian.)
Asa
Nadab's reign.
Baasha's normal r'n.
Jehoshaphat's years.
Asa's peace.
Elah's normal reign.
Omri's normal reign.
Zimri's nominal reign.
Tibni's nominal reign.
Jehoram II.'s years.
Omri's reign in Tirzah.
Baasha's reign.
Elah's reign.
Tibni's reign.
Omri's reign.
(a 1 Kings xv, 9.)
(b 1 Kings xiv, 20.)
(c 1 Kings xv, 25.)
Nadab
(d 1 Kings xv, 25.)
(e 1 Kings xv, 28.)
Baasha
(f 1 Kings xxii, 42.)
Jehoshaphat born
Invasion by Terah
(g 2 Chron. xv, 10.)
(h 2 Chron. xiv, 1.)
(i 2 Chron. xv, 19; xvi, 1; where should be read 25 and 26.)
International war
(k 1 Kings xv, 33.)
Elah
(l 1 Kings xvi, 8.)
(m 1 Kings xvi, 8.)
Zimri and Omri
(n 1 Kings xvi, 10, 15.)
(o 1 Kin. xvi, 23.)
(p 2 Kin. viii, 17.)
Jehoram II. born

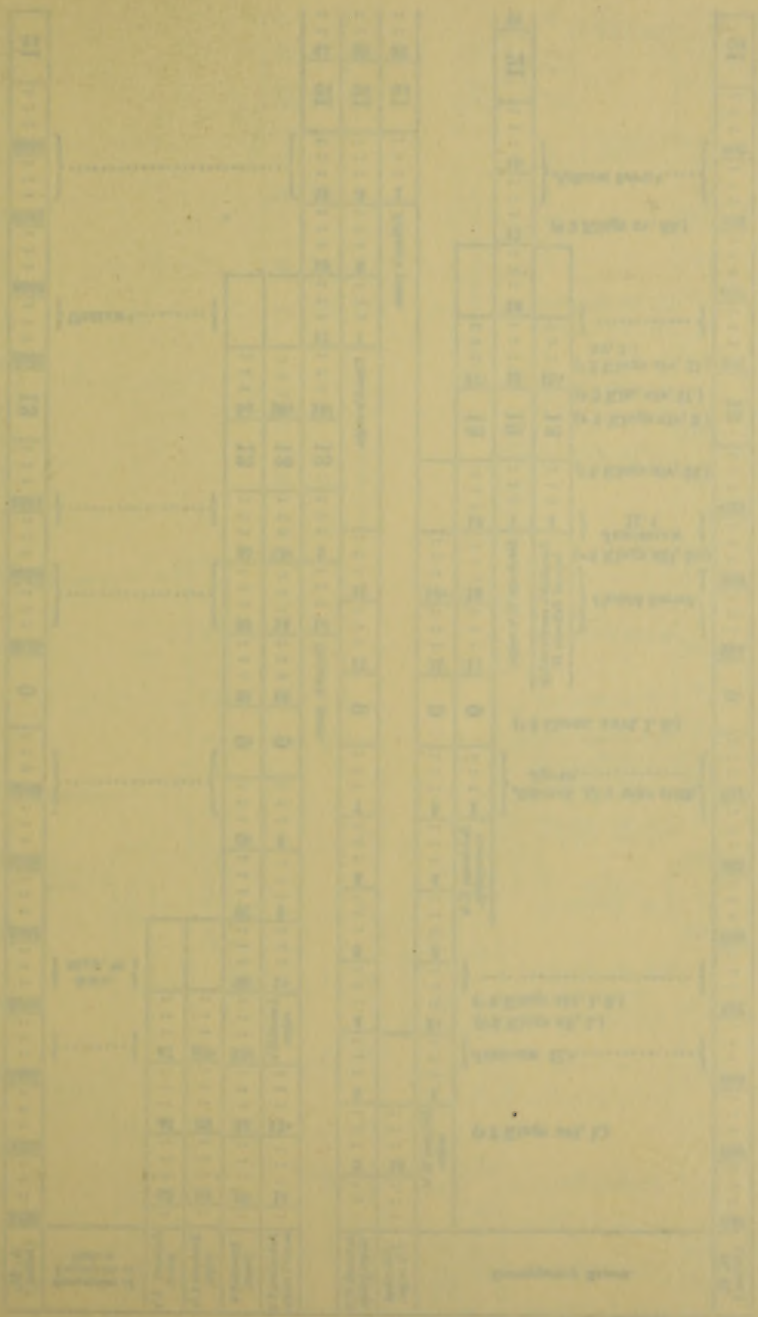


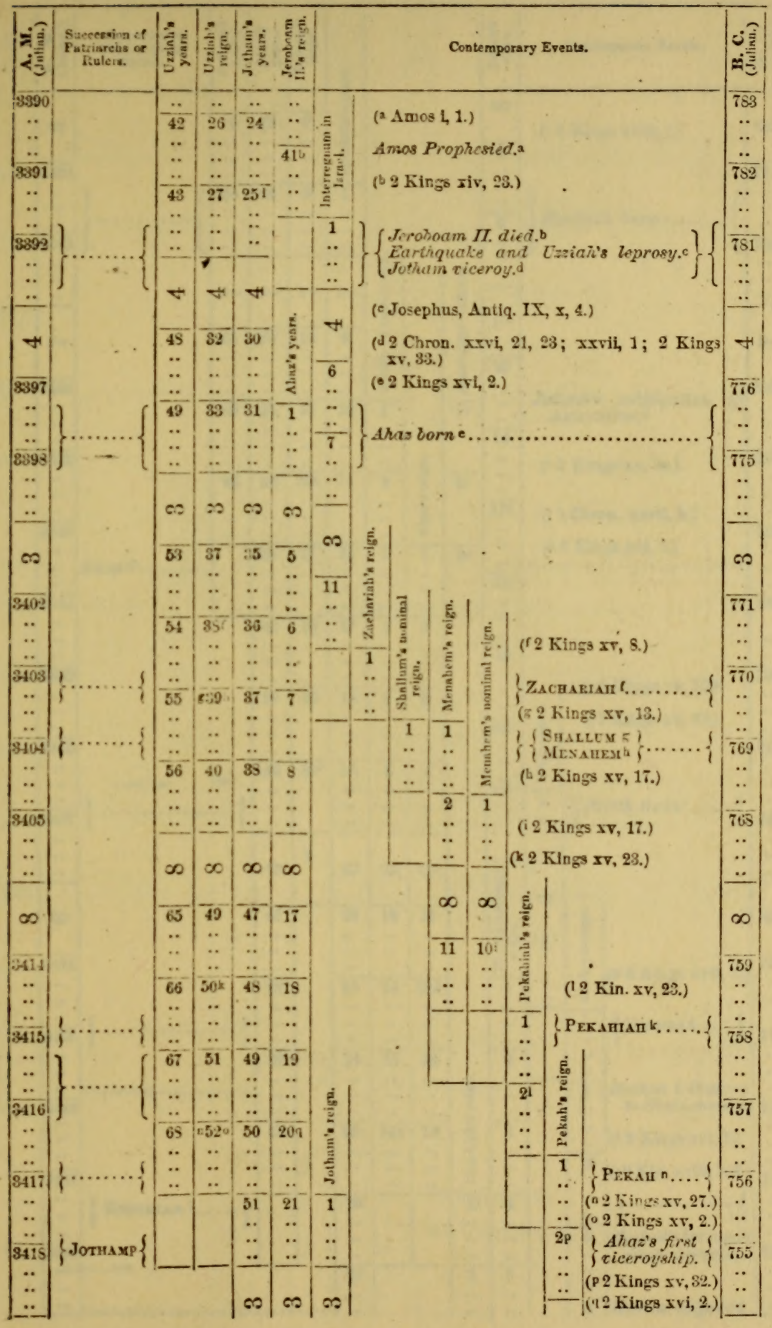

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Asa's reign.
Jehoshaphat's years.
Omri's normal reign.
Jehoram II.'s years.
Ahab's normal viceroyship.
Omri's reign in Tirzah.
Tibni's nom. reign.
Tibni's reign.
Omri's reign.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
Tibni's death[a]
[a] 1 Kings xvi, 22.
[b] 1 Kings xvi, 23.)
[c] 1 Kings xvi, 24, 29.)
Ahab's viceroyship.
Ahab's reign.
Samaria capital[c]
[d] 1 Kings xvi, 29.)
AHAB[d]
[e2] Chron. xvi, 12.)
Asa's gout[e]
[f] 1 Kings xv, 10; 2 Chron. xvi, 13.)
[g] 1 Kings xxii, 41, 42.)
Asa died[f]
[h] 2 Kings viii, 26. The number in 2 Chron. xxii, 2, is evidently corrupt; see verse 1.)
Ahaziah II. born[h]
JEHOSHAPHAT
Jehoshaphat's reign.
Jehoram II.'s 1st viceroyship.
Ahaziah II.'s years.
Ahaziah I.'s normal reign.
Jehoram I.'s true reign.
Ahaziah I.'s reign.
Jehoram I.'s reign.
(i1 Kin. xxii, 2.)
(k1 Ki. xvi, 29.)
War with Ramath-Gilead.[i]
AHAZIAH I.[i]
(l1 Ki. xxii, 51.)
(m1 Ki. xxii, 51.)
JEHORAM I.[n]
(n2 Kin. iii, 1.)
(o2 Kin. i, 17.)
(p2 Kin. viii, 16, 17.)
Jehoram II. associate.[p]
Jehoram II.'s 2d viceroy.


A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Jehoram II.'s (at viceroy)'s.
Jehoshaphat's years.
Jehoshaphat's reign.
Jehoram II.'s years.
Jehoash I.'s years.
Jehoram II.'s reign.
Ahaziah II.'s years.
Ahaziah II.'s reign.
Jehoram I.'s true reign.
Jehoram I.'s reign.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
Jehoram II.a
Ahaziah II.e
Athaliah I.
Jehoash I.k
Athaliah's reign.
Jehoash I.'s reign.
Amaziah's years.
Jehoahaz I.'s normal reign.
Jehoahaz I.'s reign.
Jehoash II.'s reign.
Jehu's reign.
Jehoash I. born.d
Jehu slays both kings.h
Amaziah born.l
Jehoahaz I.n
(a 1 Kings xxii, 42.)
(b 2 Kings viii, 17.)
(c 2 Kings ix, 29.)
(d 2 Chron. xxi, 11.)
(e 2 Kin. viii, 25.)
(f 2 Kin. viii, 26.)
(g 2 Kings iii, 1.)
(h 2 Chron. xxii, 5–9.)
(i 2 Kings xi, 1,)
(k 2 Kings xi, 3, 4; xii, 1.)
(l 2 Kings xiv, 2.)
(m 2 Kings x, 36.)
(n 2 Kings xiii, 1.)
(o 2 Ki. xiii, 10.)




A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Jehoash I.'s years.
Jehoash I.'s reign.
Amaziah's years.
Jehoahaz I.'s (nom'l) reign.
Amaziah's reign.
Uzziah's years.
Jehoash II.'s viceroyship.
Uzziah's reign.
Jotham's years.
Jehoahaz I.'s reign.
Jehoash II.'s reign.
Jeroboam II.'s viceroyship.
Jeroboam II.'s reign.
Amaziah's survivorship beyond Jehoash II.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
AMAZIAH. bc
UZZIAH i
JEHOASH II.a
(a 2 Kings xiii, 1.)
(b 2 Kings xii, 1.)
(c 2 Kings xiv, 1, 2.)
Jehoash II.'s war with Syria
(d 2 Chron. xxvi, 1, 3.)
Uzziah born d
(e 2 Kings xiii, 10.)
JEROBOAM II. f
(f 2 Kings xiv, 23.)
(g 2 Kings xiv, 2.)
(h 2 Kin. xiv, 17.)
(i 2 Kings xiv, 21; xv, 1.)
(k 2 Kings xv, 33.)
Jotham born k

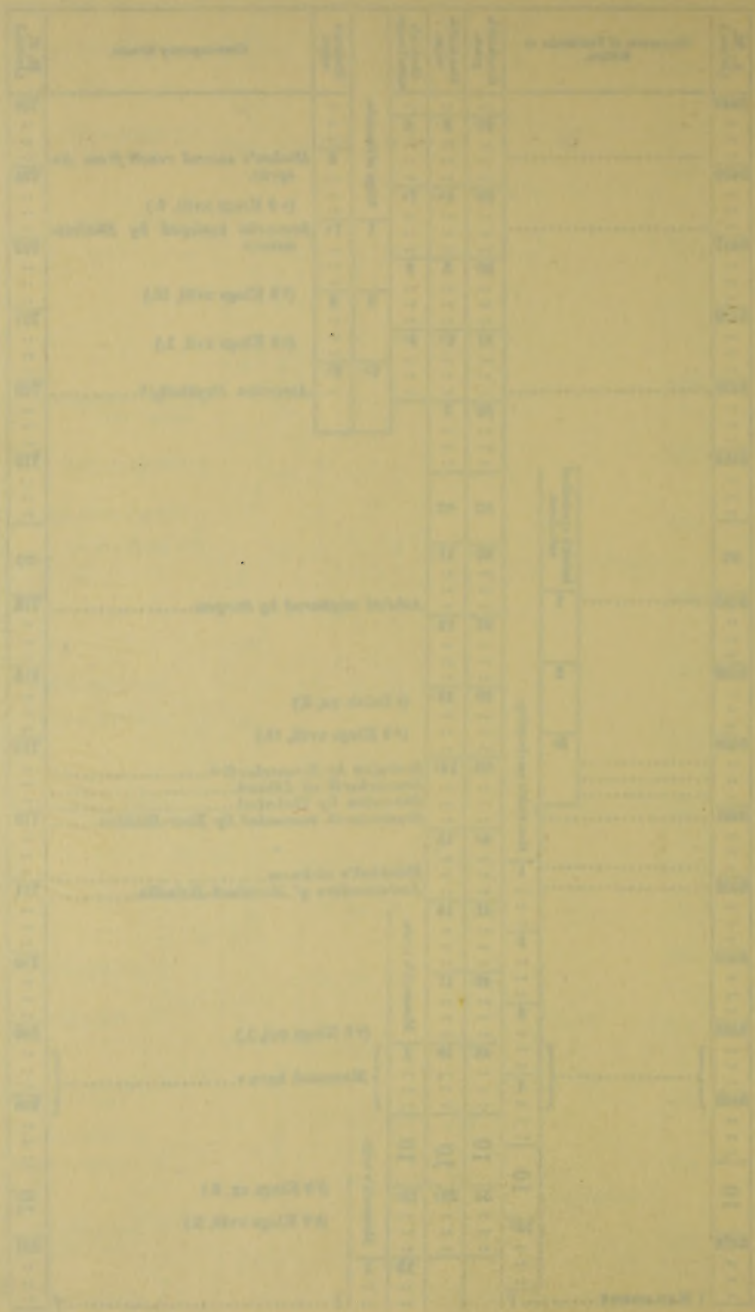


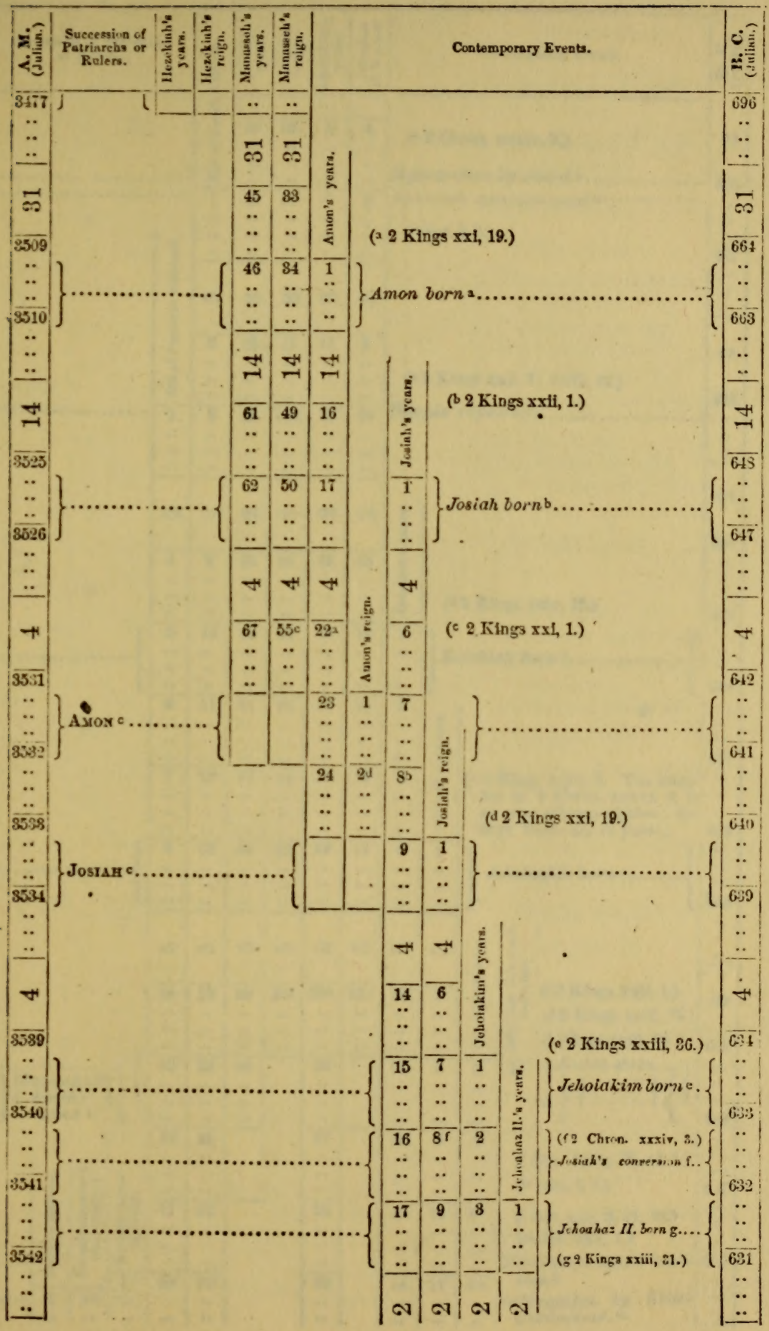

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Uzziah's years.
Uzziah's reign.
Jotham's years.
Jeroboam II.'s reign.
Interregnum in Israel.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
(a Amos i, 1.)
Amos Prophesied.a
(b 2 Kings xiv, 23.)
Jeroboam II. died.b
Earthquake and Uzziah's leprosy.c
Jotham viceroy.d
(c Josephus, Antiq. IX, x, 4.)
(d 2 Chron. xxvi, 21, 23; xxvii, 1; 2 Kings xv, 33.)
Ahaz's years.
(e 2 Kings xvi, 2.)
Ahaz born e
Zachariah's reign.
Shallum's nominal reign.
Menahem's reign.
Menahem's nominal reign.
Pekahiah's reign.
Pekah's reign.
Jotham's reign.
(f 2 Kings xv, 8.)
Zachariah f
(g 2 Kings xv, 13.)
Shallum g
Menahem h
(h 2 Kings xv, 17.)
(i 2 Kings xv, 17.)
(k 2 Kings xv, 23.)
(l 2 Kin. xv, 23.)
Pekahiah k
Pekah n
(n 2 Kings xv, 27.)
(o 2 Kings xv, 2.)
Ahaz's first viceroyship.
(p 2 Kings xv, 32.)
(q 2 Kings xvi, 2.)
Jotham p

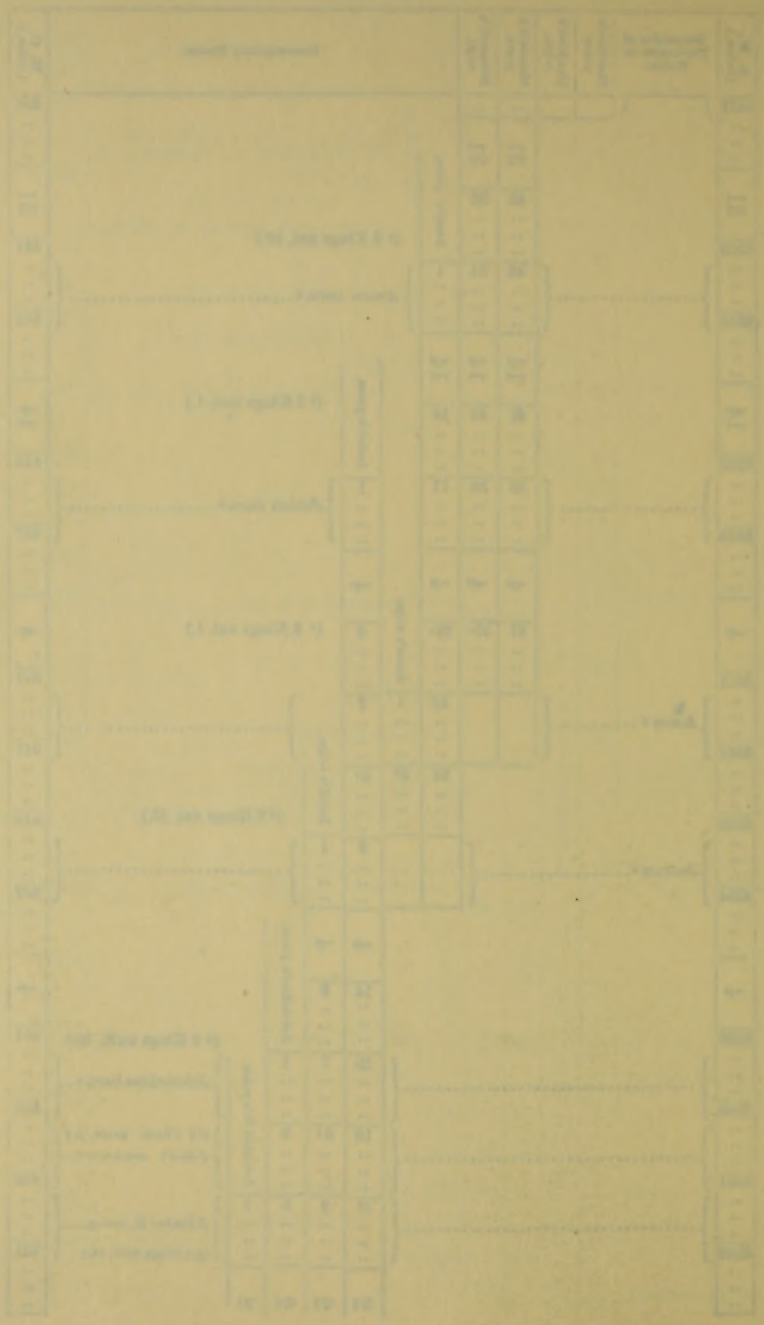
A. M. (Jollan.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Jotham's years.	Ahaz's years.	Jotham's reign.	Hezekiah's years.	Ahaz's 2d viceroyship.	Ahaz's reign.	Ammonites' tribute.	Pekah's reign.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
3		55	25	5					3	(a 2 Kings xviii, 2.)	3
3422		56	26	6	1				6		751
3423									7	*Hezekiah born* a	750
7		7	7	7	7				7		7
3431		64	34	14	9				15		742
3432		65	35	15	10	1		1c	16	*Jotham's subjugation of Ammonites.*c	741
3433		66	36	16b	11	2		2c	17d	(b 2 Kings xv, 33.) (c 2 Chron. xxvii, 5.)	740
3434	Ahaz d		37	17	12	3	1.	3c	18	(d 2 Kings xvi, 1.)	739
3435			38	18	13	4	2		19		738
3436			39	19	14	5	3		20e	(e 2 Kings xv, 27.) (f 2 Kings xv, 30.)	737
3437			40	20f	15	6	4			Interregnum. 1 *Pekah slain* f	736
6			6		6	6	6			Hoshea's normal reign. 6	
3444			47		22	13	11			Hoshea's reign. 8	729
3445			48		23	14	12g		1	(g 2 Kings xvii, 1.) 1 Hoshea g	728
3446			49		24	15	13		2	2 *Hoshea tributary to Shalmaneser.*	727
3447	Hezekiah i		50		25h	16a	14		3	(h 2 Kings xvi, 2.) 3i (i 2 Kin. xviii, 1, 2.)	726
3448					26				1i 4	4 *Hoshea's 1st revolt from Assyria.*	725
					27				2 5	5 *Hoshea impris'd.*	

A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Isaiah's symbolical nakedness.	Hezekiah's sunworship.	Hezekiah's years.	Hezekiah's reign.	Hoshea's normal reign.	Siege of Samaria.	Hoshea's reign.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
3449				..	..	..		..		724
..				28	3	6		..		..
..				..	..	..		..		..
..				..	..	..		6	*Hoshea's second revolt from Assyria.*	..
3450				..	..	..		..		723
..				29	4[a]	7[a]		..	(a 2 Kings xviii, 9.)	..
..				..	..	..	1	7[a]	*Samaria besieged by Shalmaneser.*[a]	..
3451				..	..	..		..		722
..				30	5	8		..		..
..				..	..	..		..	(b 2 Kings xviii, 10.)	..
3452				..	..	..	2	8		721
..				31	6[b]	9[c]		..	(c 2 Kings xvii, 1.)	..
..				..	..	..		..		..
3453				..	..	..	3[b]	9[b]	*Assyrian Captivity*[b]	720
..				32	7			..		..
..				..	..					..
..				..	..					..
3454				..	..					719
..				..	..					..
..				..	..					..
∞				∞	∞					∞
..				36	11					..
..				..	..					..
..				..	..					..
3458		1		..	..				*Ashdod captured by Sargon*	715
..				37	12					..
..				..	..					..
..				..	..					..
3459		2		..	..					714
..				38	13				(c Isaiah xx, 3.)	..
..				..	..					..
..				..	..				(d 2 Kings xviii, 13.)	..
3460		3[c]		..	..					713
..				39	14[d]				*Invasion by Sennacherib*[d]	..
..				..	..				*Sennacherib at Libnah*	..
..				..	..				*Diversion by Tirhakah*	..
3461				..	..				*Sennacherib succeeded by Esar-Haddon*	712
..				40	15					..
..				..	..					..
..			1	..	..				*Hezekiah's sickness*	..
3462			..	..	..				*Ambassadors of Merodach-Baladin*	711
..			..	41	16					..
..			2	..	..					..
3463			..	..	..					710
..			..	42	17					..
..			..	..	..					..
3464			3	..	..				(e 2 Kings xxi, 1.)	709
..			..	43	18	1			*Manasseh born*[e]	..
..			..	..	..	..				..
3465			4	..	..	..				708
..			..	..	..	..				..
..			..	..	..	..				..
10			10	54	29[f]	12[e]			(f 2 Kings xx, 6.)	10
..			15[f]	..	..	..			(g 2 Kings xviii, 2.)	..
3476			..	..	..	..				697
..			..			13		1		..
..	MANASSEH[g]		..			..		..		..

Manasseh's years. Manasseh's reign.




A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Hezekiah's years.
Hezekiah's reign.
Manasseh's years.
Manasseh's reign.
Amon's years.
Amon's reign.
Josiah's years.
Josiah's reign.
Jehoiakim's years.
Jehoahaz II.'s years.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
3477
31
3509
3510
14
3525
3526
4
3531
3532
3538
3534
4
3539
3540
3541
3542
696
664
663
648
647
642
641
640
639
634
633
632
631
45
46
61
62
67
24
14
15
16
17
(a 2 Kings xxi, 19.)
Amon born a
(b 2 Kings xxii, 1.)
Josiah born b
(c 2 Kings xxi, 1.)
Amon c
(d 2 Kings xxi, 19.)
Josiah c
(e 2 Kings xxiii, 36.)
Jehoiakim born e
(f 2 Chron. xxxiv, 3.)
Josiah's conversion f
Jehoahaz II. born g
(g 2 Kings xxiii, 31.)

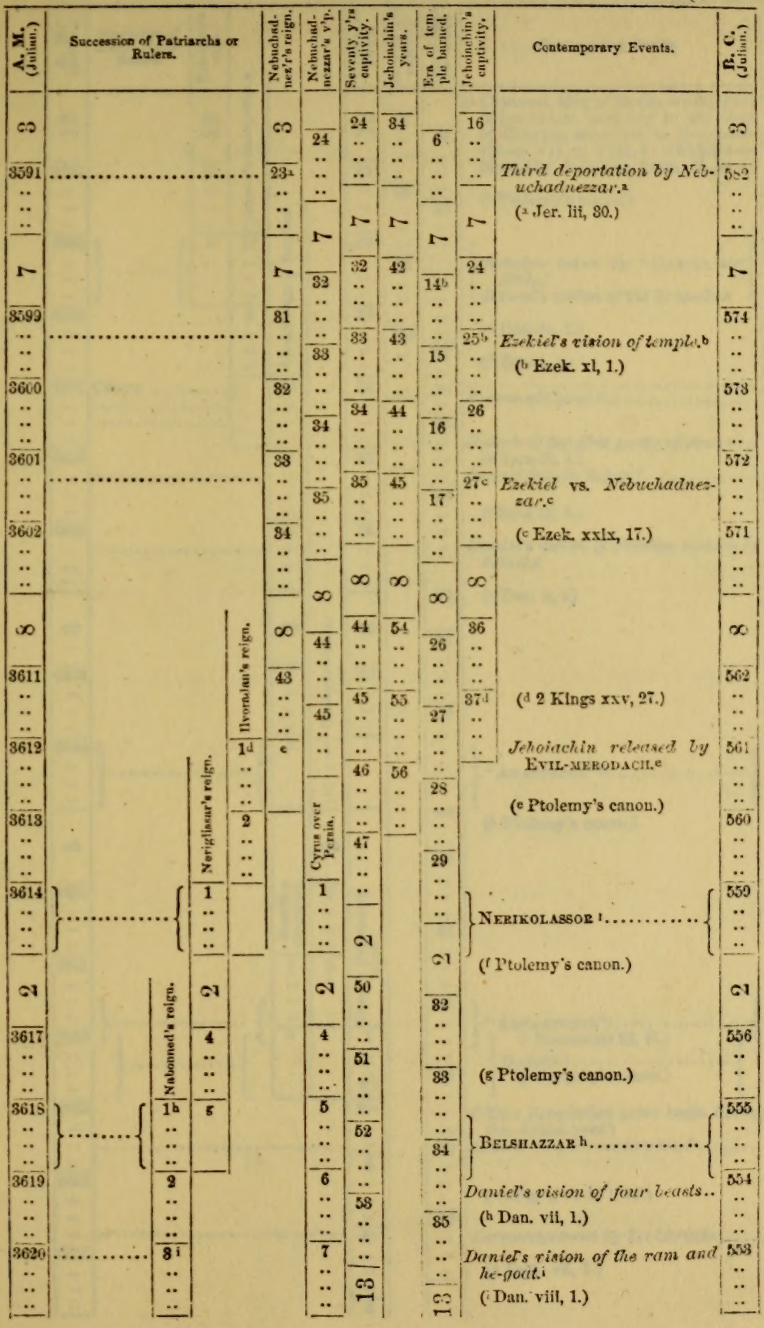


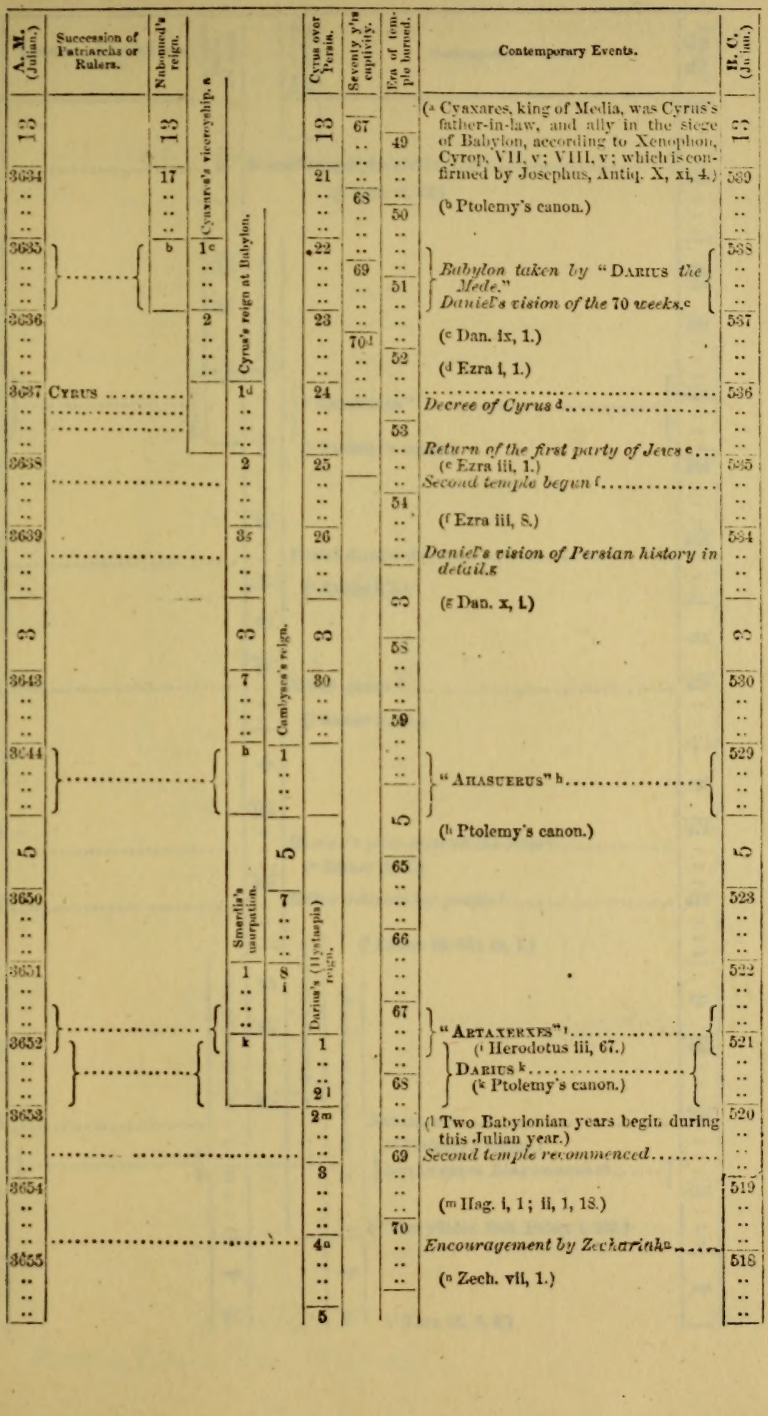
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Era of Josiah's reform.	Josiah's years.	Josiah's reign.	Jehoiakim's years.	Jehoahaz II.'s years.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Jacob.)
21			20	12[a]	6	4	([a] 2 Chron. xxxiv, 3.)	21
3545	....		..	..	..	..	*Reformation by Josiah*[a]	628
..	.....	1	21	13[b]	7	5	*Jeremiah commissioned*[b]	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	([b] Jer. i, 2.)	..
3546		..	..	..	..	..		627
..		3	3	3	3	3		..
3		5	25	17	11	9		3
..		..	..	..	..	..	([c] 2 Kings xxii, 3; xxiii, 23.)	..
3550	.....	1	6	26	18[c]	12	10	*Temple repaired*[c]	623
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..
21		21	21	21	21	21	21		21
3553		4	9	29	21	15	13	Zedekiah's years.	620
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..
3554		..	..	..	..	..	..	([d] 2 Kings xxiv, 18.)	619
..	.....	5	10	30	22	16	14	1	*Zedekiah born*[d]	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
3555		..	..	..	..	..	..	..		618
..		6	11	31	23	17	15	2		..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
3556		..	..	..	..	..	..	..		617
..		7	12	32	24	18	16	3	Jehoiach's years.	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	([e] 2 Kings xxiv, 8. The number in 2 Chron. xxxvi, 9, is an error of transcription; the Sept. there has 18 years.)	..
3557		..	..	..	..	..	..	..		616
..	.....	8	13	33	25	19	17	4	1	*Jehoiachin born*[e]	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
3558		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		615
..		9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9		..
5		14	19	39	31[f]	25[g]	23[g]	10	7	Jehoiakim's reign. / Jehoahaz II.'s undisputed reign. / ([f] 2 Kings xxii, 1.) / ([g] 2 Kings xxiii, 31.)	5
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	([h] Kings xxiii, 36.)	..
3564		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		609
..	.....	15	20	40		26		11	8	1	15	*Josiah slain*.	..
..	JEHOAHAZ[f]	..	..	..		..		..	..	..		.....	..
..	JEHOIAKIM.[g h]	..	..	..		..		..	..	..		.....	..
3565		..	..	..		..		..	..	..			608
..		16	21			27		12	9	2			..
..		..	..			..		..	..	..		([i] Jos. Antiq. X, xi, 1.)	..
3566		..	..			..		..	..	..		([k] Dan. i. 1.)	607
..		17	22			28		13	10	3[k]		([l] Jer. xxv, 3, 11, 29.)	..
..		..	..			..		..	..	..		([m] Jer. xxv. 1.)	..
3567		..	..			..		..	..	..		*Nebuchadnezzar's invasion.*[k]	606
..		18	23[l]			29		14	11	4[m]		*Subjugation by Nebuchadnezzar.*[m]	..
..	1	..	..			..		..	..	..			..
..	1[m]	..	..			..		..	..	..			..

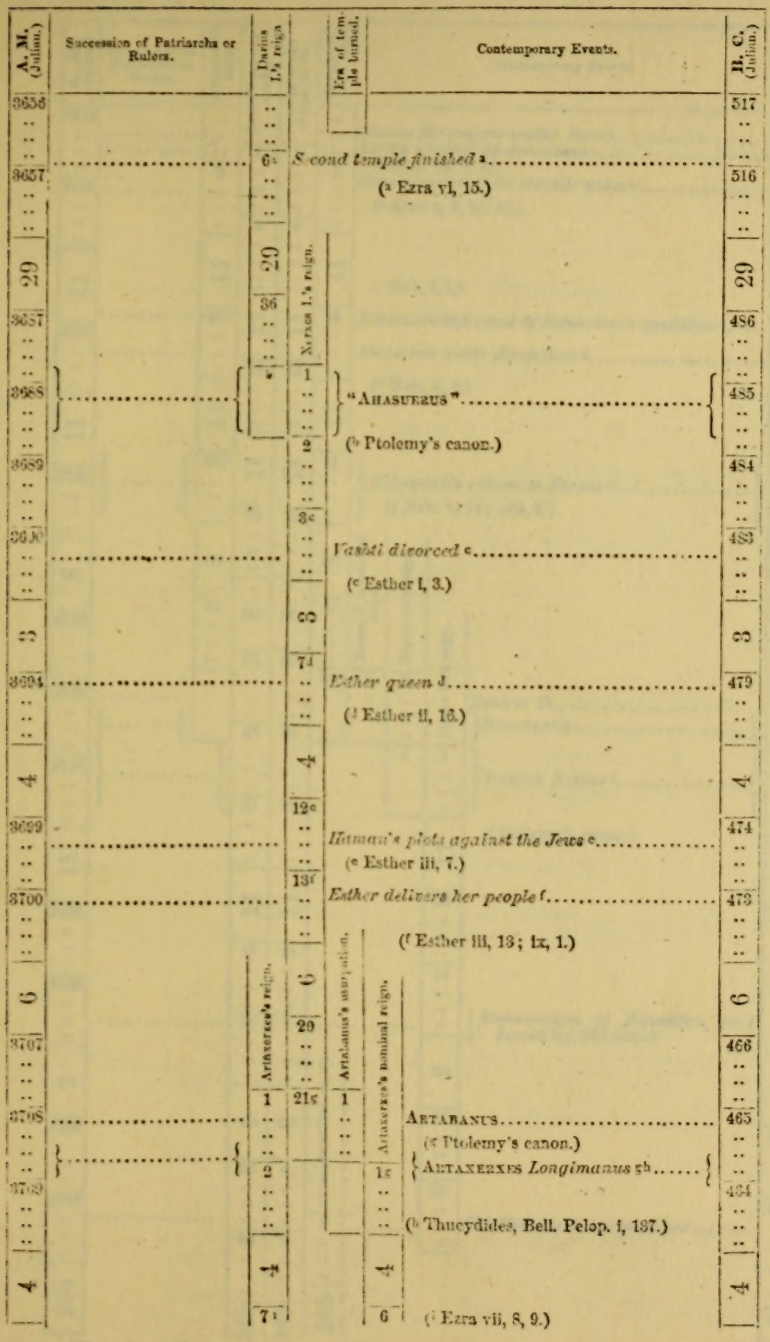
Daniel's training. / Nebuchadnezzar's viceroyship. / Jehoiakim's twenty years' captivity.

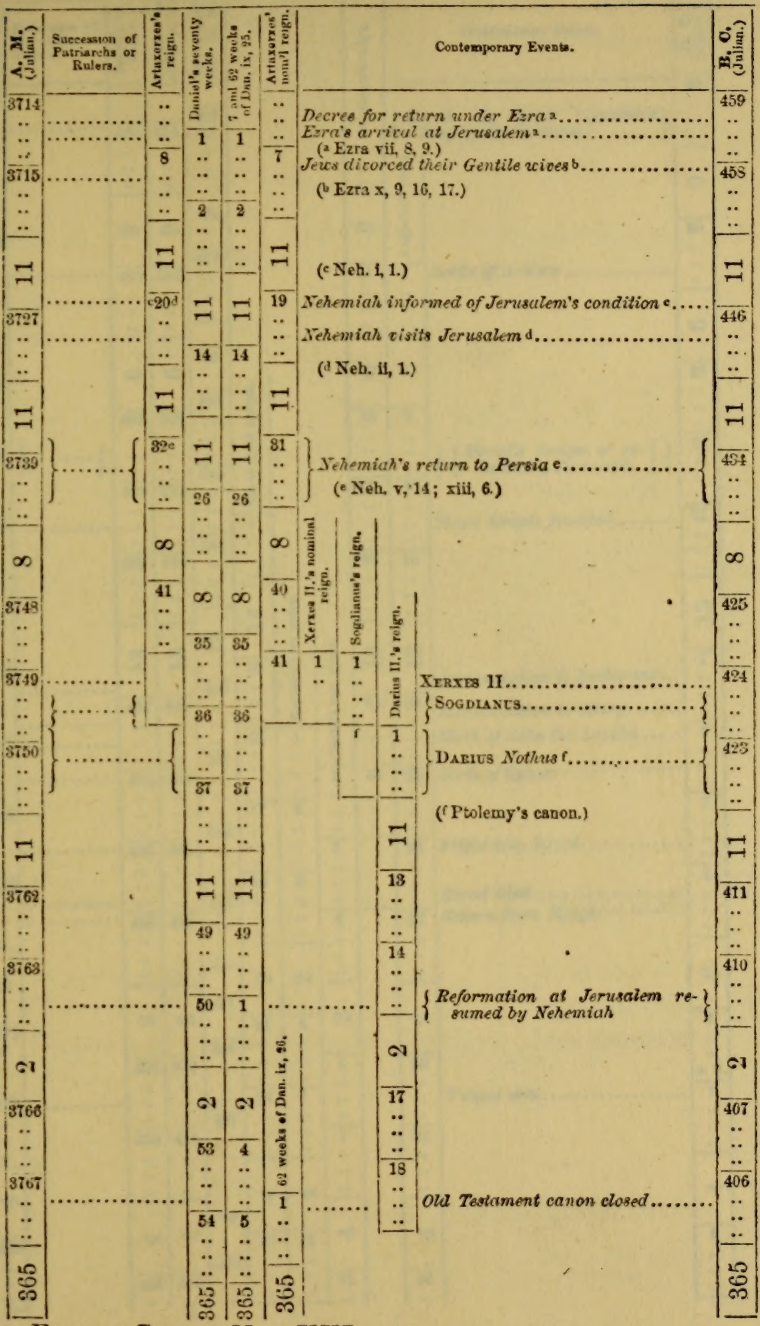
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Daniel's training.	Nebuchadnezzar's reign.	Nebuchadnezzar's vy.	Seventy yrs captivity.	Era of Passover restored.	Jehoiachin's years.	Fast of Josiah's reform.	Jehoiakim's years.		Zedekiah's years.	Jehoiakim's reign.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
3568	.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	*Jeremiah's first roll written* [a]	605
..		..	..	..	2	19	12		30		15	5	([a] Jer. xxxvi, 1.)	..
..	.....	2	..	2	..	..	..		..		..	..	*Jeremiah's first roll burned* [b]	..
3569		..	1[c]	..	..	..	..		..		..	..	([b] Jer. xxxvi, 9, 22.)	604
..		..	..	..	3	20	13		31		16	6		..
..		3[d]	..	3	..	..	..		..		..	..	([c] Ptolemy's canon.)	..
3570		..	2[e]	..	..	..	..		..		..	..		603
..		..	..	..									([d] Dan. i, 5, 18.)	..
..	.....	..	..		4	4	4		4		4	4	*Nebuchadnezzar's dream* [e]	..
				4									([e] Dan. ii, 1.)	
4			4		8	25	18[g]		36		21[k]	11[f]	([f] 2 Kings xxiii, 36.)	4
				8[a]	..	..	..		..		..	..	([g] 2 Kings xxiv, 8.)	
3575			7[i]	..	..	..	..		..		..	..	([h] 2 Kings xxiv, 12.)	598
..	JEHOIACHIM [i]		..	..	9	26	19	1[h]		1[l]	22	1	*First deportation by Nebuchadnezzar.* [i]	..
..	ZEDEKIAH [k]		..	9	..	..	..	..			..	..		..
				..	..	..	..	..			..	..	([i] Jer. lii, 28.)	
3576			8	..	..	..	..	..			..	..	([k] 2 Kings xxiv, 18.)	597
..			..	..	10	27	20	2			23	2	([l] 2 Chron. xxxvi, 10.)	..
..			..	10	..	..	..	..			..	..		..
				..	..	..	..	..			..	..		
3577			9	..	..	..	..	..			..	..		596
..			..	..	11	28	21	3			24	3	([m] Ezek. iv, 5, 6.)	..
..			..	11	..	..	..	..			..	..		..
				..	..	..	..	..			..	..		
3578			10	..	..	..	..	..			..	..		595
..			..	..	12	29	22	4			25	4[n]	([n] Jer. xxviii, 1, 17.)	..
..	.....		..	12	..	..	..	..			..	..	*Jeremiah vs. Hananiah* [n]	..
				..	..	..	..	..			..	..		
3579	.....		11	..	..	..	..	..			..	..	*Jeremiah's letter to exiles* [o]	594
..			..	13	30[p]	23	5[p]				26	5	([o] Jer. li. 59.)	..
..	.....		..	..	..	..	..				..	1	*Ezekiel commissioned* [p]	..
				..	..	..	..				..	..		
3580			12	..	..	..	..				..	..	([p] Ezek. i, 1, 2.)	593
..			..	..	14		24	6[q]			27	..	6	..
..	.....		..	14	..		..	..			..	..	*Ezekiel's vision of "chambers of imagery"* [q]	..
				..	..		..	..			..	..		
3581			13	..	..		..	..			..	..	([q] Ezek. viii, 1.)	592
..			..	..	15		25	7[r]			28	7		..
..	.....		..	15	..		..	..			..	..	*Ezekiel again reproves the Jews* [r]	..
				..	..		..	..			..	..		
3582			14	..	..		..	..			..	..	([r] Ezek. xx, 1.)	591
..			..	..	16		26	8			29	8		..
..			..	16	..		..	..			..	..	([s] 2 Kings xxv, 1.)	..
				..	..		..	..			..	..		
3583			15	..	..		..	..			..	..	([t] Ezek. xxiv, 1.)	590
..			..	..	17		27	9[s]			30	9[u]		..
..			..	17	..		..	..			..	..	([u] 2 Kings xxv, 2, 3, 8.)	..
				..	..		..	..			..	..		
3584	.....		16	..	..		..	..			..	..	*Jerusalem besieged by Nebuch'r* [t] [u] [v]	589
..			..	..	18		28	10[u]			31	10[v]	([v] Jer. xxxii, 1, 2.)	..
..	.....		..	18[v]	..		..	..			..	..	*Jeremiah's purchase of a field.* [v]	..
				..	..		..	..			..	..		
3585	.....		17	..	..		..	..			..	..	*Ezek. vs. Egypt.* [w] (w Ezek. xxix, 1.)	588
..	.....		..	..	19		29	11[x]			32	11[w]	*Ezek'l vs. Egypt* (x Ezek. xxx, 20; xxxi, 1.)	..
..	.....		..	19[w]	..		..	..		1	..	..	*Jerusalem destroyed* [w]	..
..	.....		..	..	..		..	..		..	..	b	*2d deportation by Nebuchadn'r.* [x]	..
3586	.....		18	..	..		..	..		..	..		*Ezekiel vs. Tyre.* [z] (z Ezek. xxvi, 1.)	587
..			..	..	20		30	12[z]		2				..
..			..	20	..		..	..		..			([y] Jer. lii, 29.) ([z] Ezek. xxxiii, 21.)	..
..			..	..	..		..	..		..			([b] 2 Kings xxiv, 18.)	
3587	.....		19	..	..		..	..		..			*Ezekiel vs. Egypt.* [c] (c Ezek. xxii, 1, 17.)	586
..			..	..										..
..			..											..
..			..	∞	∞		∞	∞		∞				..

Era of temple burned.

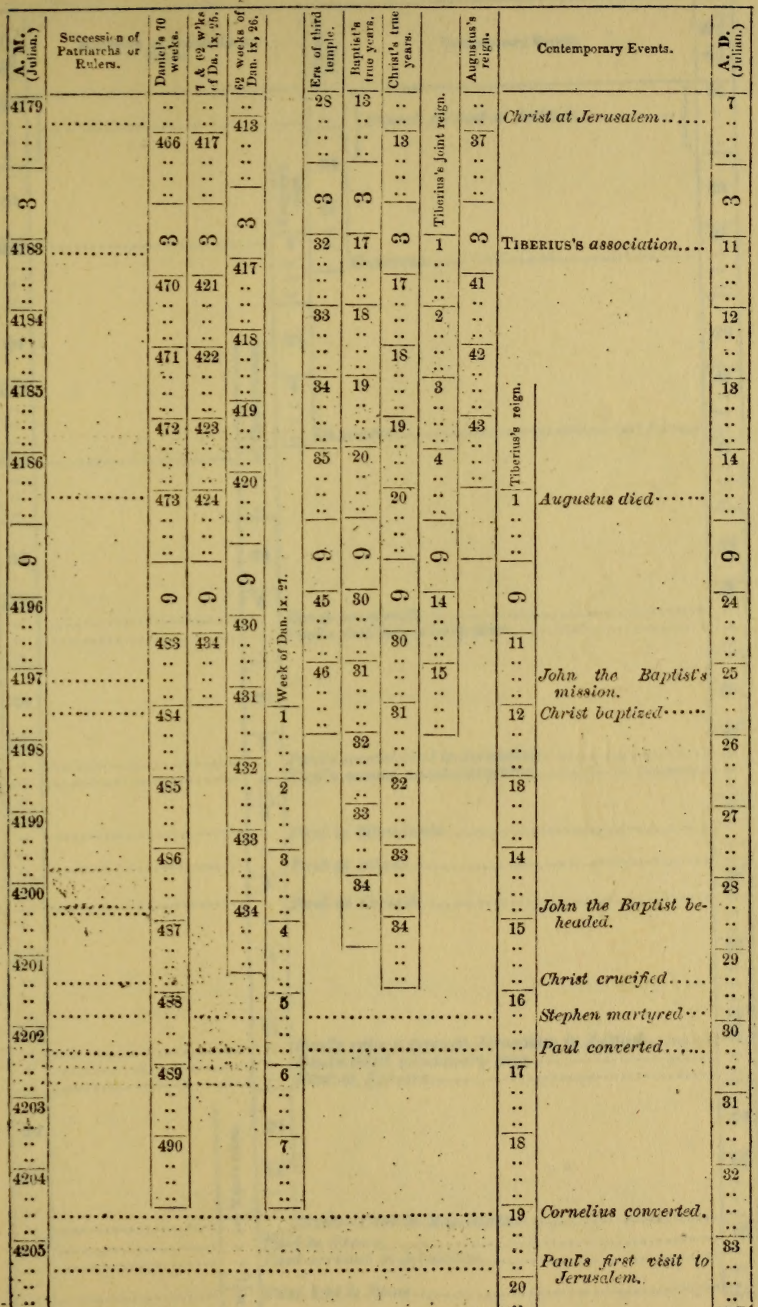

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Nebuchadnez'r's reign.
Nebuchadnezzar's y'rs.
Seventy y'rs captivity.
Jehoiachin's years.
Era of temple burned.
Jehoiachin's captivity.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
Iluroadam's reign.
Neriglissar's reign.
Nabonned's reign.
Cyrus over Persia.
Third deportation by Nebuchadnezzar.a
(a Jer. lii, 30.)
Ezekiel's vision of temple.b
(b Ezek. xl, 1.)
Ezekiel vs. Nebuchadnezzar.c
(c Ezek. xxix, 17.)
(d 2 Kings xxv, 27.)
Jehoiachin released by Evil-merodach.e
(e Ptolemy's canon.)
Nerikolassor f
(f Ptolemy's canon.)
(g Ptolemy's canon.)
Belshazzar h
Daniel's vision of four beasts..
(h Dan. vii, 1.)
Daniel's vision of the ram and he-goat.i
(i Dan. viii, 1.)


A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Nabonned's reign.
Cyaxares's viceroyship.a
Cyrus's reign at Babylon.
Cambyses's reign.
Smerdis's usurpation.
Darius's (Hystaspis) reign.
Cyrus over Persia.
Seventy y'rs captivity.
Era of temple burned.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
(a Cyaxares, king of Media, was Cyrus's father-in-law, and ally in the siege of Babylon, according to Xenophon, Cyrop. VII, v; VIII, v; which is confirmed by Josephus, Antiq. X, xi, 4.)
(b Ptolemy's canon.)
Babylon taken by "DARIUS the Mede."
Daniel's vision of the 70 weeks.c
(c Dan. ix, 1.)
(d Ezra i, 1.)
CYRUS
Decree of Cyrusd
Return of the first party of Jewse
(e Ezra iii, 1.)
Second temple begunf
(f Ezra iii, 8.)
Daniel's vision of Persian history in detail.g
(g Dan. x, 1.)
"AHASUERUS"h
(h Ptolemy's canon.)
"ARTAXERXES"i
(i Herodotus iii, 67.)
DARIUSk
(k Ptolemy's canon.)
(l Two Babylonian years begin during this Julian year.)
Second temple recommenced
(m Hag. i, 1; ii, 1, 18.)
Encouragement by Zechariahn
(n Zech. vii, 1.)

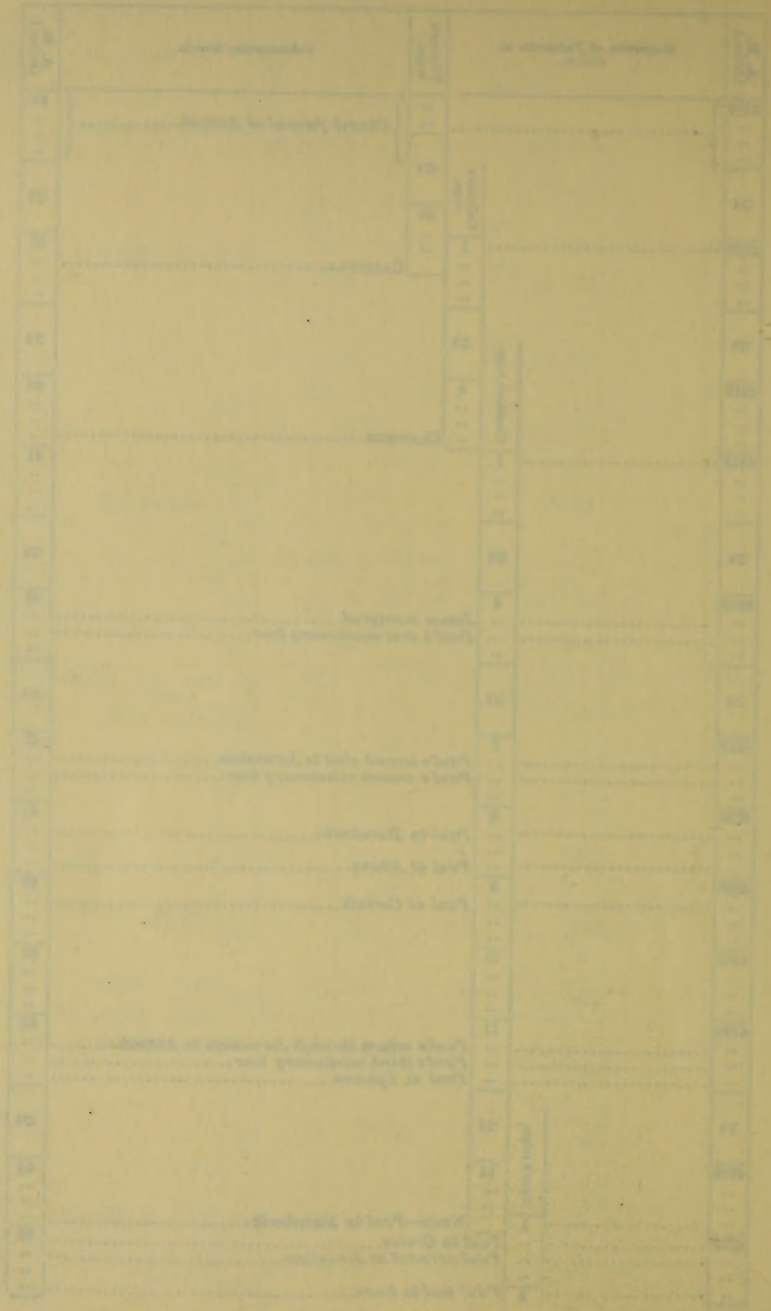

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Darius I.'s reign.
Era of temple burned.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
3656
517
6
Second temple finished a
(a Ezra vi, 15.)
3657
516
29
20
3657
486
36
Xerxes I.'s reign.
3686
1
"Ahasuerus"
485
(b Ptolemy's canon.)
3687
2
484
3688
3c
Vashti divorced c
483
(c Esther i, 3.)
3693
7d
Esther queen d
479
(d Esther ii, 16.)
4
4
3699
12e
Haman's plots against the Jews e
474
(e Esther iii, 7.)
3700
13e
Esther delivers her people f
473
(f Esther iii, 13; ix, 1.)
6
6
3707
Artaxerxes's reign.
Artabanus's usurpation.
Artaxerxes's nominal reign.
20
466
3708
1
21g
1
Artabanus
465
(g Ptolemy's canon.)
Artaxerxes Longimanus gh
3709
2
15
464
(h Thucydides, Bell. Pelop. i, 137.)
4
4
7i
6
(i Ezra vii, 8, 9.)

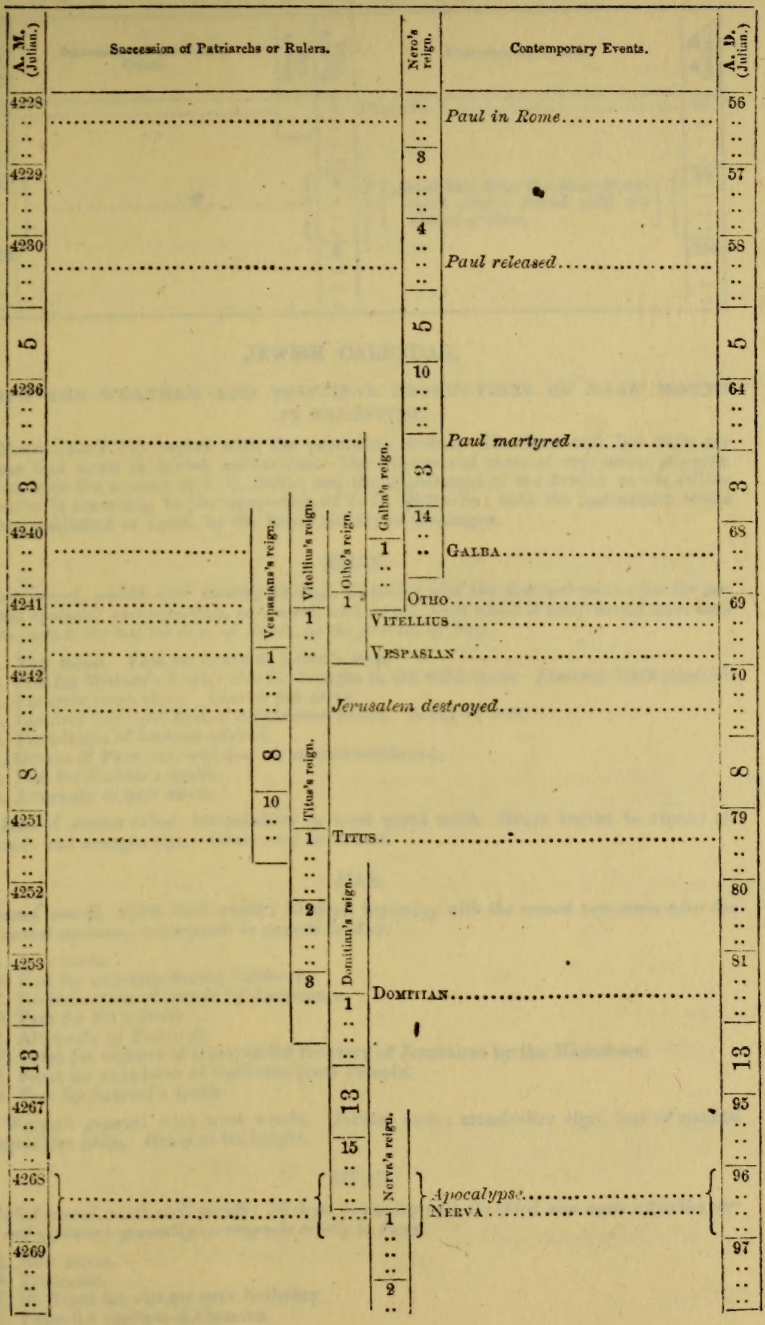

A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Artaxerxes's reign.
Daniel's seventy weeks.
7 and 62 weeks of Dan. ix, 25.
Artaxerxes' nom'l reign.
Contemporary Events.
B. C. (Julian.)
Decree for return under Ezra a
Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem a
(a Ezra vii, 8, 9.)
Jews divorced their Gentile wives b
(b Ezra x, 9, 16, 17.)
(c Neh. i, 1.)
Nehemiah informed of Jerusalem's condition c
Nehemiah visits Jerusalem d
(d Neh. ii, 1.)
Nehemiah's return to Persia e
(e Neh. v, 14; xiii, 6.)
Xerxes II.'s nominal reign.
Sogdianus's reign.
Darius II.'s reign.
Xerxes II
Sogdianus
Darius Nothus f
(f Ptolemy's canon.)
Reformation at Jerusalem resumed by Nehemiah
Old Testament canon closed
62 weeks of Dan. ix, 26.

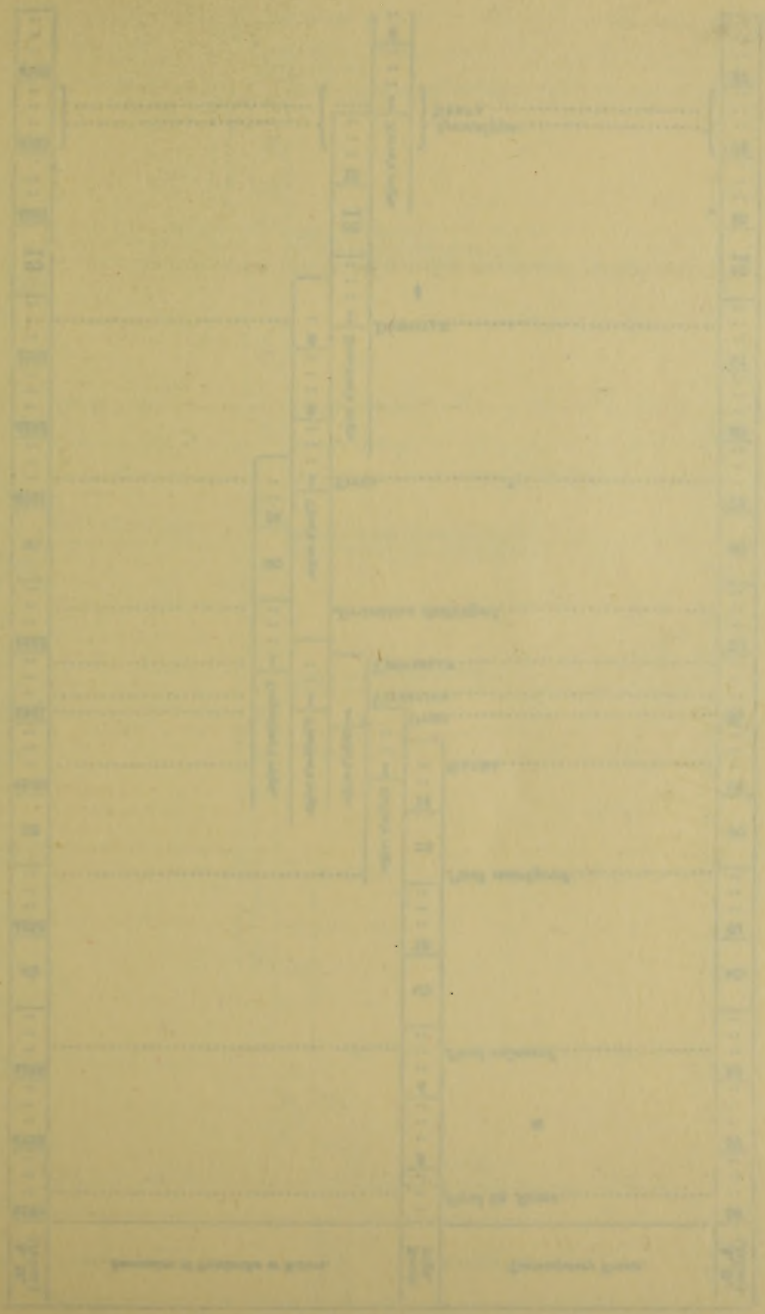
A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Daniel's 70 weeks.	7 & 62 w'ks of Dn. ix, 25.	62 weeks of Dan. ix, 26.	Era of third temple.	Baptist's true years.	Christ's true years.	Herod's reign.	Augustus's reign.	Contemporary Events.	B. C. (Julian.)
4135											40
..	.....			367							..
..		420	371	..				1		*Herod the Great appointed king by the Romans.*	..
..		..	..	..				..			..
9		..	..	..				..			9
4143		9	9	9				9			30
..				377							..
..	.....	430	381	..				11	1	*Battle of Actium*.....	..
..		..	..	..				..	..		..
6		..	..	..				..	..		6
4150		6	6	6				6	6		23
..				384							..
..		437	388	..				18	8		..
4151	} ..... {	..	..	..				..	..	*Herod's design of rebuilding the temple.*	22
..		..	..	385				..	..		..
..		438	389	..				19	9		..
4152	.....	..	..	..	1			..	..	*Third temple founded*.....	21
..		..	..	386				..	..		..
..		439	390	..	..			20	10		..
13		..	..	..	..			..	..		13
4166		13	13	13	15			13	13		7
..	.....			400	..					*Annunciation to Zacharias*...	..
..		453	404	..	..			34	24		..
..	.....	..	..	..	..			..	..	*Annunciation to Mary*.....	..
4167	.....	..	..	..	16	1		..	..	*Birth of John the Baptist*.....	6
..		..	..	401	..	..		..	..		..
..	.....	454	405	..	..	..	1	35	25	*Birth of* CHRIST.....	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
4168		..	..	..	17	2	..	..	..		5
..		..	..	402	..	..	..	..	..		..
..	.....	455	406	..	..	..	2		26	*Flight into Egypt*.....	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		..
4169		..	..	..	18	3	..		..		4
..	.....	..	..	403	..	..	..		..	*Herod died*.....	..
..	.....	456	407	..	..	..	3		27	*Return from Egypt*.....	..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		..
21		..	..	..	21	21	..		..		2
		21	21	21			21		2		
4172					21	6					1
..				406	..	..					..
..		459	410	..	..	..	6		30		..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		A. D.
4173	.....	..	..	..	22	7	..		..	*Vulgar era*.....	1
..		..	..	407	..	..	..		..		..
..		460	411	..	..	..	7		31		..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		..
..		..	..	..	..	..	..		..		..
4		..	..	..	4	4	..		..		4
		4	4	4			4		4		
4178					27	12					6
..				412	..	..					..
..		465	416	..	..	..	12		36		..


A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Daniel's 70 weeks.
7 & 62 w'ks of Da. ix. 25.
62 weeks of Dan. ix. 26.
Week of Dan. ix. 27.
Era of third temple.
Baptist's true years.
Christ's true years.
Tiberius's Joint reign.
Augustus's reign.
Tiberius's reign.
Contemporary Events.
A. D. (Julian.)
4179
Christ at Jerusalem
7
TIBERIUS'S association
4188
11
4196
24
4197
John the Baptist's mission.
25
Augustus died
1
Christ baptized
12
4198
26
4199
27
4200
John the Baptist beheaded.
28
4201
29
Christ crucified
Stephen martyred
Paul converted
4202
30
4203
31
4204
32
Cornelius converted.
19
4205
33
Paul's first visit to Jerusalem.
20

A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Nero's reign.	Claudius's reign.	Caligula's reign.	Tiberius's reign.	Contemporary Events.	A. D. (Julian.)
4206					..		34
..					..	*Church formed at Antioch*	..
..					..		..
21					21		21
					23		
4209				1	..		37
..				..	..	CALIGULA	..
..				..			..
21			21				21
4212				4			40
..				..			..
..				..		CLAUDIUS	..
4213			1	..			41
..			..	..			..
..			..	..			..
21			21				21
4216			4				44
..			..			*James martyred*	..
..			..			*Paul's first missionary tour*	..
..			..				..
21			21				21
4219			7				47
..			..			*Paul's second visit to Jerusalem*	..
..			..			*Paul's second missionary tour*	..
..			..				..
4220			8				48
..			..			*Paul in Macedonia*	..
..			..				..
..			..			*Paul at Athens*	..
4221			9				49
..			..			*Paul at Corinth*	..
..			..				..
..			..				..
4222			10				50
..			..				..
..			..				..
..			..				..
4223			11				51
..			..			*Paul's return through Jerusalem to Antioch*	..
..			..			*Paul's third missionary tour*	..
..			..			*Paul at Ephesus*	..
21			21				21
4226			14				54
..			..				..
..			..				..
..		1				NERO—*Paul in Macedonia*	..
4227		..				*Paul in Greece*	55
..		..				*Paul arrested at Jerusalem*	..
..		..					..
..		2				*Paul sent to Rome*	..




A. M. (Julian.)
Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.
Nero's reign.
Contemporary Events.
A. D. (Julian.)
4228
Paul in Rome
56
4229
57
4230
Paul released
58
4236
Paul martyred
64
4240
GALBA
68
4241
OTHO
69
VITELLIUS
VESPASIAN
4242
Jerusalem destroyed
70
4251
TITUS
79
4252
80
4253
DOMITIAN
81
4267
95
4268
Apocalypse
96
NERVA
4269
97
Galba's reign.
Otho's reign.
Vitellius's reign.
Vespasian's reign.
Titus's reign.
Domitian's reign.
Nerva's reign.



A. M. (Julian.)	Succession of Patriarchs or Rulers.	Nerva's reign.	Trajan's reign.	Contemporary Events.	A. D. (Julian.)
4270	.....		1	TRAJAN.....	98
..			..		..
..			..		..
..			..		..
4271	.....		2	*About this time the New Testament canon closed with the Gospel of John.*	99
..			..		..
..			..		..
..			..		..
4272			3		100
..			..		..
..			..		..
..			..		..

JEWISH CALENDAR,

WITH THE WEATHER AND PRINCIPAL PRODUCTIONS OF EACH MONTH IN PALESTINE.

NOTE.—Each day begins with the preceding sunset. The feast and fast days are those laid down in Jewish authorities. The climate and state of vegetation are compiled from the treatise of J. G. Buhle, and the adjustment of the Jewish to the Julian months is according to the suggestion of J. D. Michaelis; both the last-named tracts being published in Latin, by the Royal Society of Göttingen.

NISAN.

First sacred, seventh civil month; 30 days, beginning with the first new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponding, in general, with APRIL, *from which it never varied more than to include the last ten days of March, or the first ten of May.*

1. New moon. Fast for death of Aaron's sons.
10. Fast for Miriam's death; also for drought in the wilderness. Passover lamb selected.
14. Passover lamb slain. Leaven put away.
15. Passover day, and first of unleavened bread. A day of rest.
16. First-fruits of harvest offered.
21. Octave of Passover, and last of unleavened bread.
26. Fast for Joshua's death.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Last of winter rains; temperature in most parts mild. Grain begins to ripen; almonds and oranges ripe. Grass very luxuriant.

JIAR.

Second sacred, eighth civil month; 29 days, beginning with the second new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds in general to MAY.

1. New moon.
6. Fast for excesses during Passover.
7. Re-dedication of temple by Asmoneans.
10. Fast for Eli's death.
14. Alternate of Passover.
23. Feast for capture of Gaza, or for recovery of Jerusalem by the Maccabees.
27. Feast for expulsion of Galileans from Temple.
28. Fast for Samuel's death.

Warmth general, with west winds. Harvest ends; mandrakes ripe; last of garden vegetables sown. Grass at its height.

SIVAN.

Third sacred, ninth civil month; 30 days, beginning with the third new moon after the vernal equinox; generally corresponds nearly to JUNE.

1. New moon.
6. Pentecost.
15, 16. Feast for victory over Bethshar.
17. Feast for capture of Cæsarea.

22. Fast for Jeroboam's religious schism.
25. Fast for death of several Rabbis.
27. Fast for martyrdom of Rabbi Chanina.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Clear and hot, with west wind in the afternoon. Rice, early figs and apples, plums, cherries, mulberries, and melons ripe. Grass begins to fail.

THAMMUZ.

Fourth sacred, tenth civil month; 29 days, beginning with the fourth new moon after the vernal equinox; nearly corresponds in general to JULY.

1. New moon.
14. Feast for suppression of certain heretical books.
17. Fast for breaking the tables of the Law.

Heat intense; no rain; occasional west winds. Dates, apples, pears, and peaches ripen; grapes nearly mature. Grass scarce.

AB.

Fifth sacred, eleventh civil month; 30 days, from the fifth new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds mostly to AUGUST.

1. New moon.
5. Commemoration of the children of one Jethuel.
9. Fast for sentence of wandering in the desert.
18. Fast for extinction of lamp in the time of Ahaz.
21. Xylophoria, or feast of storing wood for Temple.
24. Feast for abolition of certain offensive laws.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Heat still extreme; clear till near end of the month. Figs, olives, and pomegranates begin to ripen; winter fig blossoms; first clusters of the vine gathered. No grass.

ELUL.

Sixth sacred, twelfth civil month; 29 days, from the sixth new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds mostly to SEPTEMBER.

1. New moon.
7. Dedication of walls by Nehemiah.
17. Fast for death of spies.
22. Feast for condemnation of certain Jews.

Days hot, nights cold; cloudy, with west wind; rain at the close of the month, when ploughing begins. Dates, pomegranates, pears, plums, citrons, oranges, cotton, and second clusters of the vine gathered. Pasture still very scarce.

TISRI.

Seventh sacred, first civil month; 30 days, from the seventh new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds in the main to OCTOBER.

1. New moon. Feast of Trumpets for new year.
3. Fast for death of Gedaliah.
5. Death of twenty Israelites.
7. Fast for sin of the golden calf.
10. Fast of expiation.
15. Feast of Tabernacles.
21. Ceremony of branches at the feast.
22. Octave of Feast of Tabernacles.
23. Commemoration of giving of the law.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Heat abated, especially during the night, when white frost is frequent; rainy season begins; winds variable. Sowing of grain and vegetables begins; pistachio, late olives, pomegranates, and third clusters of the vine ripe; also, garden salads and roots. Grass but little revived.

MARCHESVAN.

Eighth sacred, second civil month; 29 days, from the eighth new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds in the main to NOVEMBER.

1. New moon.
6, 7. Fast for blinding of Zedekiah.

19. Fast of three days for faults in Feast of Tabernacles.
23. Commemoration of certain profaned altar-stones.
26. Feast for recovery of certain places from the Cuthites.

Intervals of hot sunshine during the day, nights cold; rain falls copiously; wind from the north. Trees begin to lose their leaves; general sowing of grain; last dates gathered. Grass begins to sprout.

KISLEU.

Ninth sacred, third civil month; 30 days, from the ninth new moon after the vernal equinox; usually corresponds, for the larger part, to DECEMBER.

1. New moon.
3. Feast for expulsion of idolatry from temple.
6. Fast for burning Jeremiah's roll.
7. Feast for Herod's death.
21. Feast for triumph over Samaritans.
24. Prayers for rain.
25. Feast of dedication of temple by Maccabees.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Cold quite sharp, even in the daytime; rain, occasionally snow; east or north winds. Pulse and late grain sown. Pasture begins to be abundant.

TEBETH.

Tenth sacred, fourth civil month; 29 days, from the tenth new moon after the vernal equinox; usually corresponds, for the larger part, to JANUARY.

1. New moon.
8. Fast for making the Septuagint.
9. Fast for unknown cause.
10. Fast for siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.
28. Feast for exclusion of Sadducees from Sanhedrim.

Cold severe, especially in elevated regions; west winds bring heavy rains, particularly during the night, which swell the streams; occasionally hot sunshine in the latter part of the month. Spring grain and early vegetables sown; trees in leaf; almond and early flowers blossom; winter fig often found on the naked trees. Grass abundant, but short.

SHEBET.

Eleventh sacred, fifth civil month; 30 days, from the eleventh new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds about to FEBRUARY, *in intercalary years a fortnight later.*

1. New moon.
2. Feast for death of Alexander Jannæus.
4, or 5. Fast for death of elders who survived Joshua.
15. Date from which the first four years of trees' uncleanness are reckoned.
22. Feast for death of a certain profane Niskalenus.
23. Fast for civil war with Benjamin.
29. Feast for death of Antiochus Epiphanes.
30. Alternate of new moon.

Weather similar to last month, but more variable. Grain still occasionally sown, but generally in full green; a few early vegetables fit for eating; apples, peaches, and many flowers in blossom. Grass yet not very luxuriant.

ADAR.

Twelfth sacred, sixth civil month; 29 days, from the twelfth new moon after the vernal equinox; corresponds about to MARCH, *in intercalary years a fortnight later.*

1. New moon.
7. Fast for death of Moses.
8, 9. Trumpet sounded for rain.
9. Fast for schism between Shammai and Hillel.
12. Feast in honour of two proselyte martyrs.
13. Feast of Esther.
14. First Purim, or lesser feast of lots.
15. Great feast of Purim.
17. Commemoration of deliverance of certain Jewish sages.
20. Feast for a rain under Jannæus.

23. Dedication of temple by Zerubbabel.
25. Collection of arrears of taxes in temple.
28. Feast for abolition of certain intolerant edicts.

Weather in general moderate, but fickle; rain, heat, and wind, alternately; streams overflow. Vegetables sown, others gathered; tender trees in leaf; fruit-trees generally in blossom; vines pruned. Pasture rich.

VE-ADAR.

In order to conform the lunar to the true year, the month ADAR is occasionally repeated, with all its fasts and feasts, when another new moon intervenes before the vernal equinox; in such cases, this thirteenth month corresponds to about the latter part of March, and the former part of April, and the weather and productions are intermediate between those of the adjacent months.

ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

IT is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

(1.) "*History of the American Bible Society*, revised and brought down to the present time, by W. P. STRICKLAND, D. D., with an Introduction by Rev. N. L. RICE, D. D." (Harper & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 696.) A noble book, written upon *the book of books*. Its author, Dr. Strickland, the present Assistant Editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal, was for several years an agent of the American Bible Society, and is well qualified by a thorough knowledge of the subject, to be the standard historiographer of that great and beneficent organization. The present is a new edition with improvements and additions. It goes forth under the *imprimatur* of the secretaries of the society, Doctors Brigham and Holdich. It embodies an immense amount of information in regard to the formation of the Bible Society, and its vast agencies and successes in distributing the word of God in prisons, on shipboard, in the army and navy, in Sunday schools, and families, among our Indians, and on our Pacific coasts. Next he enumerates the translations, and traces the distribution of the Bible over the continents and the islands, through the empires and populations of the earth. How cheering a world of thought does this magnificent book spread out before us!

(2.) "*Religion in America*, by ROBERT BAIRD." (Harper & Brothers, 1856; 8vo., pp. 696.) This is a fresh edition of Dr. Baird's work, brought down to the present time. It was first written in Switzerland, in 1842, at the request of European friends, who were puzzled to understand the peculiarities of our American Christianity. It was extensively circulated in various languages over the different countries of Europe, and it was an after-thought which produced the American republication.

It was a delightful work for Dr. Baird, to trace for a new edition the vast growth and extension of our religious systems and organizations during the period

intervening between the first publication in 1844, and this present 1856. What annexations and expansions of our country, what growth and development of our religious operations!

The transparent simplicity of his style and the catholic spirit of his mind render these pages very delightful reading. Our past religious history, our present religious *status*, and the cheering prospects for the future, are traced in a generous spirit and with a master hand. The work is a desirable addition to every Christian's library.

(3.) "*The Imitation of Christ*, by THOMAS A KEMPIS. Rendered into English from the original Latin, by JOHN PAYNE. With an Introductory Essay, by THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., edited by HOWARD MALCOM, D. D., President of Lewisbury University, Pa. A new improved edition, with a life of the author, by C. ULLMANN, D. D." (Gould & Lincoln, Boston, 1856; 12mo., pp. 283.) This little volume was written by a Romanist, translated by a Church of England man, furnished with a biography by a Lutheran, prefaced with an introduction by a Scotch Presbyterian, edited by an American Baptist, and is now being *noticed* by a Methodist. Truly there is a unity of the Church of Christ, and that unity consists not in an organism or a locality. It is the unity founded upon the Rock, consisting in a oneness of spirit, and evidenced by an effort after a practical "Imitation of Christ."

He may believe himself to be in the Church catholic to whom Thomas of Kempen is delightful reading. Severe as is his piety, it is sweet and cheerful. Few authors so bring us directly to the place of spiritual repose, enabling us to understand how to enjoy a great calm even in the midst of a great storm. The work as it came from his hand had to be divested of some of the adscititious peculiarities of the Romish system, which encumbered without radically corrupting its substance; and so divested, it is suited to be for ages to come, as for ages past, one of the standard universal manuals of piety. The introduction of Chalmers, and the biography and critique by Ullmann, are invaluable accompaniments.

(4.) "*Elements of Moral Philosophy, analytical, synthetical, and practical*, by HUBBARD WINSLOW, author of Intellectual Philosophy." (Appleton & Co., New-York, 1856; 12mo., pp. 480.) This aims to be a complete and systematic summary of Moral Philosophy, suitable for collegiate classes; and for such purposes it seems to be adapted. It is clear in its style; analytical, but not ultra metaphysical; and seeks to bring its analysis into practical and useful results.

It is divided into five parts; of which the first three are analytical, the fourth synthetical, and the last practical. In the first two parts, he analyzes the *Motive Powers*, or active principles within us, dividing them into Natural and Rational. It is to be regretted that the perverted use of the word *natural*, as opposed to *rational*, or even to *moral*, should be perpetuated in philosophy. Are not our *rational* faculties natural? Our *natural* motive powers, according to Mr. Winslow, are *appetites*, *affections*, *desires*, *emotions*, and *volitions*. *Volitions natural*, we may add, he distinguishes from rational volitions. He distinguishes also between *voluntary*, *semivoluntary*, and *involuntary movements*.

Passing, in *part second*, to the Rational Motive Powers, he specifies *Conscience*, *Taste*, and *Rational Will*. *Conscience*, including the power of perception, is man's *susceptibility of moral distinctions*. It has *three functions*, the first prospective or the *ought* emotion, and two retrospective of *approval* or *disapproval*. *Taste* is an auxiliary to *conscience;* both taste and conscience should unite in human character, one leading us to the *lovely*, and the other to the *right*. In regard to the *Will*, Mr. Winslow is anti-necessitarian. He amply recognises what Necessitarianism is obliged to ignore—the *irresponsibility of action under the law of uniform and absolute causation*, and the necessity of *an alternative power* in the human will in order to moral desert. In the third part, our author analyzes the moral quality of all the previously enumerated *motive powers*. Our *affections*, *desires*, and *emotions*, are divided into *right* or *wrong*, and the tests of *rightness* and *wrongness* in each are assigned. Under the Will, the author decides that there is a *moral certainty* which is not *necessity;* and a volition which is morally certain, is responsible, just because that though *certain* it is *unnecessitated*. He decides that neither the will nor the other faculties are the man himself, the Ego, but attributes of the Ego. No degree of excitement exonerates from responsibility. He last, under *part third*, discusses the *source of the morality of actions*. They are, he says, mostly reduced to three: that which places the source in the affections and desires; that which places it in the will; and that which makes man a machine. Under this last school, he includes "Spinoza, *Swedenborg*, and others of the Pantheistic and the Necessitarian school." With what fairness does Mr. Winslow class Swedenborg with Pantheists and Necessitarians? Whatever other errors Swedenborg maintained, he is no Fatalist. Mr. Winslow need not have traveled out of the bounds of New-England Calvinism to have found *Fatalists*, much worthier than Swedenborg to be ranked with Spinoza. We recommend him to substitute Edwards, Hopkins, and Emmons. Mr. Winslow decides that the source of morality of actions lies in all the mind—in the general *disposition* of all the motive powers. Hence, in regeneration, the whole man is renovated. In the fourth part, Mr. Winslow takes up the Law or foundation of Moral Obligation. He discusses four theories, which he calls the Arbitrary, the Greatest Happiness, the Highest Good, and the Subjective Theories. To all these he attributes partial truth, but condemns them all in general. His theory is, that there is no unit to which all right is reducible. His may be pronounced a Variety Theory, and is perhaps the least logical of either. This is by no means a well-managed or satisfactory chapter. In the fifth part, Mr. Winslow discusses the practical duties of life in the light of his previous moral theory. Perhaps it is too brief for symmetry, or for the best practical value of a manual of moral philosophy.

Mr. Winslow's work is entitled to take a high rank among our American manuals of Morals. It is particularly emphatic in developing the relations of moral responsibility to the free nature of the Agent. In this, there is a marked superiority to Wayland. There is also much less dryness of style, and a far richer, freer, and more lucid discussion of his topics. He has much of the style and spirit of the French metaphysical writers, to whom he attributes quite as much credit for *precision* as is their due. Occasionally he reminds us of the

exuberance of H. P. Tappan, though never diverging into quite the diffuse and random looseness, which so often overspreads the pages of that writer.

(5.) "*The Sacred Hour*, by MAXWELL P. GADDIS, author of 'Footsteps of an Itinerant.'" (Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1856; 16mo., pp. 364.) It is generally a defective title of a book which does not of itself give a "*key*" to the subject. Two Christian ladies, attracted by Christian sympathy to each other, covenant together as mutual assistants in the solemn and delightful work of attaining personal holiness of heart and life. A regular spiritual correspondence by letter, a concerted *sacred hour* of simultaneous prayer, a systematic devotional study, daily, of the same portion of Scripture, the appropriation of Fridays to special fasting and devotion, and the committing to memory each day one Scripture passage as a motto for the spiritual life of the day, were the articles of their holy covenant. The correspondence and the resulting Christian experience, terminating in the translation through the gates of death to a better world of one of the ladies, form the substance of the work.

Surely holiness is the "Central idea of Christianity." It is the end for which the Church exists and the Christian should live. Every Christian should avail himself of those means which he feels to be suited to his peculiar make, to attain this high blessing. There are doubtless thousands in our Church to whose hearts this little book would prove a special benefit.

(6.) "*The Old Chest and its Treasures*, by AUNT ELIZABETH." (M. W. Dodd, New-York, 1856; 16mo., pp. 304.) Aunt Elizabeth had a desire in some way to achieve some good; she concluded to accomplish it by making a book; she went up stairs, and abstracted from the trash of the "*old chest*" all the good readable items; these she sent to Mr. Dodd, who printed them, and so was made this book. We think it will do no damage, and hope it will do some good. The titles of some of the items are, "Texts in a Mirror," "The Last Judgment," "Mr. Wesley's Humility," "Whitefield's Eloquence," &c.

(7.) "*Henry Lyman, the Martyr of Sumatra.*" (Robert Carter & Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 437.) This is a memoir, rather late in its appearance, of a young American missionary, who, in the year 1834, fell in a massacre perpetrated by the natives in the Island of Sumatra. The narrative is pleasingly written, interspersed with interesting correspondences, and abounding with picturesque descriptions and touching experiences. It is well calculated to awaken the missionary spirit.

(8.) "*Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer, and Chief of the Crow Nation of Indians.* With illustrations, written from his own dictation, by T. D. BONNER." (Harper & Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 537.) A tale of wild Western romance, brimful of adventures for the lovers of adventure. Indeed, from several of its statements, we are led to suppose that

Mr. Beckwourth is not only *an* extraordinary, but *the* most extraordinary of adventurers. Mr. Bonner gives us not only the best of *the* season, but the best of *all* seasons. We learn, for instance, on page fifth, who has met with the most personal adventure of any man that ever lived; it is Mr. Beckwourth. We also learn, on page 514, who of all men has recovered from the most wounds. It is not Mr. Beckwourth, but one of his heroes. From an Indian of superior intelligence among his companions, Mr. Beckwourth derived the following gem of diluvian tradition: "Occasionally he would tell me of the traditions handed down from generation to generation in the Indian race, in which he was 'elegantly learned.' He told me of the mighty tribes of men who had once inhabited this vast continent, but were now exterminated by internecine wars; that their fathers had told them of a great flood, which had covered all the land, except the highest peaks of the mountains, where some of the inhabitants and the buffaloes resorted, and saved themselves from destruction."

(9.) "*The Camel, his Organization, Habits, and Uses, considered with reference to his Introduction into the United States*, by GEORGE P. MARSH." (Gould & Lincoln, Boston, 1856; 12mo., pp. 224.) Government has determined to introduce the camel into the country, and Mr. Marsh here kindly offers to introduce us to the camel. We have not been able to give the book a thorough examination; but we have a favorable opinion of the camel as an ancient, respectable, honest, and very patient animal, and wish him a favorable and comfortable reception into our country, and plenty of useful employment. As for Mr. Marsh, he is one of the most accomplished scholars of our country, and whatever he attempts we may safely endorse as being done in about the best supposable manner. This work is no doubt a valuable manual for any one interested in the subject.

(10.) "*The Recent Progress of Astronomy, especially in the United States*, by ELIAS LOOMIS, L.L.D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of New-York. (Harper & Brothers, 1856; pp. 396.) We take it kindly of Professor Loomis. We are ever and anon learning from the newspapers that our astronomic friends are doing a good business in their line, cornering up fresh planets and planetoids, and catching new comets by the tail. But we outsiders greatly need posting up. This has been done with great clearness and compactness in the present little volume. The following paragraph from the preface states very concisely much of what has lately been done in astronomic discovery:

"The progress of astronomical discovery was never more rapid than during the last fifteen years. Within this period, the number of known members of the planetary system has been more than doubled. A planet of vast dimensions has been added to our system; thirty-six new asteroids have been discovered; four new satellites have been detected; and a new ring has been added to Saturn.

"It is especially gratifying to note the progress which the last few years have witnessed in the United States, both in the facilities for observation, and in the number of active observers. It is but twenty-five years since the first telescope, exceeding those of a portable size, was imported into the United States; and the introduction of meridional instruments of the larger class is of still more recent date. Now we have one telescope which acknowledges no superior; and we have

several which would be esteemed worthy of a place in the finest observatories of Europe. We have also numerous meridional instruments, of dimensions adequate to be employed in original research. Our own artists have entered successfully upon the manufacture of refracting telescopes of the largest size, and have received the highest commendation from some of the best judges in Europe. These instruments have not remained wholly unemployed. At the observatories of Washington and Cambridge, extensive catalogues of stars are now in progress; while nearly every known member of our solar system has been repeatedly and carefully observed. These observations are all permanently recorded by a simple touch of the finger upon a key which closes an electric circuit; a method recently introduced at Greenwich Observatory, and known everywhere throughout Europe by the distinctive name of the American method."

The following striking paragraph opens the work:

"The discovery of the planet Neptune took place under circumstances most extraordinary. The existence of the planet was predicted, its path in the heavens was assigned, its mass was calculated, from considerations purely theoretical. The astronomer was told where to direct his telescope, and he would see a planet hitherto unobserved. The telescope was pointed, and there the planet was found. In the whole history of astronomy we can find few things equally wonderful. This discovery resulted from the study of the motions of the planet Uranus."

(11.) "*Discourses on Special Occasions and Miscellaneous Papers*, by C. VAN SANTFOORD." (M. W. Dodd, 1856; 12mo., pp. 456.) These discourses were given in the ordinary course of a ministry to the Reformed Dutch Church of Saugerties, New-York. There are discourses of John Quincy Adams, Hall, and Chalmers. The foundation of the Church, English Diction, Samuel Johnson, and Daniel Webster, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and Colonization, &c. The author is a clear, independent, *conservative* thinker, and a writer of no ordinary ability.

(12.) "*Six Months in Kansas*, by a Lady." (J. P. Jewett, Boston, 1856; 12mo., pp. 231.) The narrative of an eye-witness, and sharer in the commencement of that train of events, which forms the strangest page as yet of our American history. How little five years ago could we have imagined the possibility of scenes and deeds that now have become bitter reality! How little can we imagine what the same determined despotism, unarrested, will accomplish in another brief lustrum! Let every free citizen read testimonies like this little volume, and draw up his own solemn decisions.

(13.) "*Western Border Life; or, what Fanny Hunter saw and heard in Kansas and Missouri.*" (Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau-street, New-York, 1856; 12mo., pp. 408.) Fanny saw and heard with sharp optics and acute ears, and describes with a lively pen. A long residence in Western Missouri renders her fully cognizant of the scenes she depicts. Her professed purpose is to present "the grappling of despotism and democracy for the mastery upon a vast unoccupied territory, whose entire history, for good or for evil, is to be shaped by the issue."

(14.) "*The Captive Youths of Judah, a Story with a Moral*, by Rev. ERASMUS JONES, of the Black River Conference." (Derby & Jackson, 119 Nas-

sau-street, New-York, 1856; 12mo., pp. 465.) A Methodist preacher writing a novel! Mr. Jones, by his Celtic name, and an ancient English couplet by him quoted, bewrays himself as a son of Wales. His book was written amid the romantic hills of Steuben Circuit, in Oneida County, a congenial region for inspiring a Welshman's imagination. It is, as a glance over its pages reveals to us, an effort to realize the more than romantic scenes occurring in Babylon, as suggestively sketched by the pen of Daniel; with an evident reference on the part of the writer to the events of the present day. There is apparently a genuine purpose to make the ancient events impressive as a modern lesson. The author has no little piquancy of style; but how far the work is successful as a whole, those who are curious to know will doubtless purchase and read, and spare us the time for severer and perhaps less pleasant engagements.

(15.) "*The Heroes of Methodism, containing Sketches of Eminent Methodist Ministers, and Characteristic Anecdotes of their Personal History*, by the Rev. J. B. WAKELEY." (Carlton & Phillips, 1856; 12mo., pp. 470.) There be heroes of war and heroes of peace, and, better than either, heroes of the Gospel of peace. Of this last class are the heroes who have found a genial delineator in Mr. Wakeley. His anecdotes are full of zest, and his portraits full of life. Perhaps some will say the author has not been sufficiently eclectic; but few are the incidents which do not illustrate either the characters or their times. The freshness and natural variety in the character of these unmodeled men, render their portraiture attractive as romance to readers out of the bounds of our Church, as several of the eminent names attached to letters addressed to the author of these sketches attest. They were men not formed by rule to a long-established type, but a fresh formation of a new original type. "*Washington and his generals*" were not more revolutionary or premonitory of a new historical era than *Asbury and his preachers*. Take books like this, and place them in the hands of the young folks at home, and you may plant within their hearts blessed impressions and associations that may aid in shaping aright their future religious life.

(16.) "*The Life and Times of Ulric Zwingle.* Translated from the German of J. J. HOTTINGER, by Rev. Professor T. C. PORTER, of Franklin and Marshall College." Lancaster, Pa. (Theo. F. Sheffer, Harrisburgh, pp. 431.) A valuable contribution to Protestant religious history. The author, who published his Life of Zwingle in 1842, had access to an immense mass of important documents long buried in the archives of Canton.

(17.) "*Memoirs of John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A.*, compiled chiefly from his letters and journals, by J. E. RYLAND, M. A. With a critical estimate of Dr. Kitto's Life and Writings, by Professor EADIE." (Carter & Brothers, 2 vols.) A biography of extraordinary interest. Kitto was born in the most abject poverty. By a sad catastrophe in his childhood, he was made completely deaf for life. Yet his ardent thirst for knowledge, his deep love of books, and extraordinary intelligence, won him sympathy and patronage. Talent, energy, and industry, enabled him to raise monuments of utility to the world; and the his-

tory of his life is a lesson and a legacy for the incitement of others in their struggles amid difficulties in the path of honorable usefulness.

The various works of Biblical Literature furnished to the world by Dr. Kitto, are standard in their character. Among them we may mention "The Pictorial Bible," "The Pictorial History of Palestine and the Holy Land," "The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," and "Daily Bible Illustrations." He was also editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature. Apart from his productions, the literary man frequently presents a life devoid of interest to the world, and the nature of Kitto's pursuits would induce many to impute a necessary dryness to his character. Great is that mistake. There is a singularly genial coloring to his character, and as a mere biography, *a story*, these volumes possess a rare fascination.

(18.) "*The History of Wesleyan Methodism on the Congleton Circuit, including Sketches of Character, Original Letters, &c.*, by Rev. J. B. DYSON," (John Mason, 66 Paternoster Row, London, 1856; 12mo., pp. 186.) This little volume traces the history of one of the earliest localities of English Methodism to the present time. Here was a spontaneous upspringing of Methodism before Wesley appeared upon the ground; as if the good Spirit at this time was pleased to pour forth his effusions upon various chosen localities at will. First, David Taylor, and then John Bennet, preached in this region, and the locality was known as "John Bennet's round" until it was organized into a regular circuit. The various visits of Mr. Wesley are detailed with such reminiscences as still exist. It contains an interesting sketch of George Shadford, which adds a valuable item to the history of American Methodism.

(19.) "*The Autobiography of a Blind Minister, including Sketches of the Men and Events of his Time*, by TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE, D. D." (John P. Jewett & Co., Boston, 1856.) The lithograph which accompanies this sketch of a good man, although not in the highest style of the art, is sufficiently like him to remind us of the last sight we had of the "blind minister" when he once stood in the pulpit of the old Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Mass., during the exultant exercises of the jubilee of the sons of Berkshire. His face glowed with the fire that was within him, while enlarging upon the interests of that memorable gathering.

Dr. Woodbridge is one of the few links which remain to connect the history of literary men, and the historical and ecclesiastical deeds of the past, with the present, and right well, despite the great physical disability under which he has laboured, does he represent both periods of our history. Descended from the best Puritanic blood, and born and educated amid the most important and stirring events of our national existence, the doctor's own account of himself in connection with these interests ought to give this book a wide circulation, especially as it is written in a style, spirit, and with a discrimination worthy of the man. We commend it to all classes of readers.

(20.) "*Pitman's Manual of Phonography*," "*The Phonographic Magazine*," "*The Teacher*," "*The Phonographic Reporter*," "*History of Short Hand.*"

(B. Pitman, Cincinnati.) A young library, as well as a beautiful and a growing, for the American phonographer. In the course of four years, the singular genius, taste, and energy of Mr. Benn Pitman, (brother of Isaac, the inventor,) have placed before the American public an accumulation of books, which, by their rare beauty of external execution, and the signal value of their contents, will sooner or later, we trust, win the attention, admiration, and gratitude of the American people.

Phonography is a perfected short-hand, which being written with nearly the rapidity of ordinary utterance, possesses the highest beauty of which written text is susceptible, and all the easy legibility of the printed page now before our reader's eye. An intelligent survey of all the short-hand systems extant, synoptically exhibited in one of these beautiful volumes, clearly demonstrates that Pitman's is profoundly original and incomparably superior to every rival. No young man, no child ought to be ignorant of the art. And, once learned, these books furnish a most attractive means of retention by reading.

(21.) "*Three Lectures on Egyptian Antiquities, &c., delivered at the Stuyvesant Institute, New-York, May,* 1856," by Dr. G. SEYFFARTH. These lectures we find published, with "Copyright secured," in the EVANGELICAL REVIEW, published at Gettysburgh, Pa. We feel a deep regret that a production so extraordinary should not be scattered broadcast before the public, instead of being confined to the pages of an excellent periodical, yet of a limited circulation, and in a provincial locality. We have never read anything on the most interesting subject of Egyptian antiquities to be compared with these remarkable lectures.

Dr. Seyffarth, we are informed, was for thirty-four years Professor of Archæology in the University of Leipsic. "Among scholars acquainted with the subject of these lectures, none, unless prejudiced or irretrievably committed to the contrary, will be disposed to deny, that Dr. S. was the first to unlock the mysteries of ancient Egypt, to read her written character, to interpret her astronomy, and to expound her history and reconcile it with Scripture. His system has been adopted by most eminent scholars; the successor of Champollion at Paris adopted it at once, in the place of his predecessor's, which is notoriously absurd and useless, having never led to any results except the most ludicrous. Dr. Seyffarth's system is the first by means of which anything satisfactory has been, the only one by which anything satisfactory can be accomplished. Himself a profound mathematician and astronomer, he has in his unlimited ability to turn the astronomical observations of the ancient Egyptians to most profitable account, an immense advantage over Lepsius and others, who have employed such knowledge as they possessed of Egypt's antiquities, for the purpose of utterly discrediting the Old Testament. While *they* cannot calculate, and know nothing of astronomy, the calculations of Dr. Seyffarth, pronounced correct by the most eminent astronomers of Germany, serve in the most wonderful, often startling manner, to confirm the history of the Bible."

Dr. Seyffarth claims to have discovered a new law in Egyptian writing, which takes up the subject where Champollion left it, and deciphers at once multitudes of inscriptions which were sealed to Champollion, or by him attempted

with most absurd results. A whole volume of biblical conformations is thereby opened. The anti-scriptural chronologies of Bunsen are conclusively corrected. Phonetic writing, he traces beyond the flood. The shepherd kings, he identifies with the Israelites. The seventy years of captivity are verified. The ancient Hebrews used a solar year, and observed Easter at the vernal equinox, our 22d of March. Hebrew was the primitive language. Theism, not idolatry, is proved the primitive religion. "The first twelve dynasties of Manetho, and several others, reigned not in succession, but simultaneously in different provinces. Fourteen conjunctions prove that Menes did not take possession of Mizraim until 2781 A. C., during the reign of Phalek, six hundred and sixty-six years after the deluge. Moses, whose conjunction is mentioned by Josephus, by the Rabbis, and even in the Old Testament, was born under the seventeenth dynasty, 1948 A. C." "The day on which Christ rose from the dead was the same on which the creation of the world was completed. Thus we have a confirmation of the true chronology of the Bible, which begins with the Sabbath of the vernal equinox, 5871 A. C."

The seven letters of the primitive alphabet express the seven planets, and by their alphabetic position actually indicate the 7th of September, 3447 B. C., the day of the ending of the deluge! These are a few of many wonders.

We learn from the September number of Der Deutsche Kirchenfreunde, (in the German language,) which has just come to hand, that Dr. Seyffarth is now professor in the Concordia Collegium, at St. Louis. The Kirchenfreunde contains a notice of a work by Dr. Seyffarth in German, published at Leipsic, 1855. It is a "Rectification of Roman and Greek History, Chronology, Mythology, and Sacred History, grounded upon new aids, historical and astronomical." The doctor has been publishing, as we learn in the same periodical, "Polemical Questions for all Christian Confessions," which deal with some matters of chronology upon altogether a different basis from the discussions of Doctors Akers and Strong, which (at the suggestion of Dr. Nast,) a learned friend, a professor in one of our American Universities, has offered to translate for our Quarterly.

Now that we are upon the subject, let us most earnestly call upon our friends in the city, or visiting our city from elsewhere, not to neglect the privilege of visiting Abbot's Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. There is no collection so worthy to be the pride of our metropolis and the favourite of our nation, yet it is scarcely named in town, or known in country. One little specimen is worth more to our eyes than a sight of Niagara. It is the necklace of Menes, or Mizraim, first king of Egypt. Here, too, are the features in stone, undoubtedly contemporaneous, of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the very countenance that Moses faced! Here are the armour of Shishak, the clay seal stamp of Tirhakah, the very strawless, unburned brick of Egypt, perhaps wrought by Hebrew slaves! These and multitudes of other objects bring the Egypt of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, directly under the eye of the New-Yorker.

While millionaire fortunes are made from American Museums scarce elevated above the humbug grade, it is mortifying to know, that this splendid collection pays not its own expenses! Dr. Abbot, we are informed, though not an American, might have received for it a munificent compensation in Europe, but preferred to place it in possession of Young America. It ought to be pur-

chased by some our merchant princes, or else by legislative enactment, and be made free to public inspection, as a proud public institution.

(22.) "*Notes on the Gospels, Critical and Explanatory, incorporating with the Notes, on a New Plan, the most Approved Harmony of the Four Gospels*, by MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany city, Pennsylvania. JOHN." (Carter & Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 348.) This is a commentary on John of superior excellence. The sources upon which he mainly relied are thus succinctly stated:

"The illustrations which are introduced are mainly such as have been verified by the author's personal observations in the Holy Land. Notices of localities and customs, from the same source, are also interspersed. Parallel passages of Scripture have been not only referred to extensively in the Notes, but *cited* in the very words as often as possible. The literature of this Gospel has been greatly enriched of late; and has been carefully applied, during the last few years, to this volume. Besides the works of Lampe, Tittman, and Lücke, which are so well known, Professor Tholuck has issued a sixth edition of his Commentary, quite re-written. It is now in course of translation by the Rev. C. P. Krauth, of Pittsburgh. Of the recent helps, 'Alford's Commentary' on the Greek text, (Vols. I. and II. issued,) Webster and Wilkinson's New Testament, (Vol. I. just issued,) and 'Plain Commentary on the Gospels,' are valuable expositions from the Church of England. Brown's 'Discourses and Sayings of our Lord,' Stier's 'Words of Jesus,' Quesnel on the Gospels, (Boardman's Edition,) Olshausen's Commentary, and Meyer's and Hutcheson's, with Bengel and Calvin, are but a few of the prominent authorities at hand, on this portion of Scripture. Francis Trench on 'The Life and Character of John,' is highly interesting."

The following passage presents a complete disproof of the sceptical theories of Strauss and Hennell:

"The writings of Hippolytus, lately discovered, show that it was acknowledged as in use, and as received in the Churches as early as A. D. 117. The Ottobonian manuscripts lately found, quote it as early as A. D. 120. So that the late sceptical theory which has laboured to make out a later date for this Gospel narrative, even as late as the middle of the second century, is positively disproved, without the need of exposing the folly of those assumptions upon which this theory was built."

There are many points of special excellence, which render this little volume a valuable addition to our Biblical literature.

Our notices of the following works are excluded by want of room:

Hibbard on the Psalms. Carlton & Porter, 8vo., pp. 589. A learned and elaborate work, of which a review will be furnished in a future number.

Arthur's Tongue of Fire. Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 354. It is gratifying that this awakening work is scattered broad-cast by the Harper press.

Emerson's English Traits. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 12mo., pp. 312.

Pisgah Views, by Rev. Dr. CROSS. Carlton & Porter, 12mo., pp. 300. A beautiful and eloquent volume, favouring millennarian views.

The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations, by GEORGE SMITH, author of Sacred Annals. London: H. Longman, 8vo., pp. 357.

Memorials of his Time, by HENRY COCKBURN. Appletons, 12mo., pp. 442.

Art. VIII.—EDITORIAL PARLEY.

A critical authority in one of our most popular diurnals, gravely admonishes the editor of the Ladies' Repository, that an "editor ought not publicly to praise his own contributors." It is agreeable for us to be instructed by a qualified master of proprieties, but rules of etiquette not founded in some ground of common convenience, or common sense, may well be left to be obeyed or enforced by the gentlemen ushers who are pleased to enact them. Of this and some other grave prescriptions we find it desirable to venture some clear infringement. It is our purpose, first, albeit unsustained by the usual laws of Quarterly impersonality, to spread an "EDITOR'S TABLE;" at which we design to come into direct communing with our little but very respectable "public." Next, it is very possible that we may commit the *malum prohibitum* of casting a retrospective glance over the articles of our number, and uttering such commendations or other remarks as our own judgment may suggest. Thirdly, besides this *self-review*, it is our purpose to establish a department which might be called the "*Spirit of the Reviews*;" in which we may venture to review our quarterly and monthly brethren, especially the foreign, condensing or briefly extracting, when any article of special interest occurs.

The first article in our present number is a finished and finishing critique, which sustains its own severity by the clearness of its proofs; nor, perhaps, will its great length prevent a sort of willingness that it should have been a little longer.

The admirers of Irving will perhaps be gratified at the genial yet discriminating appreciation of their favourite, presented in the second article.

Those who have marked with deep regret the influence of Carlyle upon the style of language, and not less, undoubtedly, upon the thoughts and principles of our young men, especially at our universities, will find an effective antidote indicated in the article on Bayne's Christian Life, by a young writer, from whom good service in the cause of literature is to be anticipated. We earnestly recommend the work itself to the admirers of Carlyle's barbaric style and Pantheistic philosophy.

Much of our present number is occupied by chronological tables, necessarily though drily, as an appendage to the previous article on Biblical Chronology, by Dr. Strong. Of the demonstrative accuracy of his views, we are unable to express any opinion from a close examination. We have never been able to *select* our chronology from the hundred or two theories enumerated by Dr. Hales as extant, and we shudder at the thought of *adding* a new one.

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